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THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS, AND LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1783.

LONDON:
Printed for J. DODSLEY, in Pall-Mall, 1785.

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PREFACE.

THE concluſion of the war in the Eaſt Indies, has neceſſarily claimed our utmoſt attention in the Hiſtory of the preſent year. Excluſive of the great national importance of that arduous conteſt, and the vaſt ſtakes which were played for by all the parties, the number and variety of military events, both by ſea and land, of which it was ſo unuſually productive, together with the ſuperior abilities and extraordinary exertions of the principal leaders on all ſides, muſt ever render the late war in India peculiarly intereſting. Having got through this difficult, though pleaſing taſk, we had only to gather up the gleanings of the war in other quarters; and then, tracing thoſe meaſures which led to the reſtoration of the public tranquillity, we have proceeded to take a view of the nature, circumſtances, and conſummation of that general peace, which has happily put an end to the ravages and calamities of war both in the Old and the New World.

Having thus concluded the narration, and wound up the buſineſs of the late moſt extenſive and eventful war, we ſhall be able, in our next volume, to take a retroſpective view of thoſe political affairs and tranſactions in Europe, which, however conſequential they might have been deemed in other ſeaſons, could not have been attended to during the din and tumult of arms, and while a rapid ſucceſſion of the moſt intereſting events were continually crowded upon the public attention.

It gives us no ſmall concern to underſtand, that a paſſage in our Hiſtory for the year 1773, ſhould have been ſuppoſed to convey an imputation injurious to the honour and character of the Baron de Tott. Independent of our attention to hiſtorical truth, as well as to perſonal juſtice, we too much regard the ſingular talents and eminent abilities of that Nobleman, not to regret, however innocently, that we ſhould, in any manner, have afforded means for wounding his feelings; much leſs ſhould we conſent to its being underſtood, that we gave any ſanction to a falſe and ſcandalous calumny. It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to recollect any of the operative circumſtances with reſpect to that paſſage, or even what our own ſenſe of the ſubject then was. The Tranſlator of his very curious and valuable Memoirs has, in his Preface, along with the charge, candidly furniſhed, almoſt every thing which it would be neceſſary for us to ſay upon the ſubject, by quoting, from ourſelves, the uncertainty of the information which could then be obtained, relative to the circumſtances of the Ruſſian and Turkiſh war, and ſtill farther, by his own ſubſequent acknowledgment, that the calumny, to which the paſſage in queſtion is ſuppoſed to allude, however maliciouſly raiſed, was publicly prevalent. We ſhall only add, what we are in ourſelves convinced of, that *Guys*, the French conſul or deputy, and the real renegado, was the perſon to whom we really pointed, however the Baron's actions might at firſt have been miſtakenly attributed to him. Time has cleared up the truth, and done ample juſtice to his character.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1783.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of affairs in India. Benares. Transactions which led to the dependance of that country on the East India company. The Rajah Bulwant Sing, having taken a decided part in their favour, in the war against his paramount lord, Sujah Ul Dowlah, his territories are secured to him by the treaty of Illahabad. Investiture of Cheit Sing, upon the death of his father Bulwant, and a new treaty concluded in favour of the family by Major Harper. A third treaty, in confirmation of the two former, concluded by Mr. Hastings, who is himself a party to it, and renders the company guarantees of the Rajah's possessions. Upon the death of Sujah Ul Dowlah, the Nabob vizier, the sovereignty of Benares is transferred by his successor to the company. Extraordinary subsidies demanded and levied from the Rajah, Cheit Sing, on occasion of the war with France, lay the foundation of those differences which took place between him and the government of Calcutta. A supply of 2,000 cavalry demanded from the Rajah. Charges of disaffection and contumacy laid against him. Governor general's progress from Calcutta, to settle the affairs of Benares, and other countries. Proceeds up the Ganges to Buxar, where he is met by the Rajah, with a great attendance and number of boats. Different accounts of the conference on the water. Rajah's visit at Benares forbidden. Rajah taken into custody: rescued, and the sepoys, with their officers, massacred. He flies first to Ramnagur, and from thence retires in the night to the fortress of Lutteefpoor. Oussaun Sing appointed by the governor general to administer the affairs of the country in the place of the Rajah.

Ramjiewaun, garrisons Ramnagur for the Rajah. Scheme for the reduction of that place frustrated by the rashness of Capt. Mayaffre; who is killed in an ill-judged attack, and the party repulsed with great loss. Country immediately in arms. Design of attacking the governor general in his quarters obliges him to retire by night to Chunar. Repeated proposals made by the Rajah for an accommodation, produce no effect. Embarrassment occasioned by the Nabob vizier's visit. The commotion in Benares spreads the flame in the adjoining countries. Cheit Sing's manifesto. Attack on the Rajah's camp at Pateetah. Great reinforcements arrive at Chunar. Bundoo Cawn, a native, proposes the means, by which the Rajah's forces might, without much difficulty, be dispossessed of their strong-holds. The scheme adopted by Major Popham; who privately dispatches Major Crabbe, with a strong detachment, to penetrate the mountains, under the guidance of Bundoo Cawn, and attack the enemy in the rear, while he engages them in front. The design succeeds; Major Crabbe carries the strong pass of Suckroot; the enemy abandon the fortress of Lutteefpoor; the Rajah flies to Bidjeygur, and all his forces disperse. Country immedately resumes its usual tranquillity. Governor general returns to Benares; settles the government; appoints a new Rajah; and increases the revenue. Disturbances in the neighbouring countries quelled. Treaty of peace and alliance happily concluded with Madajee Scindia by Colonel Muir. The Rajah, Cheit Sing, totally abandons his country. Strong fortress of Bidjeygur taken, upon conditions, by Major Popham. Great treasure found, and spoil made by the army.

WHILE other parts of India were desolated by the present and by former wars, the sequestered and happy country of Benares, generally had the fortune to escape the common calamity. Besides the security derived from the great distance of the sea, the sacred character ascribed to that city, which had through many ages been considered as the repository of the religion and learning of the Bramins, could not but endear it in the highest degree to the Hindoos; and the foreign ravagers of India, if they paid no respect, found it necessary, at least, to shew some attention to the prejudices of the conquered. Hostility indeed was not much provoked by a people, who, along with the most gentle and inoffensive manners, possessed such a spirit of industry, as had given to a whole country, the face of a garden in the highest state of culture and beauty; and whose labours were a common benefit to all, who either lived near or had occasion to approach them.

The Ganges, before it yet becomes too vast for health and satisfaction, winding through the variegated face of such a country, could not but greatly heighten the picturesque beauty of the scene; and lying, as it does, under the happiest influence of the heavens, it is not to be wondered at, that under such favourable circumstances, Benares had long been considered as the paradise of India. The capital was not less distin-

diſtinguiſhed for its beauty, than eminent for its rank and conſideration. But neither the ſalubrity of the air, nor the delights of its ſituation, were more alluring to ſtrangers, than the happy ſecurity to perſon and property which it afforded. It accordingly became the coveted retreat of people of all the Aſiatic countries and religions, who weary of a buſy life, vexed by its diſappointments, or apprehenſive of its dangers, wiſhed to enjoy during ſome portion of their lives, the tranquillity of a ſecure and happy retirement.

The expences of the preſent war with Hyder Ally and the Marattas, in which all the Engliſh preſidencies were ſo deeply, and one at leaſt ſo dangerouſly involved, roſe to ſuch an height, that the wealth and revenue of Bengal, great as theſe were, proved unequal to their ſupply. New ſources were accordingly to be ſought; and the weak and the wealthy were doomed, as uſual, to adminiſter to the wants of the ſtrong and the warlike. The proſecution of theſe means of ſupply, led to the ſubſequent calamities of Benares; and ſuddenly plunged Mr. Haſtings, the governor general, into a new war, at near 600 miles diſtance from the ſeat of his government.

For the better comprehenſion or illuſtration of this ſubject, it will be neceſſary to take ſome notice of the late ſtate and government of that country, as well as of its relation to, and the means by which it became dependent on the Eaſt India company.

The country of Benares lies far up the Ganges, not a great deal ſhort of 600 miles, to the north-weſt of Calcutta. The river, without taking in its continual windings, points generally from the weſt to the eaſt in its courſe through it. Its extent from north to ſouth, including the diſtricts of Chunar and Gazypour, which are united with it, is about 150 miles; nor is it much leſs from eaſt to weſt; but it is a good deal indented on the former ſide by the province of Bahar. It was a part of thoſe extenſive poſſeſſions, which the misfortunes of the court of Delli, enabled Sujah Ul Dowlah, the grand vizier of the empire, and nabob of Oude, to ſecure the actual ſovereignty and poſſeſſion of in his own family. The Rajah, Bulwant Sing, was tributary to Sujah Ul Dowlah, for the country of Benares, and its dependencies, at a certain ſtated tribute or rent; for it is diſputed, though indeed of little conſequence, to which claſs it properly belongs.

In the war which broke out in the year 1764, wherein Sujah Ul Dowlah ſupported Coſſim Ally Cawn, who had been the murderer of ſo great a number of Engliſh gentlemen at Patna, the Rajah Bulwant Sing, notwithſtanding the relation in which he ſtood with Sujah, took a decided part in favour of the Engliſh, and rendered them eſſential and acknowledged ſervices. As Sujah Dowlah was ſo entirely ruined by the war, that he ſcarcely hoped to have been left in poſſeſſion of any part of his territories, it was in the power of the Engliſh to dictate the terms of peace. Theſe were, however, ſo much in his favour, as to excite no ſmall ſurprize at the time, both at home

and in India; but it was, notwithſtanding, held as a matter indiſpenſably neceſſary, not only with reſpect to honour, gratitude, and good faith, but to the real intereſts of the nation and company, to provide for the Rajah's intereſts and poſſeſſions in ſuch a manner by the treaty, as ſhould effectually ſecure him from the animoſity and revenge of Sujah Ul Dowlah, which were well known to be boundleſs and implacable.

When General Carnac was empowered by the preſidency of Bengal, in the year 1765, to negociate the preliminary articles of a peace with Sujah Ul Dowlah, this matter was accordingly particularly committed to his charge; and it was laid down as a ſpecific article of his inſtructions, "*To ſecure Bulwant Sing in the poſſeſſion of his country.*" By the fifth article of the treaty of Illahabad, which was ſoon after concluded by Lord Clive, although the moſt extraordinary favours and advantages were in other reſpects granted to Sujah Ul Dowlah, yet he was moſt ſolemnly bound to continue Bulwant Sing in poſſeſſion of all the territories he held before the war, ſubject only to the payment of the ſame revenue as heretofore.

Conſidering the immenſe objects which Lord Clive had at that time in act and in contemplation, it is no wonder that he did not pay all the attention to the wording of this article, which the preſidency, if it had been in their hands, would probably have done, and which the character of the vizier more eſpecially demanded. The latter, by the terms of the article, ſeemed to be bound only to Bulwant Sing's perſon, without any expreſs proviſion being made for the continuance of the zemindaries in the Rajah's family. It appears, however, from Lord Clive's correſpondence, that this was fully underſtood by all the parties to be the clear intention of the article; and the value and importance which was attributed to it by himſelf, and confirmed by the acknowledgment of the company at home, as well as by the preſidency of Calcutta, ſufficiently ſhews that they all received and conſidered it in the ſame ſenſe. Lord Clive paid little attention to the nicety of words in a compact with a man, whom he regarded at this time merely as an inſtrument of his own making, and the explanation of which would reſt either with himſelf or the company.

In fact, the Engliſh by being the mediators of this condition, became virtually its guarantees; and the ties between them and the Rajah, being founded on their mutual intereſts and ſecurity, were from thence indiſſoluble. He looked only to them for protection againſt the malice and rapacity of a cruel and perfidious tyrant; while, on the other hand, his country afforded them, without any expence, a ſtrong and excellent barrier on the ſide of Oude, and would, as well as his forces, anſwer all purpoſes of war and defence, as effectually as if it were their own.

When circumſtances ſerved, and the proper ſeaſon was arrived, Sujah Ul Dowlah well knew how to turn to account this paſt error, or negli-

negligence in ſtating the terms of the 5th article of the treaty of Illahabad; and indeed it is not impoſſible that he had himſelf been originally its contriver, and found means for its paſſing without examination. The death of Bulwant Sing, in the year 1770, afforded this opportunity; the letter of the treaty was in full preſervation, but its ſpirit could not then ſo clearly appear. The preſidency of Bengal was therefore obliged to interfere with vigour and ſpirit in ſupporting the intereſts of the family, by procuring the inveſtiture of Cheit Sing, in the government of his father, Bulwant's territories.

The negociation upon this affair was committed to Colonel Harper, who acted in it with great honour, and left no room for future doubt or evaſion. The young rajah, upon this occaſion, was obliged to make a preſent of twenty lacks of rupees to the Nabob vizier, and to increaſe the annual tribute, from twenty-one and a half, to twenty-four lacks. In the treaty, for the inſtrument then perfected between Sujah Ul Dowlah and the Rajah Cheit Sing was ſo denominated, the former bound himſelf ſpecifically, that nothing more than what was therein declared, ſhould ever be demanded of the latter; and he concluded, in the Mahommedan ſtile, by a ſolemn appeal to God, the prophet, and the Koran, as parties and witneſſes to the agreement, and, that between them, and their joint poſterity, there ſhould never be a variation therein.

Colonel Harper, in the conſciouſneſs of an integrity which required no colouring, and which he diſdained to illuſtrate, informs his employers by letter upon the occaſion, that he leaves it to the young Rajah, and to all others who were concerned in or witneſſes of the tranſaction, to ſtate what his conduct had been in this buſineſs; only obſerving, that he had taken the ſtricteſt care, not to *diminiſh our national honour, diſintereſtedneſs, and juſtice*; which he conſiders, as having a greater effect, in ſecuring the vaſt poſſeſſions of the company, than even the force of their arms, however formidable.—Sentiments, not more valuable for the humanity and honour which they breathe, than for the wiſdom of the policy which they convey.

This concluſive ſettlement of the zemindary in the family of Bulwant Sing, was then deemed of ſuch conſequence to the company's affairs, that the preſident and council of Bengal congratulated the court of directors upon it, as an event highly important to their intereſts, and of great moment in its future conſequences.

It would ſeem now that nothing farther remained to be done in this buſineſs; and that ſo far as compacts and treaties can be binding, the zemindary was ſecured to the family and deſcendants of Bulwant Sing. Yet, whether it proceeded from any ſubſequent infractions of the agreement by the Nabob vizier, or from apprehenſions founded on the capriciouſneſs and faithleſſneſs of his diſpoſition, which it was thought could not be too carefully guarded againſt, we find that this buſineſs

was again taken up, and a new ſettlement made in confirmation of the former.

This took place in the year 1773, when Mr. Haſtings, then preſident of the council of Calcutta, thought it neceſſary to make a progreſs to the court of the Nabob vizier, as well, perhaps, to obtain ſome perſonal explanations from him with reſpect to paſt and current matters, as to form thoſe new connections and arrangements, with reſpect to revenue, troops, and the acquiſition of territory, which were ſoon after diſplayed in their effects. Upon this occaſion, a new treaty or inſtrument, to the ſame purport as the former, was concluded and ratified, between the Nabob vizier, and the Rajah Cheit Sing; but with this farther confirmation, and advantage to the Rajah, that the preſident, by himſelf ſigning and becoming a party to the preſent, thereby rendered the company actual guarantees, at all future times, to the due performance of the conditions. Indeed the neceſſity of ſomething ſtronger than treaties to bind the faith, and to reſtrain the rapacity of the Nabob vizier, became upon that very occaſion fully apparent; for notwithſtanding the vaſt advantages, which, at the expence of his neighbours, as well as of his natural lord, the Mogul, were then thrown into his hands, he was exceedingly diſſatisfied with Mr. Haſtings, for not permitting him to extort ten lacks of rupees from the young Rajah, as well as to ſtrip him of two very ſtrong forts, which conſtituted the beſt defences of his country. Upon this occaſion, as on the former, the inſtrument was made eternally binding upon the parties, and upon their mutual poſterity.

Upon the death of the Nabob vizier in the year 1775, and the acceſſion of his ſon and ſucceſſor Aſſoff Ul Dowlah, new arrangements took place between the company and that prince, which affected the whole government of his dominions. Among theſe, the ſovereignty of Benares, and its dependencies, was entirely given over and transferred to the company; the Rajah Cheit Sing then ſtanding exactly in the ſame degree of relation and vaſſalage to that body, in which he had before ſtood with the Nabob of Oude. Nothing could exceed the ſatisfaction which this transfer of ſovereignty, and entire emancipation from a capricious tyranny, afforded to the young Rajah and his family. They were now placed in the hands of their old friends, allies and protectors, and the moſt flattering proſpects of laſting quiet, ſecurity and happineſs were in view.

Theſe hopes were confirmed, if they could be ſuppoſed to require any confirmation, by a letter from Mr. Haſtings, who had been appointed to the new and high office of governor general. This letter teemed with ſentiments of regard, honour and juſtice, and authorized the Britiſh reſident at the court of Benares to aſſure the Rajah that no farther tribute than that already ſtipulated, ſhould be exacted from him, and that it ſhould not under any future change of government be enlarged. A recommendation about the ſame time, from the governor general and council to

the Rajah, that he ſhould raiſe and ſupport a body of 2,000 horſe, or rather, perhaps, that he ſhould increaſe the cavalry already on his eſtabliſhment to that number, as it was in no degree preſſed as an obligation, but ſeems to have been merely propoſed as a meaſure of common utility, and a proviſion againſt any future and unforeſeen danger, could afford no cauſe of apprehenſion, nor indicate any change in the Rajah's condition.

It is not denied, that the Rajah of Benares continued to adhere to the engagements on his ſide, by the punctual diſcharge of the ſtipulated revenue, nor that his conduct was in every reſpect highly ſatisfactory, until new and unexpected demands occaſioned ſuch alteration in it, as proved at length the means of giving umbrage to the government of Calcutta. Upon intelligence of the war with France, it was determined by the governor general and council, in the month of July 1778, that the Rajah Cheit Sing ſhould be required to contribute an extraordinary ſubſidy of five lacks of rupees, towards the expences which this new exigency would impoſe on their government during the current year. It may be ſuppoſed, that the innovation thus propoſed, and the danger of the precedent, affected the rajah much more than the amount or value of the ſum demanded. However that was, the governor general informs us in his narrative, that after many excuſes, and proteſtations of inability, the Rajah at length conſented, with a very ill grace, to the payment, and diſcharged it with a worſe.

The increaſing exigencies and expences of a war, which was becoming general throughout India, were not likely to produce any remiſſion of theſe demands, when once the ice was broken, and the precedent eſtabliſhed. They were annually repeated; while the unwillingneſs of compliance, and the backwardneſs of payment, became every year more apparent, and afforded farther room for diſſatisfaction. During the many ages in which the Hindoo princes and landholders have been doomed to ſuffer the oppreſſion and exorbitance of foreign power, a ſtrict concealment of their wealth, and a conſtant plea of extreme poverty, have been the weak means which they generally adopted to elude the extortion and rapacity of their rulers. The Rajah of Benares reſorted to this eſtabliſhed practice; and even ſo early as the payment of the ſecond year's ſubſidy, although he was known or ſuppoſed to be very rich, he affected to borrow money in ſmall ſums, and even to ſell his plate and jewels, as demonſtrations of his inability; and was ſtill ſo ſlow in his payments, that it was found neceſſary to quicken him, by ſending two battalions of ſepoys to be quartered in his dominions, and their pay to be charged to his account, until he had made good the whole.

The third year's ſubſidy was ſtill worſe paid, and the ſame remedy, of ſending troops to live upon him, was again adopted. The Rajah then carried the plea of inability and poverty ſo far, that

when about one lack of rupees had with great difficulty been obtained from him, he wrote a letter himſelf to the governor general, ſoliciting forbearance with reſpect to the remainder until the following year, when he promiſed to pay it along with the ſtipulated revenue.

While a ſubſidy of about ſixty thouſand pounds a year was extorted with ſo much difficulty, it was not well to be ſuppoſed, that a demand made upon the Rajah to furniſh 2,000 cavalry for the ſervice of the war, would have been attended with much effect; at leaſt, without its being enforced by ſome extraordinary degree of exertion. By Mr. Haſtings's ſtate of the tranſaction, which differs conſiderably from that given by the Rajah, he baffled the demand by delay and evaſion; he ſaid that the body of horſe which he had already on foot was fully employed in, and abſolutely neceſſary to the collection of his revenues, without which he could not fulfil his ſtipulations with the company, and that he was utterly unequal to the expence of raiſing a new corps. It is farther ſaid, that the demand was leſſened to a thouſand; that he at length promiſed to ſupply 250; but that neither man or horſe was ever ſent. It is to be obſerved, that the Rajah's horſe had done good and acknowledged ſervice in a former war. So different are the fruits procured by violence, from thoſe which are the ſpontaneous produce of good-will and affection.

It will ſcarcely be imagined, that as theſe unexpected demands ſerved ſucceſſively to weaken the Rajah's opinion of his own ſecurity, and to leſſen his faith in the Engliſh, ſo likewiſe, that they did not ſerve equally to weaken his attachment, and to looſen his fidelity to the company. It was natural, that he ſhould look for new friends and connections; and that he ſhould endeavour to provide ſome reſource againſt the days of trouble and danger. Nothing could be more favourable to the encouragement and confirmation of ſuch a diſpoſition, than the general ſtate of India. The diſaffection to the Engliſh was unfortunately general throughout all that vaſt continent; they were in every ſettlement, and on every ſide, engaged in the moſt dangerous wars; and while the ſucceſſes of Hyder Ally ſeemed to render their very exiſtence in the Carnatic more than precarious, they no leſs diminiſhed the reputation and dread of their arms.

The countries immediately bordering on, or ſurrounding the Rajah's territories, were in a ſtate of the moſt marked diſaffection to the company, and ſuch of them as were under its government, ſcarcely reſtrained their violence, until a proper opportunity ſhould offer for ſhaking off its yoke. The company's adminiſtration of the affairs of Oude, in concert with his weak ſucceſſor, ever ſince the death of Sujah Ul Dowlah, had ſpread deſolation, tumult and diſorder through thoſe extenſive dominions. All theſe things, together with the general alliance and confederacy which was known to be in contemplation for chacing them entirely out of India, ſerved to render their affairs apparently deſperate.

In theſe circumſtances it is not much

much to be doubted, that ſome of the charges laid againſt the Rajah Cheit Sing, might be well founded. That he perhaps entered into negociations with the native princes in the adjoining countries, for mutual ſupport, and for acting on ſome plan of general concert, in the defence of their reſpective rights; and that he might have correſponded with the diſcontented Begums of Oude, or caballed with the diſaffected Rajahs, in the neighbouring Engliſh governments.

The governor general ſtates, that various accounts had been repeatedly tranſmitted to Calcutta, as well by the Engliſh reſidents at Benares, as by ſeveral of the company's officers, from different parts of that country, of the frequent and ſtrong marks of diſaffection that were ſhewn by the rajah himſelf; but which were diſplayed in a ſtill higher degree by his officers, and by the people in general. Theſe charges, indeed, ſo far as they are ſhewn, are laid in very looſe and general terms; without any ſpecification of facts, dates, names, or circumſtances. It is not leſs remarkable, that they are not included in the written complaints of his conduct, which the governor general ſent to the Rajah himſelf upon the ſpot.

But however juſt the charges of contumacy and diſaffection laid againſt the Rajah might have been, and however neceſſary, perhaps, in ſome degree their correction, it is fully evident, that the enormous expences of the war had ſo drained the treaſury of Bengal, and the means of ſtill feeding it in all its parts went ſo far beyond the revenues of the ſtate, that the looking out for new ſources of ſupply was become a matter of great urgency. In ſuch circumſtances, the ſuppoſed wealth and real weakneſs of the Rajah, pointed him out as the immediate and proper object for ſupplying the public neceſſities.

Such was the ſituation of the Rajah, and the ſtate of affairs in the country of Benares, before and about the time that the governor general ſet out on his progreſs from Calcutta, upon the 7th of July 1781. He had, in that progreſs, other objects beſides Benares in view. Order was, if poſſible, to be reſtored in the dominions of the Nabob vizier, and money, at all events, to be there procured. A ſeparate peace with Madajee Scindia was then likewiſe in agitation, through the intervention of Colonel Muir; and the governor general hoped that his approach to the ſcene of negociation, might afford means for bringing it the more ſpeedily to a concluſion. This was indeed an object of the firſt importance.

With reſpect to Benares, the governor general ſtates in his narrative of theſe tranſactions, that the diſappointment of aid from the Rajah, though in a ſeaſon of ſuch extreme public diſtreſs and danger, was ſtill leſs a matter of conſideration with him, than that thoſe repeated acts of contumacy and diſobedience of which he had been guilty, appeared evidences of a deliberate and ſyſtematic conduct, aiming at the total ſubverſion of the company's authority, and the erection of his own independency

pendency on its ruins; a deſign, he ſays, which had been long and generally imputed to him. He farther obſerves, that it was reported he had inherited a vaſt maſs of wealth from his father Bulwant Sing, which he had ſecured in the two ſtrong fortreſſes of Lutteefpoor and Bidjeygur; and that he made yearly additions to it; that he kept up a large military eſtabliſhment, both of cavalry, of diſciplined and irregular infantry, and of artillery; that beſides the two already named, he had many other fortreſſes, of ſtrong conſtruction and in good repair, conſtantly well ſtored and garriſoned; that he maintained a correſpondence with the Marattas, and other powers, who either were, or might eventually become enemies to the company; and, that he was collecting, or had prepared, every proviſion for open revolt, waiting only for a proper ſeaſon to declare it, which was ſuppoſed to depend, either on the arrival of a French armament, or on a Maratta invaſion.

It will appear not a little extraordinary, that ſeveral of theſe matters, particularly whatever relates to the Rajah's military eſtabliſhment and preparations, the ſtate of his garriſons, and the internal condition or appearance of things, ſhould be founded on no better authority than mere report, when it is conſidered, that the ſtrong fortreſs of Chunar, in the centre of his dominions, and within an eaſy march of his capital, had for many years been garriſoned by the Engliſh; that his country was the highway and thoroughfare to the company's troops, in their frequent paſſage to and from the dominions of Oude, and all the weſtern ſide of India; that it was equally the paſſage and the reſidence of their merchants and traders; and that it was at all times open to the free obſervation and inſpection of their officers whether civil or military.

Another offence was indeed charged on the Rajah, which perhaps had its weight. That he had, by his agents and emiſſaries at Calcutta, taken an active and decided part againſt the governor general, in thoſe conteſts which had for ſome years back prevailed between him and other members of the council. To that continued oppoſition which he met with in Calcutta, to the diſapprobation of his conduct induſtriouſly publiſhed by the parties formed againſt him in England, and to the conſtant expectation from thence entertained in India of his ſpeedy degradation, the governor general attributes all the miſconduct, miſdeeds, and crimes of the Rajah of Benares.

In the progreſs of his narrative, the governor general by degrees opens and avows the motives and objects of his expedition, with reſpect to that prince. He ſays, that he conſidered Cheit Sing as culpable, in a very high degree, towards the ſtate, and his puniſhment, (of which, he ſays, he had given him frequent warnings if he did not amend his conduct) as an example which juſtice and policy required. That, he was reſolved to draw from his guilt the means of relief to the company's diſtreſſes, and to exact a penalty, which he was convinced he was very well able to bear, from a fund, which he was alſo convinced,

ed, he had deſtined for purpoſes of the moſt dangerous tendency to the company's dominion. In a word, that, he had determined to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a ſevere vengeance for his paſt delinquency.—He ſeems, however, apprehenſive in ſeveral inſtances, that the tranſactions of which he gives the detail, would be ſubject to much diſcuſſion, if not cenſure, at home; and in one, he ſeems to think it neceſſary, to appeal to his motives, at leaſt in a certain degree, as a juſtification of his conduct.—He ſays, "I will ſuppoſe for a moment that I have erred, that I have acted with an unwarrantable rigour towards Cheit Sing, and even with injuſtice; let my motive be conſulted: I left Calcutta impreſſed with a belief that extraordinary means were neceſſary, and thoſe exerted with a ſtrong hand, to preſerve the company's intereſts from ſinking under the accumulated weight which oppreſſed them; I ſaw a political neceſſity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and for making it contribute to the relief of their preſſing exigencies.—If I erred, my error was prompted by an exceſs of zeal for their intereſts operating with too ſtrong a bias upon my judgment."

It appears from a conference between the governor general and Mr. Wheler (which is ſtated in the narrative, they being, as we apprehend, the only members of the council then in Bengal) on the eve of the expedition, that it was then confidentially communicated and agreed upon, that the Rajah's offences requiring early puniſhment, his wealth being great, and the company's exigencies preſſing, it was a meaſure of policy and juſtice, to exact from him a large pecuniary mulct for their relief; the firſt having declared his reſolution to extend the fine to the amount of forty or fifty lacks.

The governor general's progreſs up the Ganges, laſted near ſix weeks before his arrival at Benares. Whether it proceeded from a ſenſe of paſt, a conſciouſneſs of intended criminality, or a full knowledge of the dangers with which ſuch progreſſes were generally pregnant, and a conviction that theſe were now much augmented under the peculiar preſſure of the times; from whatever cauſe it proceeded, it appears evidently that the Rajah was exceedingly alarmed at this journey, and that his mind ſeemed already to forebode ſome part of the enſuing calamities. Indeed, excluſive of all other cauſes of apprehenſion, the favourable reception and entertainment which Ouſſaun Sing, a profligate relation of his, had for ſome time received at Calcutta, and the ſingular circumſtance of his now attending the governor general in his train, and coming under that protection, would in themſelves have afforded no ſmall room for alarm.

It appears from the Rajah's manifeſto, and other teſtimonies, which do not ſeem to be any where contradicted, that this man, who had once been dewan, or miniſter, having loſt his office thro' the effects of miſconduct, or court intrigue, and afterwards ſquandered

dered his subſtance in a courſe of vice and profligacy, he was at length baniſhed the country for his crimes. That being in that ſtate joined by ſeveral whoſe condition, characters, and deſperate fortunes correſponded with his own, they drew together a number of thoſe rovers of all nations, with whom India, more than any other part of the world abounds, ſo that he was at length enabled to invade, and to excite ſome ſort of rebellion in the country of Benares; and became ſo formidable, that it was only by the aid of the Engliſh, whoſe forces were called in for the purpoſe, that, after doing infinite miſchief, he was defeated and driven out. Such was the man, who now came in the ſuite of the governor general, to reviſit the city and country of Benares.

Upon the governor general's arrival at Buxar, on the borders of Benares, he was met by the rajah, who brought with him a great train of the principal people of his country. Mr. Haſtings remarks, with diſapprobation, that he had brought with him a great fleet of boats; that he had afterwards been informed they were crowded with choſen armed men to the amount of two thouſand; and that this circumſtance was a matter of much obſervation and notice with ſome of the gentlemen of his train. It is not improbable that this matter was much miſrepreſented to him. It is now evident that no deſign had been formed againſt his perſon; nor can it be drawn or ſuppoſed from the ſubſequent circumſtances, that any ſuch number of choſen or of armed men were yet collected in a body.

The governor general informs us, that he received the Rajah with civility, and without any expreſſion of diſpleaſure, at Buxar. That he received a ſecond viſit from him in his boat, upon their paſſage up the river, on the following morning; when a private conference was requeſted and granted. He does not at all aſſume being correct in his recollection of the particulars which paſſed in this private converſation; for conſidering it, he ſays, as accidental, and as making no part of the plan which he had concerted in his own mind for his conduct with the Rajah, he did not think it of ſufficient conſequence to make any written minutes.

From his recollection, however, of the ſubſtance of this conference, it appears, that the Rajah expreſſed much concern for his diſpleaſure, and contrition for having himſelf given any occaſion for it; declaring at the ſame time, and in the moſt humiliating terms, that the zemindary and every thing he poſſeſſed were at his devotion: that he expreſſed great fears about Ouſſaun Sing; and that upon that occaſion, whether it proceeded from an extraordinary agitation of mind, or from a deſire to impreſs a ſtrong opinion of his ſincerity, he accompanied his words with the ſingular action of laying his turban in Mr. Haſtings's lap.—The governor general, in anſwer, diſclaimed the idea of his deſcending to become a party in the Rajah's family diſagreements: but avowed his

his diſpleaſure to be equal to whatever he had heard or might have conjectured of it; and concluded by declaring, that he had been already deceived by his oaths and proteſtations, and that he ſhould not ſuffer his purpoſe to be changed, or his duty to be over-ruled, by any verbal conceſſions or declarations.—He takes no notice of any demands being made, or terms offered, upon this occaſion.

But the Rajah ſtates in his manifeſto, that the demands made upon him at this meeting, were in the higheſt degree exorbitant. That after diſcourſing upon the ſubject of the tribute, and profeſſions from him of his attachment and fidelity to the company, and of his willingneſs to comply with their demands, the payment of no leſs a ſum than a crore of rupees (amounting to a hundred lacks, or about 1,200,000 pounds ſterling) was the demand made upon him; and that to this was added his ſurrender of the fortreſs of Bidjeygur, which he calls his "family reſidence, the depoſit of his women and of his honour." That, to the firſt of theſe demands he pleaded inability; and with reſpect to the ſecond, he aſked what he had done, that the company ſhould diſhonour him ſo as to take away the fort where his family reſided.

Aug. 14th. 1781. On the day of their arrival at Benares, the governor general ſent a meſſenger to forbid the Rajah's waiting upon him in the evening as he had intended; deſiring at the ſame time, that he might defer his future viſits until he ſhould obtain permiſſion, as he had ſome matters previouſly to ſettle with him. As this inſulting and ſufficiently alarming meſſage produced no manner of effect on the Rajah's motions or conduct, it may well be concluded, that he had formed no deſigns againſt Mr. Haſtings's perſon, that he had made no armed preparations, and that he was equally indiſpoſed to flight and to reſiſtance.

On the following evening, Mr. Markham, the reſident at Benares, was ſent by the governor general, with a paper drawn up by himſelf, containing the ſeveral charges which he laid againſt the rajah, and demanding an immediate anſwer. Theſe were founded, on the Rajah's repeated evaſion and breach of promiſe with reſpect to the payment of the ſubſidies, and the loſs ſuſtained, in one particular inſtance, by Col. Camac's corps, through that failure; on his evaſion and non-compliance with reſpect to the body of cavalry which was demanded of him; his endeavours to excite diſorders in the Engliſh government by the means of ſecret emiſſaries; and, miſgovernment in his own territories, by his ſuffering the public perpetration of robberies and murders, in violation of the tenure by which he held them. But the great ſtreſs of the whole ſeemed to be reſted, upon that infidelity and diſaffection to government, which appeared in the two firſt inſtances.

The Rajah, in his anſwer, which was returned late at night by Mr. Markham, entered into a written juſtification of the ſeveral parts of his conduct. He ſtates, that the payment of the ſubſidies had been much more regularly made than

than was repreſented; that he had ſent a letter to the governor general, ſtating his diſtreſſes, and requeſting a little longer time for one payment; but that receiving no anſwer, and finding the matter preſſed, he had uſed every exertion for its ſpeedy diſcharge. He gives a number of dates oppoſed to ſums, to ſhew that the payments for the uſe of Camac's troops, were, by him, made in due time; that the remittance of it to the army was not left to him, and if it had, that no delay ſhould have happened; ſo that if the money was not conveyed in time, and any loſs or detriment was thereby ſuſtained, it could not be imputed to him, but to thoſe agents to whom he was ordered to pay it.

With reſpect to the cavalry, he ſtates, that the governor general having deſired by letter to know the number he could ſpare, he had, in anſwer, tranſmitted to him an exact account of the whole number in his ſervice, which amounted to 1200 in all; with an account of their reſpective ſtations, which were diſperſed and remote. That he never received any anſwer to this letter; but that Mr. Markham having afterwards given him an order for having a thouſand horſe in readineſs, he accordingly prepared 500 cavalry, and 500 burkendoſſes, (which we ſuppoſe to be ſome ſort of militia or irregular troops) for this purpoſe. That he wrote an immediate account to the governor general of the ſtate and readineſs of theſe troops, expecting a conſequent order for their diſpoſal; that no anſwer was returned to this letter any more than the former; and that Mr. Markham and he repeatedly expreſſed their mutual ſurprize, that no order with reſpect to the deſtination of the troops had been communicated to either.

He totally denied the charge, of his having ſent agents, emiſſaries, or any of his people whatever to Calcutta, excepting the few whom he particularly names, and who were ſent openly and formally upon public buſineſs to the governor general himſelf. He repreſents theſe and other charges as falſehoods invented by his enemies, merely for the accompliſhment of his ruin; and while he complains of and laments the unhappy effects which they had already produced, in that change of the governor general's favour which he ſo ſorely experienced, he congratulated himſelf upon his arrival in the country, as he would thereby have an opportunity upon the ſpot of diſproving all thoſe charges.

The laſt charge, being that laid againſt his adminiſtration of juſtice, upon the ground of robberies and murders being publicly committed with impunity in his country, was, in all its parts, no leſs denied. The Rajah, in that degrading ſtile, which neceſſity, along with peculiar habits and modes of thinking and ſpeaking, have eſtabliſhed in the oriental world, concludes his letter by declaring himſelf the governor general's *ſlave* in all caſes whatever.

This ſubmiſſive language produced an effect very different from what might have been expected. Through whatever medium it was ſeen by the governor general, this juſtification or defence, extorted

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as it was at the inſtant, without time for deliberation or council, and againſt charges of the moſt alarming nature, was conſidered by him as an inſult of the higheſt and moſt offenſive kind. He ſays it was leſs a vindication of the Rajah than a recrimination on himſelf; and holds it as an anſwer nearly couched in terms of defiance. He obſerves that the Rajah, in his reply, inſiſted much upon the many letters which he had written to him, praying to be diſpenſed from obeying the orders of government, and of his receiving no anſwer to them. He ſeems to think this might be true; but he obſerves, in a high tone of authority, that it was the rajah's duty to obey the poſitive and repeated orders which he had received, "and not to waſte his "time with letters of excuſe, to "cavil with his anſwers for eva-"ſions, or with his ſilence for de-"lays."—The Rajah's pleas of want of money, or inability to perform whatever was required, were held, upon all occaſions, preſent or paſt, as direct and abſolute inſult.

The governor general ſeems to have had ſome doubts, on the ground of policy and public opinion, with reſpect to the extent and rigour of the meaſures which it might be proper to purſue, for the reformation of the Rajah's conduct, and the preſervation of the company's rights and intereſts. He obſerves, that, to have left him in the full exerciſe of powers which he had notoriouſly abuſed, and which it was to be apprehended he would employ to the moſt dangerous purpoſes, would be totally inconſiſtent with the maxims of juſtice and prudence. On the other hand, that, to diveſt him entirely of the zemindary, though juſtifiable on the grounds which he had ſtated, would have carried an appearance of ſeverity, and might have furniſhed an opportunity for conſtructions, unfavourable to the credit of the company's government, and to his own reputation, from that natural influence, which, he obſerves, every act of rigour exerciſed upon the perſons of men in elevated ſtations, is apt to impreſs on the minds of thoſe, who are too remote from the ſcene of action to judge, by any other evidence than that of the direct facts themſelves, of their motives or propriety.

He accordingly adopted, as a middle courſe, which might bring the Rajah to the terms, and into that ſtate of dependence which he intended, without proceeding to the abſolute extreme of ſeverity, the meaſure of laying his perſon under an arreſt. Mr. Markham, the reſident, was commiſſioned to execute this buſineſs; being inſtructed to proceed early in the morning, with only his cuſtomary guard, as if it had been merely a common viſit, to the villa or palace where the Rajah then reſided, which lay on the banks of the Ganges, being on the ſame ſide of the river with the city of Benares, and at about two miles diſtance; he was there to put him under arreſt; to require his immediate ſubmiſſion in the governor general's name; and to keep him in his cuſtody until he received further orders. Two companies of ſepoys, belonging to Major Popham's detachment, were ordered

ordered to follow and support Mr. Markham in the execution of this service.

The Rajah resigned himself with the greatest submission to the arrest, and assured the resident, that whatever the governor general's orders might be, he would implicitly obey them. He hoped, he said, that he would allow him a subsistence; but as for his zemindary, his forts, and his treasure, he was ready to lay them at his feet, and his life itself, if it was required. He lamented much, and seemed exceedingly to feel, the ignominy to which he was exposed by this public disgrace; and intreated Mr. Markham that he would return to the governor general, and give him an account of the full and ready obedience which he paid to his orders; hoping that he would make allowances for his youth and inexperience, and, in consideration of his father's name, release him from his confinement, as soon as he should prove the sincerity of his offers, and that he was deserving of compassion and forgiveness.—To confirm his verbal submissions, he repeated them in a letter which he sent by the resident, the concluding sentences being,—"Whatever may be your "pleasure, do it with your own "hands. I am your slave. What "occasion can there be for a "guard?"

Succeeding letters soon followed Mr. Markham. These were couched in terms of such extreme despondency, that the governor general thought it necessary to prevent his apprehensions from operating in too great a degree, by informing him in a short note, that Mr. Markham would explain particulars to him in the afternoon; and desiring him to let his mind be at rest, and not to conceive any terror or apprehension.—The following broken passages in the Rajah's letter will serve in some degree to shew the agitation of his mind, under the mixed effect of the various passions of shame, grief, and dismay, which then operated upon him.—"It depends on you alone "to take away or not to take "away the country out of my "hands. In case my honour is "not left me, how shall I be "equal to the business of the sir-"car? Whoever, with his hands "in a supplicating posture is "ready with his life and pro-"perty, what necessity can there "be for him to be dealt with in "this way?"

The resident had given him an early caution and charge, that he should order his people to behave in a quiet and orderly manner, for that any attempt towards his rescue, would be attended with inevitable destruction to himself. Upon Mr. Markham's departure, he had left the Rajah in the custody of Lieutenant Stalker, who commanded his own guard, and of the Lieutenants Scott and Simes, who led the two grenadier companies of sepoys. The instructions given to these officers were, that they should disarm every servant of the Rajah's; that they should allow him any eight or ten of his domestics, whom he might choose or approve of, for the attendance of his person; that to guard against any deception, these persons, so appointed, were to be particularly shewn to the sepoy guard;

guard; and that the officers might indulge the Rajah in any requeſt which was conſiſtent with the ſecurity of his perſon.

It was probably highly fortunate to Mr. Markham, that the preparing of his inſtructions (which were undoubtedly intended to be concluſive) took up ſo much time, as conſiderably to delay his return to the confined Rajah. It ſeemed indeed ſcarcely well to be expected, that in the neighbourhood of a capital city, adjoining beſides to a large town, and in a part of the world where the people are ſo exceedingly attached to their native princes, ſuch a matter could have hung in ſuſpence during the greater part of a day, while the multitude, ignorant of what was really paſſing, dreaded every moment to be that, which might prove fatal to their ſovereign, without its producing ſome violent popular commotion. It appears then upon the whole, that the governor general had placed too great a confidence in the effect to be produced by his name, and in the reſpect or terror attached to his ſituation and character, in venturing upon ſo bold and extraordinary a meaſure, without having ſuch a force immediately upon the ſpot, as would be ſufficient effectually to overawe the people, and if not entirely to prevent, to be at leaſt able to check commotion in the very bud. Perhaps likewiſe he fell into that common European error, which neither reaſon nor experience have been able to eradicate, and built too much upon the ſuppoſed timidity of the people.

The antient palace of Ramnagur, lay on the oppoſite ſide of the Ganges, and at no great diſtance from that in which the Rajah was in cuſtody. This was the uſual or principal reſidence of the prince; and in the antique ſtile, anſwered the double purpoſes of a fortreſs and palace. It was accordingly, a vaſt pile of irregular but maſſy buildings, conſtructed of ſtone, and partly lying on the banks, and partly built within the very bed of the river. Some ſmall and ordinary outworks had of late years been formed as additions to its original ſtrength; and by degrees, a cloſe-built, large, and very populous town, had grown up round it. The eſtabliſhment of a ſmall ſtanding garriſon, and of a governor, who were appointed to the charge of this place, at all times, whether during the Rajah's preſence or abſence, ſeems to have been merely an object of ſtate-ſhew and magnificence. The reſidence of the court, which had given birth to the town, may be ſuppoſed the cauſe, that the inhabitants were peculiarly and violently attached to the perſon and intereſts of the prince.

Juſt as Mr. Markham was ſetting out with his final inſtructions, intelligence was received, that large bodies of armed men had croſſed the river from Ramnagur, and proceeded directly to the palace where the Rajah was in cuſtody. The two companies of ſepoy grenadiers who formed his guard, were ſtationed in an encloſed ſquare, which ſurrounded the apartment in which he was confined. It will appear not a little extraordinary, but fully ſhews, either the contempt in which the ſpirit of the people was held,

held, or the reliance that was placed on their inoffenſive character, that theſe grenadiers were led by their officers, upon a ſervice ſo ſingular and alarming, without ammunition. Major Popham, upon ſome intelligence of this fatal error, and perhaps of the appearance we have mentioned, diſpatched another company of ſepoys, with ammunition, to ſupply and reinforce the firſt party; but theſe found the place already ſo entirely blocked up by armed men, and all the avenues ſo choked by multitudes of people, that they found it impoſſible to make their way through ſuch a crowd, determined as it was not to admit their paſſage.

It ſeems probable that the appearance of this party, ſerved greatly to increaſe the rage of the already inflamed multitude; who perhaps conſidered them as conveying, or being the intended executors of, the final doom of their prince; for the attack of the grenadiers in the ſquare, inſtantly commenced on their arrival. Theſe being deſtitute of their uſual means of defence, were little capable of withſtanding the weight and fury of the outrageous multitude, who burſt in like a torrent on all ſides upon them. The unfortunate party were almoſt in an inſtant cut to pieces; the wounded being left in a condition leſs enviable than the ſlain. The three Britiſh officers are ſaid to have ſold their lives dearly; they were found covered with wounds, and lying almoſt ſide by ſide. 82 ſepoys were killed on the ſpot, and 92 deſperately wounded.

It may be eaſily conceived, that the Rajah was nearly overwhelmed with terror, at the commencement of the tumult, expecting his life to be the immediate forfeit to the raſhneſs of the people. He was, however, carried off by his attendants during the confuſion, through a wicket, on the garden ſide, which led to the river; and the banks being there very ſteep, he was let down into a boat that conveyed him to the other ſide, by a number of turbans tied together. The tumultuous crowd who effected his reſcue, and who ſeemed to be equally deſtitute of judgment and leaders, looked to nothing farther than his mere eſcape, and followed him acroſs the river, in the ſame diſorder that they had before paſſed.

Lieutenant Birrel, who led that company of ſepoys, which brought up the ammunition, as the crowd decreaſed, puſhed on to the palace, where he had a ſmart ſcuffle, in which about 30 of his men were killed or wounded, in clearing it of a party of the rioters, who had loitered behind the main body. Major Popham arrived ſoon after with the remainder of his detachment, which had been encamped at about two miles diſtance; but he had only the mortification of beholding the mangled bodies of his dead and wounded ſoldiers, without its being in his power to take any vengeance of the authors of the maſſacre.

The Rajah, in his manifeſto, as well as in ſeveral of his letters to the governor general, attributes the whole outrage and miſchief that happened, to the unparalleled inſolence of an inferior officer belonging to the reſident; who

who having been formerly in his own ſervice, and being diſcharged for ſome miſdemeanor, owed him a grudge on that account, and ſeized this opportunity of his diſtreſs, to treat him in the moſt contumelious manner. That the indignation of his people being excited to madneſs, at ſeeing their prince treated in ſo ſhameful a manner, and by ſo contemptible and unworthy a wretch, a quarrel aroſe between them and the ſepoys, in which, many being killed on both ſides, the iſſue was, at length, ſuch as we have deſcribed.

Had any ſcheme of offence or reſiſtance been at all formed, or even in the contemplation of the Rajah, or without any ſuch previous ſcheme, had he only poſſeſſed common powers of political foreſight and enterprize, he could not have miſſed the opportunity which was then preſented, of ſtriking an almoſt deciſive blow to the Britiſh intereſts in India. The governor general, with about 30 Engliſh gentlemen, and a large but defenceleſs train, were lodged in a fort of villa, which was encloſed in the ſuburbs of Benares, and known by the name of Mahdoodaſs's Gardens, their whole guard conſiſting in a handful of ſepoys, not exceeding 50 or 60 in number; ſo that it was not only in the power of the prince, but even without his appearance in it, or the aid of the military, of any tumultuous aſſembly of the people, to have cut them off without difficulty. It required no great ſagacity, nor much political obſervation to enable the Rajah to perceive, that the die was already irrevocably caſt, that the means of accommodation were for ever done away, and that the moſt apparently deſperate, were then the only prudent meaſures. Whoever then reflects upon the deſperate ſtate of the Engliſh affairs at that time, will eaſily conceive that the immediate effects of ſuch a blow, given at ſuch a ſeaſon, and ſcattered as their forces were throughout every part of that vaſt continent, muſt, in the nature of things, have been nearly irrecoverable.

It is a matter of no ſmall ſurprize, and was no leſs fortunate to the governor general, as well as to the company, that the armed multitude who had reſcued Cheit Sing, and who were eſtimated at not leſs than 2,000 men, inflamed as they were by ſucceſs, and fluſhed in blood, had not, inſtead of following the Rajah, without any object in view, acroſs the river, proceeded directly to Mahdoodaſs's gardens. Their not doing ſo ſufficiently indicates, that the outrage at the palace was the mere act of the moment, without any previous concert, and without their being under the guidance of any bold or violent leaders.

The Rajah, inſtead of vigorous council and bold reſource, ſeemed entirely to ſink under the late act, and his apprehenſion of the conſequences. Wanting reſolution to determine upon the courſe he ſhould purſue, whether to place his truſt in the hope of accommodation, or to commit all to the fortune of arms, he heſitated between both, and did nothing. In ſuch a ſtate of uncertainty and trepidation, it was natural to a weak mind, to place

all ſafety in diſtance from the ſcene of danger, and to truſt to time for the recovery of that fortune, which was already loſt. He accordingly fled from Ramnagur in the middle of the ſame night, taking with him his effects, ſuch troops as were there, and ſuch of his family as were preſent; the palace being left in the cuſtody of its own ſmall ſtationary garriſon. With theſe the Rajah fled for ſhelter and refuge, to Lutteefpore, one of his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes.

Neither the late bloody cataſtrophe, nor the imminent danger to which he was perſonally expoſed, ſeem to have produced the ſmalleſt effect upon the firmneſs or reſolution of the governor general. He proceeded immediately to adminiſter the affairs, and to diſpoſe of the government of the country, as if nothing untoward had happened, and that neither reſiſtance or danger were yet to be apprehended. On the very following day, he appointed Ouſſaun Sing to the adminiſtration of the revenues and government of the country, until (as he ſays in his narrative) it ſhould be determined to whom the zemindary might legally belong, and, who might be in a capacity to receive it. This act was immediately publiſhed by proclamation through the city of Benares; and meſſengers were diſpatched with no leſs expedition, to convey circular notices of the event to all the landholders throughout the country.

At the ſame time, to ſupport meaſures ſo unexpected and aſtoniſhing to the people, and to preſerve the public tranquillity under their immediate operation, he diſpatched immediate orders to Capt. Mayaffre, who lay in the city of Mirzapore, with the reſidue of Major Popham's detachment, and to a battalion of ſepoys from Col. Blair's garriſon at Chunar, to advance without delay to the capital. He likewiſe ſent orders to Dinapore, for a regiment of ſepoys to proceed from thence, with no leſs celerity, to Benares.

It will be here neceſſary, for the better comprehenſion of ſeveral ſucceeding circumſtances, to take ſome notice of the ſituation of thoſe cities, particularly of the two firſt, which lay within the Rajah's government. They both lie up the Ganges, to the ſouth-weſt of Benares, in the direct way to Illahabad, and to other parts of the Nabob vizier's dominions. Mirzapore, is an open city; its diſtance from Benares, by a direct line acroſs the country, appears to be under forty miles; but by following the winding courſe of the river, that would probably be more than doubled. Chunar lies about mid-way between both; and is the capital of a conſiderable territory of the ſame name. This is a very important fortreſs, from its commanding one of the principal paſſes on the Ganges; and has been accordingly garriſoned by the Engliſh ever ſince the war with Sujah Ul Dowlah, in the year 1764; it being retained as a curb upon that prince and his ſucceſſors, and not upon the country of Benares, of which it compoſes a part. Dinapore lies in the oppoſite direction to theſe

cities, being a great way down the river, in the Bahar country.

The precautions taken by the governor general were fully neceſſary, for the ſtorm began now to gather amain; and that in a degree with reſpect to violence, and acceleration in point of time, which he ſeemed little to have apprehended. He had received intelligence, on which he relied, that Ramnagur had been abandoned, as we have already ſtated; but knowing the diſaffection of the people, the difficulty of the approaches through ſuch a town, and conſidering at the ſame time, the fatal conſequences of a repulſe in the preſent ſtate of things, he very prudently abſtained from hazarding Major Popham's ſmall corps upon any intelligence, and waited for the arrival of the expected ſuccours to make the attack. But on the ſecond day after the Rajah's flight, when recollection had ſome little time to operate, Ramjeewaun, a domeſtic and confidential chief of the family, arrived with a body of armed men, for the ſecurity of Ramnagur.

This unexpected circumſtance, preſenting a face of action till then unthought of, neceſſarily demanded new meaſures, and new diſpoſitions with reſpect to the coming ſuccours. Orders were accordingly diſpatched to Chunar for two mortars, Major Popham having traced a ſpot on the ſhore, directly oppoſite to Ramnagur, from whence it was expected they would play with ſuch advantage, that the clumſy ſtrength of the palace could not long withſtand their effects, and that the town itſelf would be rendered too warm, to afford any longer protection, either to Ramjeewaun's party, or to the refractory inhabitants. Orders were likewiſe ſent to the troops on their way from Mirzapore, under Capt. Mayaffre, and to the battalion from Chunar, that they ſhould proceed directly to Ramnagur; the ſtricteſt injunctions being at the ſame time laid on the officers who conducted theſe corps, that they ſhould not hazard or attempt any thing, nor even commit hoſtility; but that halting at a ſafe diſtance from the town, they ſhould keep their troops cloſe and entire, until Major Popham had taken his meaſures and the command. Theſe inſtructions were particularly enforced on Mayaffre, who being the ſenior officer, was to command the whole united body, until the arrival of Popham.

All theſe precautions were rendered fruitleſs, and the deſign not only fruſtrated, but the enterprize marked with heavy loſs and diſgrace, through the intemperate ambition, vanity and raſhneſs of Mayaffre. That officer, intoxicated by command, hoping to eſtabliſh a high military reputation, without regarding the propriety or rectitude of the means to be employed in its attainment, and deſpiſing an enemy of whom he had no knowledge, marched on directly, at the head of the united corps, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the other officers, and without reconnoitring the place, or looking for information, to the attack of Ramnagur.

The event was ſuch as the nature of the act merited; and had the author alone paid the forfeit,

the cataſtrophe might have been conſidered, as an act of retribution, juſt. His own diviſion conſiſted of four companies of ſepoys, one of artillery, and a company of French rangers.

Aug. 20th. These, and the Chunar battalion, he ſoon involved in the narrow ſtreets and winding lanes of the town, where they were fired upon in all directions, and ſlain in heaps by a ſafe and unſeen enemy. Captain Doxat, who commanded the rangers and led the attack, was himſelf, with 23 of his men, almoſt inſtantly killed, beſides a number wounded. The Chunar battalion led by Captain Blair, which bravely attempted to ſupport the attack, was not much longer in action, when 57 men lay dead, and 41 were wounded. The whole loſs of the ſeveral diviſions before they could get clear of the town, amounted to 107 killed, and 72 wounded. Captain Mayaffre had the good fortune not to ſurvive the diſgrace. The retreat was conducted by Captain Blair in a manner which gained him much applauſe; and prevented the eager purſuit of the enemy, which was continued to within four miles of Chunar, from producing any great effect.

Nothing more unfortunate could well be ſuppoſed to happen, in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, than this loſs and diſgrace. War, was in effect, from thence declared, and the whole country was inſtantly in motion. A ſucceſs, that carried ſo brilliant and flattering an appearance at its opening, could not but give confidence to the Rajah's councils, and inſpire all orders of the people with hope and reſolution. The governor general found himſelf at once unexpectedly plunged again into a ſtate of danger, ſcarcely inferior to that which he had ſo recently eſcaped. He met it with a confidence in his fortune, which is in a great meaſure peculiar to thoſe, who have been accuſtomed to encounter great difficulties, and to triumph over them. Orders were written, and diſpatched in multiplied copies to the different military ſtations, within reach, for the moſt ſpeedy aſſiſtance; to the miniſter at the Nabob vizier's court, for a ſupply of treaſure; and to Colonel Blair, for an inſtant reinforcement from Chunar. But the whole country was already in arms againſt the company; and the communications in every quarter interrupted; ſo that of the numerous meſſengers diſpatched upon this arduous occaſion, very few reached their deſtination; for being amazed and confounded at a ſcene of danger to which they had been hitherto ſtrangers, they were either detected and made priſoners through their awkard fears and confuſion, or not daring to make the attempt, ſecreted the diſpatches.

In the mean time, on the very day after the defeat of Mayaffre, ſuch preparations were making at Ramnagur for an attack upon the governor general in his quarters, that his departure from Benares not only became a matter of neceſſity, but liable to no ſmall difficulty and danger in the accompliſhment. His quarters, in Mahdoodaſs's Gardens, were ſituated in the heart of the ſuburbs of Benares, conſiſting of many detached buildings within one large encloſure, and the whole ſurrounded in ſuch a manner by houſes

houſes and trees, as to intercept all outward proſpect. His whole force, including the remains of that diviſion of Major Popham's detachment which were immediately with him, amounted only to about 450 men; and were inſufficient to man the defences, ſuch as they were, even for one attack. It was therefore abſolutely neceſſary to get out of ſo wretched and confined a ſituation, into ſome open and fair ground, where the troops might at leaſt oppoſe their enemy upon equal terms. Nor did this point even, if they met with any oppoſition, ſeem eaſily to be gained, as well from the perplexed and difficult paſſages, which led through the ſuburbs into the country, as from their being incumbered with a vaſt quantity of baggage, and with a great train of defenceleſs people.

On the other hand, to theſe ſtrong motives for abandoning Benares, were to be oppoſed the diſgrace of a flight, to a perſon of the rank, authority and character of the governor general, the confidence which it would give to the enemy, and the encouragement and ſtrength to rebellion; but above all, the cruel neceſſity which it would induce, of abandoning the poor wounded and faithful ſepoys to the mercy of an enemy, from whom, in the uſual courſe of things, little was to be expected.

The former conſideration yielded to the danger and neceſſity of the caſe; and with reſpect to the wounded ſepoys, as they were lodged in a remote part of the town or ſuburbs, at near a mile's diſtance, and incapable of removal, the impoſſibility of protecting them, if the troops had even been equal to their own defence, was evident.

As a great number of boats were collected, and every preparation at Ramnagur directed to an immediate attack on that very night, no time was to be loſt, and the retreat was accordingly commenced ſoon after duſk. By this ſudden departure, notwithſtanding the crowd of people, and the intolerable baggage with which they were incumbered, the troops had the fortune to get clear of the ſuburbs (where any attack upon them would have been attended with the greateſt danger) without moleſtation. As ſoon as they had formed in the open country, they purſued their courſe to Chunar, where they arrived in the morning; having brought back with them the battalion of ſepoys which Colonel Blair had diſpatched to their aſſiſtance, and which they unexpectedly met by the way, having ſcarcely a hope, that the expreſſes ſent for the purpoſe had reached that place.

Before the governor general's departure from Benares, he had ſent a meſſage to the Nabob Saadut Ally Cawn, (of whom we have no other knowledge, than that from his name and titles he muſt have been a Mahometan, and a perſon of conſideration, and that it appears, he had been repreſented to Mr. Haſtings, as having a great ſhare in fomenting the preſent troubles) to requeſt he would take the wounded ſepoys into his care and protection; a requeſt which he repeated by a letter from Chunar. But Saadut Ally did not wait to be aſked a ſecond time,

moſt faithfully and religiouſly to diſcharge the truſt repoſed in him; he had immediately viſited the ſepoys in perſon, furniſhed them with proviſions and with money, employed native ſurgeons to attend them, and as they became individually able to bear it, had them inſtantly removed to his own quarters. This will appear the more meritorious and generous, when it is conſidered, that the company's credit was then ſo entirely ſunk, and its affairs deemed to be ſo irretrievably ruined, that it was by an exertion little ſhort of force, that Colonel Blair was able to extort from the bankers of Chunar, who had lived and grown rich under the protection of the Engliſh garriſon, a ſmall loan, not much exceeding three hundred pounds ſterling, although the money was to ſupply the immediate and indiſpenſible neceſſities of the troops, and that the preſence of the governor general in the town, might be ſuppoſed to give weight and ſanction to ſuch an application.

The conduct of Benaram Pundit, the Maratta miniſter from the Rajah of Berar to the court of Benares, was no leſs diſtinguiſhable upon this occaſion; and whether it may be attributed to national attachment, to a ſenſe of public faith and honour, or even to private regard, is not wholly undeſerving of notice; and the more particularly as it may tend, along with many other incidents which we have heretofore related of their conduct, in ſome degree to illuſtrate the character of that extraordinary people.

This envoy, and his brother, having come to pay a cuſtomary evening viſit at Mahdoodaſs's Gardens, arrived there at the very inſtant of the diſorder and confuſion which prevailed upon the ſudden departure of the troops. They proceeded with them out of town, and were continuing the march with them on the way to Chunar, when they were diſcovered, without a ſingle attendant, and on foot in the crowd, by the governor general, who was aſtoniſhed on diſcovering their determination to proceed all the way in that condition. It is to be obſerved, that from his time of life, ſtate of health, and corpulence of body, Benaram Pundit ſeemed very unequal to the fatigue of ſuch a march. Without regard, however, to the arguments and remonſtrances uſed to diſſuade him from the deſign, particularly the danger to which he might thereby expoſe the large family he left behind, he ſtill perſevered in his reſolution; and accordingly proceeded with his brother on the march to Chunar, where they continued, until the troubles were ſo far ſubſided as to enable the governor general to return to Benares. It ſhould be recorded, whether to the honour of the police of that city, or more properly to the civilized manners and excellent diſpoſition of the inhabitants, that the ſmalleſt injury or inſult was not offered to the family of the Maratta miniſter during his long abſence, though upon an occaſion, and in a ſeaſon, ſo capable of exciting popular indignation. The generoſity of Benaram Pundit afterwards, in offering, without application, to the governor general, all the ready money he was in poſſeſſion of, amounting to a lack

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of rupees in silver, at a time when the former wanted credit and money for the mere support of his family and table, did not seem necessary to finish the picture, or to give the highest colouring to the former transaction. Such circumstances indeed are no small relief to the mind, when they intervene in the midst of scenes of calamity, blood, and cruelty.

Previous to the departure of the governor general from Benares, he received a letter from the Rajah, which, notwithstanding his situation and danger, procured so little attention, that he neither recollects its date, nor the time of its delivery; he states in general, that it was "filled with expressions of slight concern for what "had passed, and professions, but "indefinite and unapplied, of "fidelity. I did not (he says) "think it becoming to make any "reply to it, and I think I ordered the bearer of the letter to "be told it required none."

Notwithstanding this repulse, on the very morning after the defeat of Mayaffre at Ramnagur, application was made by an agent of the Rajah's to one of the English gentlemen, for his interposition with the governor general, to receive a letter and messenger in the evening from the Rajah, with proposals for an accommodation. We are not informed of the answer made to this proposal; but it would seem, that the governor general was determined to consider these applications, both now and at all times after, as the mere artifices of treachery, intended only to deceive and to gain time. However this opinion was founded, the continued repetition of them, will not increase our opinion of the Rajah's political sagacity, nor knowledge of mankind.

The former, however, acquiesced in another proposal made on the same day, that Contoo Bauboo, his dewan or treasurer, should receive a message from the Rajah, and confer upon its subject, with Mirza Abdoola Beg, his vakeel or envoy. This meeting and conference, which did not take place until after the retreat from Benares, produced no effect. The purport of the Rajah's message, was to exculpate himself from all concern in the outrage and massacre committed in his palace, which he attributed entirely, as he did upon all occasions, to the insolence of Mr. Markham's servant, which provoked the resentment of his own people, and concluding with professions of his obedience and submission to the governor general's will, in whatever way he should himself choose to dictate.

While the governor general had already enough on his hands to occupy all his attention, he found himself involved in a new embarrassment, which in the present crisis was not a little distressing. This was the approach of the Nabob vizier, who having originally intended, as a mark of respect, if not of homage, to meet him at Benares, had set out from his capital for that purpose; and instead of being deterred by the present state of affairs, he had actually used the greater expedition in his journey upon that account. Nothing could be more perplexing than his arrival at this time. He was to be received and treated as a friend, at the same time that there were strong reasons for suspecting

pecting him to be an enemy. His weak and diſſipated character, and his being of courſe in the hands of a ſet of profligate favourites, by whom he was entirely governed, left but little room for any confidence in his honour, or truſt in the fidelity of his engagements. But along with theſe doubts and ſuſpicions, which were well to be founded upon his perſonal character, there were actual matters with reſpect to his immediate conduct, which afforded much room for alarm. His whole dominions were already in a ſtate of commotion and diſorder, and the little attention which he paid to the violence and outrage of the people, looked as if theſe acts had met with his countenance and approbation.

For no ſooner had the rebellion manifeſted itſelf in Benares, than the contagion ſpread through all the neighbouring countries under his government. And it was particularly obſervable, and ſerved to increaſe all the ſuſpicions with reſpect to his own deſigns, that it raged in none with ſo much violence, as in thoſe which were under the influence of the princeſſes, his mother and grandmother, who are uſually diſtinguiſhed under the appellation of the Begums of Oude. Theſe ladies, who reſided at Fyzabad, on the river Dewa, the ſecond capital of his dominions, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of Cheit Sing; and not only publicly encouraged and invited men to enliſt in his ſervice, but ſuffered their own immediate ſervants to join in attacking the Engliſh troops. Their example and influence, correſponding with the diſpoſition of the people, produced ſuch inſtantaneous effects, that not only the city of Fyzabad, and the adjoining country, but thoſe extenſive territories on the other ſide of the Dewa, which, under the name of Gooruckpore and Burriage, ſtretch to the feet of the northern mountains, were every where in arms, and in declared hoſtility to the company. Lieut. Colonel Hannay, with two battalions of regular ſepoys, which he commanded in the Nabob's ſervice, had the charge of Fyzabad, and the countries in that quarter committed to his care. Theſe troops were repeatedly attacked, ſurrounded, and many of them cut to pieces; their commander being himſelf ſo hard preſſed and encompaſſed, that he narrowly eſcaped the ſame fate.

As we have mentioned the Begums of Oude, it may not be entirely unneceſſary to obſerve, that women of that rank and condition, frequently poſſeſs great wealth, popularity, and influence in India; for that, through the opportunities afforded by weak reigns and minorities, along with their being freed by ſituation from the cuſtomary reſtraints of the ſex, they are not ſeldom enabled to take a great ſhare in the appointment of miniſters, and the direction of public affairs; and their power appearing only in the moſt pleaſing and popular parts of its exerciſe, they generally acquire great weight and confidence with the people, and are much beloved by them.

Along with all thoſe circumſtances of public notoriety, which concurred in rendering the Nabob's viſit exceedingly perplexing, repeated intimations were given

given to the governor general, cautioning him to guard againſt private treachery; and he was particularly warned not to viſit him, without ſo ſtrong a guard as would be fully competent to the ſecurity of his perſon. It will ever be found, that thoſe countries which are in the unhappy circumſtances attending a precarious government, and holding out, like India, vaſt temptations of power and wealth, to ariſe from proſcriptions, forfeitures, and the ruin of great individuals, will likewiſe abound with ſecret criminal charge, and with dark, malignant inſinuation.

At the ſame time that ſo many concurring cauſes could not fail of producing their effect in operating upon the mind of Mr. Haſtings with reſpect to this viſit, he was not inſenſible to the credit and advantage, which, in the preſent fallen ſtate of affairs, the preſence and authority of the Nabob might communicate, if he were really a friend; nor that his troops (rabble though they were) would ſerve to keep the country in awe, and to divide the attention of the enemy. But even in this view of things, he did not approve of the viſit. He conſidered, that ſuch ſervice or obligation, would invert the nature of their alliance and mutual relation, and give the Nabob a ſuperiority at their meeting, which would defeat its purpoſes; nor did he think it conſiſtent with the dignity of the Engliſh government, to employ a foreign aid for the ſuppreſſion of a rebellion of its own ſubjects.

He therefore endeavoured by letter to diſſuade the Nabob from the farther proſecution of his journey, requeſting that he would return to Lucknow, and there wait his own arrival, which would be as ſoon as the preſent diſturbances would afford leiſure for that purpoſe. The Nabob, however, underſtanding the difficulties and dangers in which the governor general was involved, determined to ſeize that opportunity of giving a proof of his zeal and attachment by proceeding on his way with the greater expedition; while the former, willing to remove any ideas of diſtruſt which might be excited by the preceding letter, ſent another, returning his acknowledgments for ſo kind an attention. It appears that the greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between them during the whole time they were together.

In the mean time, the commotion in Benares operated as a ſignal to all the adjoining countries, and the flame ſeemed ſpreading on every ſide. Independent of the dominions of Oude, one half of which were in a ſtate of actual rebellion or reſiſtance to the company, a great part of their own province of Bahar was convulſed in ſcarcely a leſs degree. Many of the landholders not only ſhewed the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of diſaffection, but things were carried to ſuch an extreme, that levies of men were openly made there for the enemy. Hutteh Shaw, a chief on that ſide, being ſupported by Cheit Sing with money, had actually commenced a war, by laying claim to and invading the Sarun Sircar, one of the great diviſions of that extenſive province, and the right to which had not before been queſtioned ſince the acceſ-

accceſſion of the company to the whole. But their ruin now was conſidered as being ſo inevitable, that the moſt petty chiefs and inſignificant towns, eager to graſp at ſome ſhare of the ſpoil, either laid claims which never before were heard of, or ſeized upon ſuch villages and ſmall diſtricts as were within their reach without any claim at all. And while the company's affairs were in this ſtate of confuſion and danger, the communications were ſo entirely cut off, that the governor general was kept in a ſtate of almoſt total ignorance at Chunar, both with reſpect to what was paſſing in the adjoining countries, and the ſucceſs or failure of the various expreſſes which he had diſpatched to different parts for aſſiſtance.

It was probably during this ſeaſon of inaction that Cheit Sing publiſhed his manifeſto, which was addreſſed to the Rajahs and native chiefs or princes of India. In this piece he gives a narrative of his father's conduct and of his own, of the treatment which he had himſelf experienced, of the cauſes and motives which led to the preſent troubles, and he calls upon them, as in a common cauſe againſt a common enemy, to join in chacing away thoſe rapacious ſtrangers, who were the authors of ſuch numberleſs calamities to their country. This manifeſto, is a plain ſimple piece of writing, entirely free from thoſe gorgeous ornaments which ſo frequently load and disfigure the eaſtern ſtile, but at the ſame time ſo exceedingly pathetic, that it could not fail of going home to the feelings of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. After ſtating his attachment and fidelity, he complains that, notwithſtanding, envious of the proſperity and riches of his country, he had been continually harraſſed by pretended crimes, and forged calumnies, meanly forged, in order to extort money in atonement of them, and to compel him to purchaſe patronage and protection.—On this ſubject he ſays, "every "complaint has been heard a-"gainſt, and every wretch en-"couraged to miſrepreſent me."

It is remarkable, that the charge of miſgovernment, which had been laid againſt him, and of violence, robberies, and murthers being authorized or tolerated in his dominions, ſeems to have particularly touched and affected the Rajah; and his ſenſibility upon this occaſion leads him away from his immediate ſubject, and affords the means for his laying before us a moſt curious picture of the ſtate of his own country before the troubles, contraſted with that, which he likewiſe preſents, of thoſe extenſive dominions which were under the immediate government of the company. We are little qualified to judge of the truth of theſe repreſentations, or of the degree of colouring with which they may be charged, but the one preſents ſo new and intereſting a picture of human felicity, and the other ſo many objects of reflection and obſervation, that if they had been purely ideal, we could ſcarcely refrain from endeavouring to preſerve them.

The Rajah, in vindication of his government, ſays, "Look to my "diſtricts, look to theirs! Do not "the different pictures they pre-"ſent to you mark the limits of "them more than the bounda-

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"ries which nature itſelf has "drawn out? My fields are cul- "tivated, my villages are full of "inhabitants, my country is a "garden, and my ſubjects are "happy. My capital is the re- "ſort of the principal merchants "of India, from the ſecurity I "have given to property. The "treaſures from the Marattas, "the Jaits, and the Saiks, and "the moſt diſtant nations of India, "are depoſited here. Here the "orphans and the widows convey "their property, and reſide here "without fear of rapacity and "avarice. The traveller, from "one end of my country to the "other, lays down his burthen "and ſleeps in ſecurity. Look to "the provinces of the company! "there famine and miſery ſtalk "hand in hand through unculti- "vated fields and deſerted vil- "lages. There you meet with "nothing but aged men, who "are not able to tranſport them- "ſelves away, or robbers watch- "ing to way-lay their helpleſſ- "neſs. When any of the ſervants "of the Engliſh have paſſed thro' "my country, every kindneſs "has been ſhewn them, and all "their wants ſupplied; even their "very coolies have had their bur- "thens taken off and carried for "them, and paſſed on from vil- "lage to village. When any of "theſe gentlemen travelled thro' "my country, my officers have "attended them to know their "wants, ſupplied them with ne- "ceſſary proviſion and carriage at "my expence, and performed all "their orders as if they were my "own. Let any of them be aſk- "ed, if they met with ſuch treat- "ment in the countries under "the company's management? "Were they not almoſt conti- "nually robbed, and in danger "of their lives."

Such was the ſeducing repreſentation of his country, and of the ſtate of his people, which was at this time given by the Rajah Cheit Sing.

The fortreſs of Chunar, which now afforded a ſecure aſylum to the governor general, is ſituated on the ſouth ſhore of the Ganges. The principal force of the enemy was aſſembled at a town called Pateetah, lying about ſeven miles to the ſouthward of Chunar, and in the direct way to the noted paſs of Suckroot, and the ſtrong fort of Lutteefpore. Major Popham's regiment, with what force could be ſpared from the garriſon of Chunar, were formed into a detachment under his command, and encamped about a mile from the town on the way to the enemy.

Towards the end of the month, Lieutenant Polhill arrived from Illahabad, with ſix companies of ſepoys belonging to the Nabob vizier's body life-guard; and was ordered to encamp on the oppoſite ſhore of the river, in order to keep the communication on that ſide open. In two days after the arrival of this officer, he unexpectedly attacked, and eaſily defeated a conſiderable body of the enemy, who were ſtationed, under the command of a principal chief of the country, at a ſmall fort and town called Seeker, which lay within ſight of Chunar. A conſiderable booty in grain, an article which was then exceedingly wanted, was Aug. 27th.

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the principal reward as well as object of this enterprize.

The vicinity of the enemy, who lay without motion, and seemingly without object or design at Pateetah, could not but prove an incessant and painful spur to the enterprizing spirit of Major Popham. He accordingly detached Captain Blair, with his Chunar battalion, and two companies of his own grenadiers, to surprize their camp at that place.

Sept. 3d. The detachment marched at three in the morning, and arrived at the ground by day-light, but to their astonishment found the camp abandoned, and the enemy in complete order, waiting their attack about a mile beyond it. Though this was a stile of acting little to be expected from such raw troops and inexperienced commanders, yet the firmness with which they stood a severe and bloody action was still more extraordinary They fought with such zeal and intrepidity, that the sepoys, seasoned as they were, and doubly fortified by mechanical and natural courage, were at length thrown into disorder, and it seemed as if all was over; but at that critical instant, the spirited and admirably timed attack made by the Lieutenants Fallon and Birrell, at the head of the two companies of grenadiers, upon the enemy's cannon, suddenly turned the fortune of the day, and left the field, and four guns, in the possession of the company's troops. The guns were very old and bad; but they were so well served as to excite admiration, and the apparatus for the artillery was modern and excellent.

This success was dearly purchased by Captain Blair's party, who had 48 men killed, and 85 wounded, being about one fourth of their whole number. It was, however, a victory; and produced its effect as such, in serving to dispirit one side, and to restore that confidence to the other, which the affair at Ramnagur had rendered necessary.

The governor general had written early for assistance to Colonel Morgan, who commanded far up the Ganges at Cawnpore, in the Vizier's dominions; and as the danger increased, he dispatched a second express to that officer, requiring him to follow the detachment (which was then supposed to be far advanced on its way) with his whole force, and enclosing an order to Sir John Cumming, who commanded at Futtehgur, to supply Morgan's place at Cawnpore. Though the expresses did not arrive in time, the vigilant zeal, and the comprehensive judgment of Colonel Morgan, were sufficient to supply the defect of instructions. Reports of the dangerous state of affairs in Benares having reached him, he at once considered the failure of official intelligence and instruction, as a proof that the communications were interrupted; and conceiving what orders were likely to be sent in such circumstances, he determined to act as if they had been received.

So spirited a conception of duty, was not liable to be rendered abortive by any narrowness in the measure of the supply. He dispatched a very effective force to the aid of the governor general, consisting of two regiments of sepoys,

sepoys, (which may probably be estimated at four battalions) of 30 European artillery men, and two companies of European infantry; besides four six pounders, one howitz, with tumbrils, ammunition, draft and carriage cattle, and every other provision necessary for active service. Major Crabbe was appointed to the command of this powerful and exceedingly well provided detachment; which, in the same spirit that fixed its destination, was ordered, for the greater expedition, to proceed by water down the Ganges. The zeal of the officers corresponded so well with the design and wishes of the colonel, that though the resolution was only taken on the 29th, the whole party was embarked and on its way, the 31st of August.

On the 10th of September, early in the morning, Major Crabbe, with his detachment, appeared on the shore opposite to Chunar. He had been much retarded on his course to Illahabad by strong adverse winds; and finding that these still continued, and that the course of the river from thence was besides extremely winding, he disembarked both men and stores and proceeded the rest of the way by land. On the following day, the Nabob vizier arrived and encamped on the same side of the river, where he continued during the time of his stay; and in two days after, Major Roberts, who had been sent with his regiment to Lucknow, to serve as a guard to the governor general's person during his intended visit in that capital and country, arrived from thence with the troops; and bringing with him what was more wanted even than their aid, the very welcome supply of a lack of rupees in silver. This was soon followed by another supply of money, though to a less amount, from the Vizier's receiver at Illahabad.

It was now evident, to all who had only a moderate knowledge of military affairs, that the fate of the Rajah, Cheit Sing, was finally decided. Major Popham had now under his immediate command, (exclusive of the garrison of Chunar) four complete regiments, and one battalion of sepoys, being all seasoned, tried, and excellent troops; he had along with these three European companies, of which one were grenadiers, one light infantry, and the third French Rangers; and he had besides, six companies of the Nabob's body guards, under Lieutenant Polhill, and 30 European artillery men. These were led by officers who had not only seen much service, but who were already highly distinguished for enterprize and action; the subalterns were equal to commands, and among the principal commanders were some of the best in the company's service. To this force in hand, was to be added the hourly expectation of farther and considerable reinforcements from different quarters; a circumstance which never fails to increase the present energy in action. Such troops, so commanded, would probably have little to apprehend in the field from any native force that could be collected in India, Hyder Ally and the Marattas being only left out of the estimate.

To oppose to these, besides

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7690 regular and irregular troops of his eſtabliſhment, the Rajah, Cheit Sing, had a numerous, ill armed, and undiſciplined rabble, including almoſt every order of men in India, haſtily collected by different chiefs in the neighbouring parts, as well as in the country, under the various denominations of ſword-men, pike-men, matchlock-men, and others, of ſimilar value, though leſs intelligible, and probably worſe provided, and led by commanders as ignorant of every kind of military ſervice as they were themſelves. Even among the troops of the Rajah's eſtabliſhment, no leſs than 1,800 were matchlock-men; and there was not a man on his ſide who could be conſidered as a ſoldier. As fear and ignorance always place their confidence in numbers, ſo the diſorder and confuſion of this heterogeneous crowd was ſtill farther increaſed, by the junction of many thouſands of huſbandmen and labourers, who, inſtigated by zeal or the hope of plunder, caught up ſuch weapons as they could lay their hands on, and were eagerly received as freſh additions of ſtrength.

The Rajah himſelf, ſo far as may be judged from what appears of his character, ſeems to have been totally deſtitute of every talent or quality fitting for war. So far as can be gathered from Mr. Haſtings's account of him, he ſeems to have been a weak, pliant, good-natured, inexperienced prince, who was eaſily led to any thing by thoſe about him, and who had been involved in the preſent troubles, through the raſh and ambitious councils of his brother, Shujan Sing, and of Saddanund, his favourite, and prime miniſter, who had ſome time before been his envoy at Calcutta.

But however violent theſe councils might have been, the Rajah himſelf ſeems to have anxiouſly endeavoured, if that had been poſſible, to accommodate matters. He accordingly, notwithſtanding the failure of his former attempts for that purpoſe, renewed his applications to the governor general upon the ſubject, during that ſeaſon of inaction which ſucceeded his retreat to Chunar, as well by a variety of letters directly from himſelf, as by others, written under his immediate direction, by Mr. Barnet, and Contoo Baboo, who were held priſoners by him at Lutteefpore.

Some of theſe letters were preſerved, and others, ſaid to be loſt. The governor general obſerves that they were all alike in ſubſtance; that they contained acknowledgments and profeſſions of ſubmiſſion, aſſertions of his own innocence, particularly with reſpect to the maſſacre at the palace, which he was utterly incapable of preventing, and a claim of merit, founded upon his having in each of the three paſt actions borne the ſuffering part, though in all ſucceſsful, and his having in no inſtance been the aggreſſor; and that they all concluded with general offers of accommodation. That the letters which were written, either under his direction, or by his order, contained a pompous diſplay of his inexhauſtible wealth, of the multitude and bravery of his troops, and the devoted affection and fidelity of all his ſubjects. The governor general perſevered in

in his refusal to answer any of his letters; but took care to let him know, that they were written with too much presumption, in a stile of equality; and that they contained inapplicable professions of no value.

The passion for the preservation of his wealth operated so strongly upon the Rajah, that he seemed blind to all other considerations, and equally incapable of consulting his reason, or of listening to his fears.

It was intended to commence the military operations with the attack of Ramnagur, partly from its having been the late scene of disgrace, partly with a view to the refractoriness of the inhabitants, who had been the first authors of mischief, and above all, as its capture would be the means of gaining possession of the capital without blood or difficulty, whereby the credit and character of the company being restored in the public opinion, and the Rajah cut off from the seat and sources of government, his forces would soon dwindle, and his fortresses fall of course. Battering cannon and mortars were accordingly ordered to Major Popham's camp, and the necessary preparations made for a siege.

But it was destined that a native of the country should point out a shorter and easier way to conquest, than had yet, or could otherwise have been thought of. A man, named Bundoo Cawn, a native and inhabitant of Chunar, where he had a wife and large family, had, since the troubles commenced, given some instances of an extraordinary attachment to the English. For he had voluntarily and gratuitously accompanied Captain Blair, in the two expeditions which he had undertaken with the Chunar battalion, first to the attack of Ramnagur, and afterwards to surprize the enemy's camp at Pateetah; and on both occasions, his accurate knowledge of the ground and country, and his advice in the application of that knowledge, were of great use to that officer.

This man gave information to the commanders, that as the Rajah's forces were principally collected at Lutteefpore and Pateetah, and were daily accumulating, it would become exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable, to dislodge him, if he were allowed much longer time to strengthen himself, in grounds and posts already so strong, and so exceedingly difficult of access. He observed, that though the walls of Pateetah, and the defences of its fort, might appear of little moment, considered merely as fortifications, yet from the peculiar situation of that large town, the nearness of Lutteefpore, at its back, and the fresh forces with which the Rajah could constantly supply the defence, it would be found a matter of no small difficulty or loss, to carry it even at present; and if that point was gained, it could answer no purpose, as it could not possibly be retained, while Lutteefpore continued in the hands of the enemy. The next object then must be the reduction of that fortress; but it was unassailable on that side; and it could not be invested or attacked on the other, while the enemy were in possession of the impracticable pass of Suckroot,

which lay at its back in the gorge of the mountains; and which beſides kept the communications open for reinforcements and ſupplies of every kind, as well as a free and direct intercourſe with the ſtrong fortreſs of Bidjeygur, where the means of ſupporting the war, the Rajah's treaſures, were depoſited.

When he had thus ſtated the almoſt inſuperable difficulties which barred the way againſt all obvious attempts upon the Rajah, in his preſent ſituation, this ſingular guide, who ſeemed to unite in himſelf the qualities and intelligence of a topographer, engineer, and general, proceeded to ſhew the means by which they might be evaded or overcome. He propoſed that the main part of the army ſhould carry on its approaches in front, and in the uſual forms, againſt Pateetah; and that while it was thus engaged, and the whole attention of the enemy naturally directed to the attack and defence on that ſide, a diviſion of the moſt active troops, which was previouſly and ſecretly to take its departure by night, ſhould, under his guidance, and freed from all incumbrances, by a long circuitous march of ſeveral days through the woods and mountains, come round in ſuch a manner to the back of the paſs at Suckroot, that the defences of the enemy being foiled, or turned againſt themſelves, it would fall without difficulty into their hands; the conſequences of which muſt be, either that they ſhould immediately abandon their faſtneſſes at Lutteeſpore and Pateetah, or be ſhut up in them to certain deſtruction. Bundoo Cawn ſhewed ſo much knowledge of the ſubject, and ſuch an aſſured confidence in the facility and ſucceſs of the enterprize, upon the iſſue of which he ſtaked his perſon and family, that Major Popham, equally convinced of his ſincerity and of the propriety of his advice, at once adopted the ſcheme.

The only motive aſſigned by Bundoo Cawn, beſides general attachment, whether for the proffered or the paſt ſervices, was the intereſt and ſecurity of his large family, whoſe ſituation, from that circumſtance, ſeems to have been in ſome manner connected with the garriſon of Chunar. To aſſure his fidelity, and to give him the greater intereſt in the enterprize, a jaghire, or eſtate, in perpetuity to himſelf and his family, was promiſed, as the prize and reward of ſucceſs.

In purſuance of this ſcheme, the cannon and mortars intended for the ſiege of Ramnagur were now directed to that of Pateetah; and Major Crabbe, with his own regiment of ſepoys, being the 7th, the firſt battalion of the 6th, and the ſix companies of the Vizier's guards, under Pollhill, with four ſix pounders, and a five-and-half-inch howitz, were deſtined to the new enterprize. Theſe troops being told off, took their departure from the camp, with all the ſecrecy ſuch a circumſtance could admit of, about 11 o'clock at night, on the 15th of September; and at three in the morning, Major Popham advanced with the main body to the attack of Pateetah.

He found the works of this place much ſtronger, and the approaches more hazardous, than

they had been repreſented; the extenſive earthen walls of the town, were of ſuch a thickneſs as to be proof to his artillery, and the ſmall ſtone fort was covered by ſituation from their effect. After four days ineffectual effort, he grew apprehenſive, that this unexpected failure on his ſide, would tend to the overthrow of the enterprize under Major Crabbe, on the other. Major Popham accordingly determined to attempt the place by ſtorm on the fifth morning. A mode of proceeding which will ſeldom fail of ſucceſs againſt raw and undiſciplined troops. The ſtorming party was led by Major Roberts, who, after a ſlight reſiſtance at the outer entrenchment, threw the enemy into ſuch irretrievable diſorder that they fled on all ſides, and the town and fort were almoſt inſtantly abandoned. A body of the enemy had made a weak and ineffective attack on the camp during this time; but were eaſily repulſed, and not without loſs to themſelves.

Sept. 20th.

Nothing could have been more timely, and more ruinous to the enemy, than this attack and ſucceſs. For it happened that Major Crabbe, after leading his diviſion ſo long through ways which ſeemed impracticable, and which would have been found ſo, if it had not been for the aſſiſtance of Bundoo Cawn, arrived on that very morning at a village in the mountains called Lora, which lies within about two miles of the paſs of Suckroot. Here he found a body of the enemy, who, without any intelligence, or even ſuſpicion of the march of his detachment, were entrenched, with three guns, for the ſecurity of the paſs on that ſide. Major Crabbe attacked the enemy with ſuch vigour, that notwithſtanding a firm reſiſtance, they were defeated, purſued, and driven through the paſs, of which he took immediate poſſeſſion.

The runaways from Lora and from Pateetah, arrived at Lutteefpore at the ſame inſtant, and the general diſmay and confuſion which they ſpread, fully equalled whatever could have been expected from ſuch troops and ſuch commanders. The Rajah himſelf, aſtoniſhed, confounded, and overwhelmed with terror, at the perſonal danger, in which he was ſo ſuddenly, and to him unaccountably involved, giving every thing elſe up for loſt, thought of nothing but the means of eſcaping from the toils with which he ſeemed to be ſurrounded. The paſs of Suckroot was ſhut up on his back, and Major Popham's army, with Pateetah in their poſſeſſion, were cloſing him in front. Flight was the only refuge; but what road or paſſage could be ſuppoſed free from an enemy, who had already penetrated the innermoſt receſſes of the mountains?

There was, however, no time for heſitation; the attempt muſt be made at all events. The paſs was his direct way to Bidjeygur, which was the only place of refuge now left. As that was ſhut up, the Rajah, on the ſame day, with a few of the beſt mounted, or moſt attached of his followers, departed from Lutteefpore, and taking a circuit through the mountains, recovered the road a few

few miles beyond the pafs. The diſorderly crowd he left behind, being now without union or command, only waited to pillage Lutteefpore of whatever they could carry away, and then diſperſed on all ſides; every man providing as well as he could for his own ſafety, without farther care or conſideration. The many thouſands of the country militia, and of the volunteer huſbandmen, who had flocked to join the Rajah, now returned as faſt as they could to their reſpective homes, and reſumed their wonted occupations, as if nothing had been the matter.

Never was revolution more rapid. Within, not many hours, the whole country aſſumed as peaceable an appearance, as if no war had prevailed, nor even diſturbance happened. Ramnagur, where the enemy had a conſiderable force, and the fort of Sutteeſſgur, which lay ſeveral miles from Lutteefpore in another direction, were both abandoned on that very evening; and a full ſubmiſſion to the company was every where eſtabliſhed. The Nabob vizier now returned to his own country; where his preſence, if he was capable of reſtoring order and government, was ſufficiently wanted. The governor general proceeded firſt to Ramnagur, and from thence to the peaceable city of Benares, which wore its uſual face of tranquillity.

In order to quiet the minds of the people, and to render the tranquillity perfect, he iſſued a proclamation, offering pardon to all who ſhould peaceably return to their obedience; the Rajah, with his brother, Shujan Sing, and a town, named Goſſe Gunge, being alone excepted from the benefit of this pardon. That town was excepted, on account of a barbarous murder committed there on two ſoldiers during the troubles; and to render the example terrible both now and hereafter, it was entirely deſtroyed.

The governor general then proceeded to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the government; and the male line being now cut off, by the excluſion of Cheit Sing and his brother, and he not thinking it would be prudent, to put the ſubmiſſion of the people to the teſt of a new ſpecies of dominion, he determined that the next lineal heir to Bulwant Sing, ſhould ſucceed in the rajahſhip. This ſucceſſor, named Bauboo Mehipnarain, was a grandſon of Bulwant Sing's, by a daughter married to Doorgbijey Sing; the father and mother were both living; and the young Rajah's being under age, certainly did not leſſen his eligibility as an object of choice to the ſucceſſion, at the ſame time that his claim in point of blood was ſuch as to afford ſatisfaction to the people. To ſupply the place of years and experience, his father, Doorgbijey Sing, under the title of naib, was endowed with the ſole management of public affairs. The ſucceſſion being thus fixed, a new and very advantageous ſettlement with reſpect to the tribute or revenue, was concluded by the governor general with the new Rajah, and and his guardian or miniſter, they having agreed to pay the company a perpetual rent of four millions of rupees, or about half a million ſterling a year. So that the

the company have gained a ſtanding revenue of about 200,000l. a year, by the conteſt with Cheit Sing, independent of their claim on the ready-money ſpoil, which was ſeized by the army. It is obſervable, if not remarkable, that no notice whatever was taken of Ouſſaun Sing, in this final arrangement.

In two days after the flight of the Rajah from Lutteefpore, the 28th regiment of ſepoys from Dinapore, under the conduct of Major Crawford, accompanied by a body of cavalry, joined the army. The tide of fortune being now turned, ſucceſs crowned the company's arms on every ſide. In the Vizier's country, Major Naylor, having marched with the 23d regiment of ſepoys to the relief of Colonel Hannay, who had been long encloſed, and reduced to great ſtreights by a tumultuous armed force on the northern banks of the Dewa, he totally defeated and diſperſed that multitude, and quelled the revolt in that country. On the ſide of Bahar, another regiment under Major Lucas, no leſs effectually defeated Futty Shaw, and drove him entirely out of the Sarun Sircar. And during this tide of ſucceſs, as if it had been to give the greater eclat to the governor general, and to ſhew the ſuperiority of his fortune, a ſeparate peace, and treaty of alliance and friendſhip, was concluded by Colonel Muir with Madajee Scindia. An event, in the precarious and doubtful ſtate of the company's affairs at that time, which may be conſidered among the moſt fortunate that could poſſibly have happened.

Oct. 13th, 1781.

In the mean time, as ſoon as the neceſſary preparations for a difficult ſiege could be compaſſed, Major Popham advanced with the army in purſuit of the Rajah to Bidjeygur. This place, the envied depoſitary of his father's treaſures and of his own, lies not far from the frontiers, and about fifty miles to the ſouth-eaſt of Chunar. The fort is erected on the ſolid rock of a hill, which riſes to the perpendicular height of 745 feet above the level of the adjoining country; and was reckoned, next to Gualier, among the ſtrongeſt in India; being conſidered, like that, as impregnable. The Rajah, however, did not think the ſtrength of the one any ſecurity againſt the conqueror of the other.

That unfortunate prince accordingly, without venturing to wait for Major Popham's near approach, abandoned the fort, and his country, probably for ever; leaving behind him a great part of thoſe treaſures which coſt him ſo dearly, and that honour, in the perſons of his women, which he had ſo highly eſtimated; himſelf flying a wretched fugitive for protection to ſtrangers, who were in no condition to afford it without imminent danger to themſelves. He did not neglect to take with him all the treaſure which the elephants and camels in his immediate poſſeſſion were capable of carrying; being, it was ſaid, one lack of mohrs or gold rupees, and ſixteen lacks in ſilver, amounting to about 375,000l. beſides jewels, to a

ſuppoſed great, but unknown value. His wife and mother, (the former of whom is deſcribed by Mr. Haſtings as a woman of an amiable character) with all the other women of his family, and ſuch of the deſcendants of Bulwant Sing as ſtill adhered to him, were left behind in the fort, with the remainder of his treaſures, and a ſufficient garriſon.

Major Popham's troops did not want ſo powerful an incentive as the treaſures encloſed in the fortreſs, to induce vigour in their attacks; though the proſpect of ſuch a prize, by no means tended to ſlacken their zeal. The difficulties were however ſo great, that the month of November was advanced, before they had proceeded ſo far by ſap, as to have a mine ready to ſpring, which it it was expected would enable them to ſtorm the place. In theſe circumſtances, the Rhanny, (by which appellation the Rajah's mother was known) who ſeems to have had the entire command, ſurrendered the fort by capitulation. By the terms, ſhe was to be allowed fifteen per cent. upon the effects in the fort; and to be entirely at liberty, whether to reſide in the country, or to follow her ſon; in the one caſe to meet with perfect protection, and in the other, to be eſcorted by a proper ſafeguard to the frontiers. We are totally uninformed as to the fate of the Rajah's wife.

Nov. 10th.

The governor general wiſhed that the treaſures taken at Bidjeygur ſhould become a prize to the captors, as a reward for the unparalleled zeal and alacrity diſplayed, and the eminent ſervices performed by the officers and troops, through the whole of this buſineſs. A letter written by him to Major Popham during the ſiege, was underſtood, as giving a full ſanction to ſuch a diſpoſition of the ſpoil. The officers, however, being juſtly apprehenſive, that the company, or the council of Calcutta, might not agree to this meaſure, determined, by a ſpeedy diſtribution of the money, to put it as far as poſſible beyond the power of recall. They accordingly proceeded to make a dividend of all the caſh that could be told out, or aſcertained in the time, (being the greater part) on the very ſecond day after taking the place.

The ſum to be diſtributed on this firſt dividend, amounted to 25 lacks, or 312,500l. of which the commander in chief's ſhare was 36,750l. each of the majors, 5,619l. the captains above 3,000l. a piece, and the ſubalterns, ſomething more than 1400l. each. The dividends of the native officers were but low; and a common ſepoys ſhare, ſomething more than ſix pounds. It was ſuppoſed that ſomething near two thirds of the caſh was diſpoſed of by this dividend; but the other parts of the ſpoil, conſiſting of large quantities of rich merchandize, and of rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and other precious ſtones, it was ſuppoſed would produce a very great ſum.

This diſpoſition of the Rajah's treaſures, was not at all ſatisfactory to the council of Calcutta, who paſſed reſolutions by which they declared, that the governor general had not formally, nor according to any liberal conſtruction

tion which could be put upon his letters, renounced, on the part of the company, as their repreſentative, their legal right to the property of the booty found at Bidjeygur. That the precipitate and irregular diviſion of the booty made by the officers, ſhewed they did not conſider thoſe authorities as conſtituting to them a legal title to it. That, their own unqualified acquieſcence in the meaſure, would eſtabliſh a dangerous precedent with reſpect to the future conduct and claims of the army. And, on theſe grounds they reſolved, that they could not renounce the company's claims on the booty; but that ſuch meaſures ſhould be taken as would bring the queſtion to a legal deciſion, independent of any other meaſure it might be thought neceſſary to adopt; leaving, however, to the officers the alternative, of ſubmitting the whole matter to the determination of the board, in which caſe it was promiſed, that the governor general's recommendation ſhould be liberally conſidered. It being laid down as a farther condition, that the officers ſhould lend to the company, as part of a public loan, upon the uſual terms, their ſhares of the prize-money, excepting only what each might reſpectively declare upon honour to be neceſſary for the ſupply of his private wants. An anſwer, in a given time, was demanded from the officers; a failure in which would be conſidered by the board as a diſobedience of orders, and proceeded upon accordingly.

Such was the iſſue of the war of Benares, and ſuch the fate of the Rajah Cheit Sing.

CHAP. II.

Peninsula of India. Efforts by France to recover her ancient possessions and influence, and totally to overthrow the English power. French squadron sails from the African islands with a strong body of forces for the coast of Coromandel; takes the Hannibal of 50 guns, and appears suddenly before Madras, intending to destroy the English squadron in the road, and, in concurrence with Hyder Ally, to besiege that place by sea and land. Causes which obliged M. de Suffrein to abandon that design and put out to sea. Is pursued by Sir Edward Hughes, who chaces and takes several of the convoy. Partial sea-fight; in which the French, having the wind in their favour, direct their whole force to the attack of the rear and a part of the center of the British line. Admiral's ship, the Superbe, and Commodore King's ship, the Exeter, suffer extremely, through the great superiority of force by which they are attacked. Capt. Stephens, of the former, and Capt. Reynold's, of the latter, killed. Enemy suddenly haul their wind and stand off; are out of sight in the morning. Admiral, on his way from Madras to Trincomale, is joined by the Sultan and Magnanime from England. Falls in with the Enemy's fleet. Bloody action off the coast of Ceylon, on the 12th of April. The damage on both sides so great, and so nearly equal, that the hostile commanders lie for several days within sight of each other, repairing their shattered ships. French fleet proceed to Batacolo, and Sir Edward Hughes to Trincomale. Consequences of these naval actions. Great disappointment to Hyder, in his expectation of such a co-operation on the part of France, as would enable him speedily to reduce the Carnatic. Major Abingdon arrives with a body of troops from Bombay at Tellicherry, on the Malabar coast; where he defeats and takes Saados Cawn, who had long blockaded that place.

WHILE General Sir Eyre Coote was gallantly and successfully opposing the vast superiority of force, and the immense resources of the redoubtable invader of the Carnatic, and that Sir Edward Hughes and Sir H. Monro, were directing the British arms with vigour and effect against the Dutch settlements, France was unwearied in her endeavours, to establish such a land and naval force at her African islands, as would not only be the means of recovering her antient power and influence on the coast of Coromandel, but of giving such a fatal and decisive blow to her old rivals, as might enable her, with the aid of the native powers, to chace them entirely out of India.

The state of affairs on that continent, was the most favourable that could be imagined, or almost wished, to that design; for besides the exhausture of their strength and treasures, in that open, very extensive, and dangerous war, in which the English were unfortunately engaged with the two greatest powers of India, most

moſt of the other ſtates happened at that time, through various untoward cauſes, to be avowedly or ſecretly inimical to their intereſts; and France was to conſider all their enemies, as being virtually her own allies. She accordingly ſpared no expence, and avoided no riſque, for the accompliſhment of this purpoſe; and notwithſtanding the vaſt objects which ſhe had in view, both in America and the Weſt Indies, at the ſame time, her attention to this was unremitting, and her exertions in ſending out men, ſhips, ſtores and artillery, were great and unceaſing. We have heretofore ſeen that ſhe was not always fortunate in theſe attempts, and that the loſs of ſome of her convoys were no ſmall impediment to her deſign; but perſeverance, as uſual, at length triumphed over misfortune.

The new alliance with Holland, and the inability of that republic to protect the great ſources of her power and wealth in the Eaſt, againſt the deſigns of the Engliſh, was an additional ſpur to France, for endeavouring, by all means, and at all events, to acquire a naval ſuperiority in India. Nothing leſs could effectually protect the Dutch ſettlements; and as Sir Eyre Coote had ſo unexpectedly and effectually oppoſed, and given ſuch ſevere checks to Hyder Ally, it ſeemed that nothing leſs could ſecure to that conqueror the complete reduction of the Carnatic, particularly including Madras, without which, nothing elſe could be conſidered as ſecure.

M. de Suffrein, after his unſucceſsful attack upon the Engliſh ſquadron and convoy in Port Praya Bay, fulfilled, however, (as we have formerly ſeen) the ſecond object of his commiſſion, by ſecuring the Dutch ſettlements at the Cape of Good Hope from the hoſtile deſigns of that armament; and having left a ſufficient French garriſon behind for their future protection, proceeded, with the remainder of his force, to join M. de Orves, who was his ſuperior in command, at the iſland of Mauritius. Upon this junction, the French commanders having now a force of ten ſail of the line, beſides one fifty gun ſhip, and ſeveral large frigates, they ſailed for the coaſt of Coromandel, being accompanied by a number of tranſports and ſtore-ſhips, together with a conſiderable body of land forces; and M. de Orves dying on the paſſage, the ſole command of the fleet devolved on M. de Suffrein.

The Britiſh ſquadron and convoy under the conduct of Capt. Alms, with the troops under Gen. Meadowes, which had departed for India while the French were ſtill at the Cape, met with ſuch extraordinary delays, through adverſe winds, and a ſucceſſion of exceedingly bad weather, that they were expoſed to the greateſt danger of falling in, ſhattered and diſperſed as they were, with the united force of the enemy, who had ſailed ſo much later from the Mauritius than they had done from the Cape. The Hannibal, of fifty guns, happened to be the only victim to this unlooked for danger. That ſhip being entirely ſeparated from the reſt, found herſelf, in very dark and tempeſtuous weather,

weather, in the centre of the French fleet, before ſhe could be in any degree aware of her ſituation, and was, after a gallant, but evidently fruitleſs defence, of neceſſity taken. The other ſhips of war, and the convoy, arrived, diſperſed and late, at the places of their deſtination.

Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, after the taking of Trincomale, was obliged, on the laſt day of January 1782, to ſet ſail for Madras, in order to procure a large ſupply of ſtores and proviſions; articles which his ſhips, after the long and hard ſervice they had undergone, could not but now ſtand in great need of. His ſquadron conſiſted only of ſix ſhips of the line; and theſe had been ſo long at ſea, as to be neceſſarily much out of condition, and their crews much weakened by loſs and ſickneſs. Upon his arrival in Madras Road, he received intelligence from Lord Macartney, the governor, that a French fleet, amounting to 30 ſail of all ſorts, had arrived upon the coaſt, taken ſeveral veſſels, and were then ſuppoſed not to be above 20 leagues to the northward. In this alarming and critical ſituation, expoſed in an open road to the attack of ſo ſuperior an enemy, and that even before he could get the neceſſary ſupplies on board, the admiral was moſt fortunately reinforced on the following day, by the arrival of Capt. Alms, in the Monmouth, of 64 guns, accompanied by the Hero, of 74, and the Iſis, of 50 guns.

Feb. 8th. 1782.

The admiral uſed the utmoſt diſpatch in getting the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions on board, while Sir Eyre Coote, with his uſual zeal and attention to all parts of the ſervice, ſtrengthened the ſquadron by the much wanted ſupply, of a detachment of 300 officers and men of the newly arrived 98th regiment; who were accordingly diſtributed by the admiral in thoſe ſhips which were the weakeſt in point of men. This diſpatch was fully neceſſary; for on the 15th of February, and before the ſhips had yet completed their equipment, the French fleet appeared ſuddenly in the Offing, conſiſting of twelve ſail of line of battle ſhips, (including the Engliſh Hannibal, and another fifty) ſix frigates, eight large tranſports, and ſix captured veſſels. The enemy, after ſtanding in directly for Madras, ſeemed at once to receive ſome unexpected check in their deſign, and ſuddenly caſt anchor, at noon, about four miles without the road; while the Engliſh admiral was buſily employed in placing his ſhips in the moſt advantageous poſitions for covering and protecting the numerous veſſels which lay within ſide of them, and in clapping ſprings upon their cables, in order that they might bring their broadſides to bear full upon the enemy in his approach.

The ſudden change of motion and deſign which appeared on the ſide of the French commander, proceeded from the unexpected diſcovery, and conſequent diſappointment, which his near approach had produced. He had no previous knowledge, or even idea, of the arrival of the three ſhips of war from England. He had proceeded to Madras under the moſt flattering illuſion; that of ſigna-

ſignalizing his entrance into action by the glory of determining a war of ſuch importance and magnitude by a ſingle blow. He had made ſure of finding the Britiſh admiral with only five, or at the moſt ſix ſhips of the line, and theſe entirely out of condition, and unprepared, lying without ſhelter in the open road of Madras; and he conſidered them as a cheap and eaſy prey already in his hands. The loſs of the numerous trading and proviſion ſhips in the road, would complete the diſtraction and calamity of the town; while the French forces, being joined with Hyder Ally's numerous army, carried on their joint attacks againſt it by land, and the ſquadron beſieged it by ſea. Any reſiſtance it could make in ſuch circumſtances, was not deemed an object worthy of conſideration.

Theſe ſplendid hopes being overthrown, by the immediate diſcovery of nine Engliſh ſhips of war (inſtead of five) drawn up to receive him in the road, all views of attack were abandoned, and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, M. de Suffrein ſuddenly weighed anchor, and ſtood off to the ſouthward. This example was immediately followed by the Engliſh admiral, who as ſuddenly weighed anchor, and ſtanding out of the road in their ſight, purſued the enemy through the courſe of the night. At day break he perceived that their fleet had ſeparated in the night, and were then in different directions; their twelve line of battle ſhips and a frigate were in a body, bearing eaſt of the Britiſh fleet, and at about four leagues diſtance, while the other frigates, with the tranſports, were ſtanding to the ſouth-weſt, at about three leagues diſtance, and making directly for Pondicherry.

Upon this diſcovery of their ſituation, Sir Edward Hughes inſtantly threw out the ſignal for a general chace to the ſouth-weſt; for beſides the temptation held out by the convoy, he knew, that as Suffrein, with the line of battle ſhips, muſt unavoidably return to their reſcue, it afforded the only certain means of bringing him to action; and his ſuperiority in number and force, were not ſufficient to deter the Britiſh admiral from appealing to this iſſue. In the courſe of the chace, the copper-bottomed ſhips came up with and took ſix veſſels of the convoy, of which five were Engliſh prizes, newly taken, with their crews on board; but the ſixth, taken by Capt. Lumley, in the Iſis, proved to be the Lauriſton, a huge French tranſport of 1300 tons burthen; and deeply laden with a cargo of the utmoſt poſſible value and conſequence to both parties; it conſiſting of a conſiderable train of artillery, (intended for a preſent to Hyder) of a large quantity of gunpowder, and of a complete aſſortment of other military ſtores. This valuable prize had likewiſe on board a number of land officers, together with 300 ſoldiers of the regiment of Lauſanne.

Too much praiſe cannot be beſtowed on the ſpirit which dictated this bold and maſterly manœuvre. The purſuit of ſo ſuperior an enemy, and the chace and attack of the convoy under its eye, are ſtrokes of ſuch a nature,

ture, as to be, perhaps, almoſt without example. It was indeed a pity, that the effect could not be equal to the judgment and merit of the deſign, through the want of frigates, a few of which would have ſecured the whole of the enemy's convoy and troops; and thereby have overthrown at once, all the ſchemes formed for ſupporting and aſſiſting Hyder Ally by land. The Sea Horſe, of 20 guns, was the only frigate in company with the ſquadron; and ſhe was ſo totally inſufficient in point of ſtrength, that, inſtead of taking others, ſhe was with no ſmall difficulty ſaved from being taken herſelf, when ſhe got entangled with the heavy, powerful, and well armed French tranſports, filled, as they were, beſides with troops. The line of battle ſhips were too few, and the enemy too near, to admit of their being much ſeparated; and there were no others for chacing.

As ſoon as the French ſquadron perceived the danger of their convoy, they put before the wind with all the ſail they could carry, in the hope of bearing down in time to their relief. The various courſe in almoſt every direction which the flying veſſels of the convoy had taken, each hoping that purſued by himſelf might be the moſt fortunate in evading the danger, neceſſarily led the Engliſh chacing ſhips to be conſiderably ſcattered, and drew them likewiſe by degrees, to a great diſtance from the body of the ſquadron. In theſe circumſtances, Sir Edward Hughes perceiving, about three o'clock, that M. de Suffrein was bearing down faſt upon him, and that his beſt ſailors were already within two or three miles of the ſternmoſt of the Engliſh, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of recalling the chaſers, who were juſt then getting into the moſt eſſential part of their ſervice; the Iſis, in particular, having come up with two more of the tranſports, which ſhe was obliged to abandon. In order to ſecure the prizes, he at the ſame time ordered that they ſhould be ſent off directly to Negapatam.

The chacing ſhips having rejoined the admiral, the hoſtile ſquadrons continued within ſight of each other during the night; and at day light, the enemy were perceived to the north-eaſt, at about three leagues diſtance. The weather was very unfavourable to all naval operation; or at leaſt afforded no room for reliance on the effect of any evolution, however judicious; for beſides its being dark and hazy, ſudden and frequent ſqualls of wind, were as ſuddenly ſucceeded by dead calms; ſo that though Sir Edward Hughes threw out the ſignal for the line of battle a-head at ſix in the morning, it was with the greateſt difficulty, though with ſo ſmall a number of ſhips, that it could be formed by half paſt eight o'clock. His object was to weather the enemy, in order to bring on ſo cloſe an engagement, and to lead up his ſhips ſo compactly into action, that their mutual and collected efforts might make ſo powerful an impreſſion, as ſhould prevent the effect of that ſuperiority in number and force which he had to encounter. But all his diligence and ability were unequal to the accompliſhment of this purpoſe; the perverſeneſs

verſeneſs of the weather was not to be ſubdued; and the ſqually wind, irregular and uncertain as it ſeemed, was conſtantly in favour of the enemy when it blew at all.

Having perceived about noon, that they were bearing down in an irregular double line a-breaſt, towards the rear of the ſquadron, which, thro' the want of wind was ſomewhat ſeparated, he threw out the ſignal for the line of battle a-breaſt, in order to draw it cloſer to the centre, and thereby fruſtrate their deſign of breaking in upon his line. After various other movements, all tending to cloſe his line, and to render the engagement general inſtead of partial, while the enemy directed all their efforts to fall upon his rear, the Engliſh admiral finding at length, that ſituated as he was to leeward, and without wind ſufficient to work his ſhips, no management could prevent his being forced into action upon diſadvantageous terms, he ſubmitted at once to the neceſſity, and threw out the ſignal to form the line of battle a-head.

Through theſe untoward circumſtances, M. de Suffrein was enabled to bring eight of his beſt ſhips, to direct their whole attack upon five of the Engliſh, of which the Iſis, of 50 guns, was one; while the Eagle, Monmouth, Worceſter, and Burford, four of their beſt ſhips, under the moſt approved commanders, were idle ſpectators in the van, without a poſſibility of coming to the aſſiſtance of their fellows. Sir E. Hughes was in the Superbe, of 74 guns, which formed the central ſhip; the four below the admiral were, the Hero, Capt. Wood, of the ſame force; the Iſis, Lumley; the Monarca, Gell, of 68 guns; and the Exeter of 64; the latter commanded by Commodore King and Captain Reynolds. Upon theſe the attack fell.

The ſquadron being then on the larboard tack, the Exeter was the ſternmoſt ſhip, and being, through the failure of wind, as well as from her being a bad ſailor, conſiderably ſeparated from her ſecond a-head, three of the French ſhips bore down directly upon her, and commenced a furious attack; while M. de Suffrein, in the Heros, with ſeveral other ſhips, bore down in the ſame manner upon the Superbe, and fell with no leſs fury upon the admiral. It was evidently their deſign, at all events, to diſable thoſe two ſhips; while they ſeemed to intend little more than to keep the intermediate ones in play, while this buſineſs was doing, and never once extended their attack beyond the centre. Theſe two ſhips were of courſe exceedingly hard preſſed, and could not avoid ſuffering extremely under ſuch a weight of fire, as was poured on all ſides upon them.

Yet after enduring all theſe diſadvantages for about two hours, and ſorely wounded as they had been in that time, a ſquall of wind coming ſuddenly in their favour at ſix o'clock, the five Engliſh ſhips became in turn the aggreſſors, and renewed the action with ſuch vigour and effect, that in 25 minutes time, it being then near dark, thoſe of the enemy within their reach, after having

having visibly sustained considerable loss, suddenly hauled their wind, and the whole French squadron stood off to the north-east.

The Superbe, besides having her main yard shot to pieces in the slings, and neither a brace nor a bow line left entire, was so severely wounded in her hull, that at the time the enemy bore away, she had no less than five feet water in her hold; and it was not until a number of the largest shot-holes under water were plugged up, that it could be prevented from gaining on the pumps. The state of the Exeter had been the most calamitous through the action, that could almost be possibly imagined. She had undergone the fire in all directions of almost the whole French squadron, and had from three to five ships at times laid upon her, until she was at length reduced nearly to a wreck, and if it had not been for the prompt and gallant assistance of Captain Wood, of the Hero, she could scarcely have escaped going to the bottom.

Capt. Stephens, of the admiral's ship, and Capt. Reynolds, of the commodore's, two brave and distinguished officers, lost their lives in this unequal and imperfect action. The whole loss of men amounted to 32 slain, and 95 wounded; of which 30 of the former, and 87 of the latter, were in the Superbe, Exeter, and Hero. The unshaken fortitude displayed by Commodore King under the long pressure of so vast a superiority of force, and the fierce attack of so many fresh ships coming up in succession to take a close and steady aim as at a dead mark, while they still expected that every broadside must have decided the fate of the Exeter, could not have been sufficiently praised or admired. In the most desperate state of the action, the blood and mangled brains of Capt. Reynolds were dashed over him by a cannon ball in such a manner, that he was for some little time absolutely blinded; yet he still preserved a most admirable equality and composure of temper; and when at the heel of the action, and the Exeter already in the state of a wreck, the master came to ask him what he should do with the ship, as two of the enemy were again bearing down upon her, he laconically answered, "there is nothing to be done but to fight her till she sinks."

The enemy being out of sight in the morning, and the masts of the Superbe and Exeter having received so much damage as rendered it unsafe to carry sail on them, while many of the shot holes were so far under water that they could not be stopped at sea, the admiral found it necessary to proceed to Trincomale, where only their damages could be repaired.

This business being hastily performed, the admiral returned before the middle of March, with the squadron to Madras, having neither seen nor heard of the enemy. He was on his way back to Trincomale, with a reinforcement of troops and a supply of military stores for that garrison, when, on the 30th of March, he was joined by the Sultan and Magnanime ships of war, of 74 guns each, from England. These ships,

ſhips, having had a very tedious and bad paſſage, were extremely ſickly, their crews being much weakened and reduced by the ſcurvy and its concomitant diſorders; but the admiral, notwithſtanding, conſidered the ſervice he was upon as too urgent, to admit of his returning to Madras for the mere purpoſe of landing the ſick and ſcorbutic; for beſides the neceſſity of ſecuring Trincomale againſt the deſigns of an enemy now ſo powerful by ſea and land, he had another object no leſs immediately intereſting and important in view, which was to cover and receive the convoy with troops and ſtores from England, only a ſmall part of which had yet arrived, the reſt having put into Morebat Bay ſome weeks before, and being then on their way to join him at an appointed rendezvous. He accordingly kept on his courſe, with an intention of neither ſeeking nor ſhunning the enemy.

But the ſame object, though with different views, which affected the conduct of the Engliſh admiral, operated no leſs upon that of the enemy. For they likewiſe knowing the expected approach of the convoy, determined to uſe every effort to cut it off, or at leaſt to prevent the junction. In the purſuit of this deſign, the French fleet, amounting to 18 ſail, appeared in the north-eaſt quarter, and to leeward of the Engliſh, on the 8th of April. The Britiſh admiral held on his courſe, and the enemy continued in ſight, and holding the ſame relative poſition, during that and the three ſucceeding days; but having made the coaſt of Ceylon, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincomale, on the laſt of them, Sir Edward Hughes, in purſuance of his original intention, bore away directly for that place. This change of courſe took place in the evening, and moſt unfortunately afforded an opportunity to the enemy of gaining the wind of the Engliſh ſquadron in the night. With this advantage on their ſide, they were diſcovered at break of day crowding all the ſail they could carry in purſuit, and their coppered bottomed ſhips coming up ſo faſt with the rear, that the action became unavoidable.

At nine in the morning, Sir Edward Hughes accordingly made a ſignal for the line of battle a-head on the ſtarboard tack, at two cables length diſtance aſunder, the enemy being then north by eaſt, within about ſix miles diſtance, and the wind in the ſame quarter. Nothing could have been more untoward to the Engliſh, whether with reſpect to time, place, or circumſtance, than this engagement. They were hemmed in upon a moſt rocky and dangerous coaſt, by an enemy much ſuperior in every reſpect, with the wind full in his favour, ſo that he had it in his power to chooſe the mode of his attacks, to direct them to thoſe points he ſaw moſt to his advantage, and to with-hold them as he liked. This leiſure, and variety of choice, accordingly occaſioned their ſpending about three hours in various manœuvres, during which time they ſo frequently changed the poſition of their ſhips and line, as ſeemed to indi-

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indicate no ſmall want of determination.

Having thus taken full time for deliberation, five ſail, which compoſed their van, ſtretched along to engage that of the Engliſh, while the admiral, with the other ſeven ſhips of the line, bore down directly in a body upon Sir Edward Hughes, who, in the Superbe, was in the centre of his line, and upon his two ſeconds, the Monmouth, Capt. Alms, a-head, and the Monarca, Gell, a-ſtern. The engagement began about half paſt one in the van, and within a few minutes after, M. de Suffrein, in the Heros, and his ſecond a-ſtern, the L'Orient, both of 74 guns, bore down within piſtol ſhot of the Superbe, and pouring in a torrent of fire, continued to engage her ſo cloſe, and with ſuch extraordinary fierceneſs, that it was the general opinion, their intention was to board, and endeavour to carry her by a *coup de main*. The French admiral held this adventurous poſition, giving and receiving a moſt dreadful fire, for about ten minutes; but he found the encounter ſo exceedingly rough, and his ſhip had ſuffered ſo much apparent damage in that ſhort time, that making room for the ſhips that were coming up to ſupply his place, he ſuddenly ſhot away, and ſtood on to the attack of the Monmouth, which was already cloſely and equally engaged. The battle continued to rage with great violence, particularly in the centre, where the odds, as to number and force, were conſtantly and greatly againſt Sir Edward Hughes and his two brave ſeconds. At three o'clock, the Monmouth, after long ſuſtaining, with unparalleled fortitude, the joint attack of two great ſhips, one of equal, the other of ſuperior force, beſides frequently receiving the paſſing fire of a third, had her mizen-maſt ſhot away, and, in a few minutes after, her main-maſt meeting the ſame fate, ſhe underwent the neceſſity of falling out of the line to leeward. The enemy uſed every effort to profit of her condition, and, from their number, made ſure of carrying her off. Indeed ſhe was in the greateſt danger; but the admiral bearing down inſtantly to her relief, and being ſpeedily followed by the Monarca and the Sultan, they covered her with ſuch a fire, that the enemy were glad to relinquiſh their expected prize.

The diſadvantage which the Engliſh had hitherto experienced, of being obliged to fight cloſe in with a rocky and dangerous lee-ſhore, they hoped would have been remedied by the cuſtomary change of the wind in the afternoon; but this continuing ſtill unexpectedly to the northward, the admiral found himſelf under a neceſſity, at 40 minutes paſt three, in order to prevent his ſhips from being too nearly entangled with the ſhore, to make a ſignal for the ſquadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle a-head, ſtill fighting the enemy through the whole evolution. At length, towards the approach of night, finding himſelf in only fifteen fathom water, and being apprehenſive that the Monmouth, in her diſabled condition, might drift too near the ſhore, he made a ſignal for the ſquadron to

prepare to anchor; and the French ſquadron about the ſame time, having drawn off in great diſorder to the eaſtward, the action entirely ceaſed.

M. de Suffrein's ſhip, Le Heros, had been ſo torn, early in the action, that he had been obliged to ſhift his flag to the French Hannibal, which was of the ſame force; and ſoon after duſk, the frigate La Fine, of 40 guns, being either under orders to tow off and aſſiſt the diſabled Heros, or elſe to diſcover the ſtate and ſituation of the Britiſh ſquadron, fell ſo cloſely on board the Iſis, that ſhe was obliged to ſtrike her colours to Capt. Lumley; but ſoon perceiving the weak and diſordered ſtate of the Iſis, which beſides her loſs in the action, had been originally ſo badly manned, that the defect was now viſible in the manner of repairing her damages, the French frigate ſeized the advantage afforded by this circumſtance, and by the darkneſs of the night, ſuddenly to get clear of the Iſis, and totally to eſcape.

The condition of both ſquadrons was ſo nearly alike, and they had ſuffered ſo extremely in the action, that ſimilar apprehenſions were entertained by each through the night, of being attacked by the other in the morning; Sir Edward Hughes, however, only founding that opinion on the diſabled ſtate of the Monmouth, which he thought might poſſibly ſtimulate the enemy to a bold and hazardous attempt in the hope of carrying her off. The morning light removed the deception. The enemy were perceived at anchor about five miles without the Engliſh ſquadron; but they were in ſuch apparent diſorder and evident diſtreſs, as ſufficiently told that they were in no condition or temper for preſent enterprize. They had, however, the fortune of not loſing any of their lower maſts; a circumſtance of great importance; as their damages, however great in other reſpects, were ſtill capable of ſuch a repair at ſea, as would render the ſhips manageable, and capable of undergoing a certain degree of ſervice; while, on the other ſide, the Monmouth could only be reſtored, by length of time, new maſts, and a good harbour.

Both parties continued in this ſituation for ſeveral days, each buſily employed in repairing their damages, placing their ſhips in the beſt ſituation for withſtanding a ſudden attack, and eagerly watching every motion of the other. At length, on the morning of the 19th, the enemy got under ſail, and ſtood out to ſea cloſe hauled; but at noon they tacked with the ſea breeze, and ſtood in directly for the body of the Engliſh ſquadron, with the apparent view of an immediate attack. This reſolution was not laſting; for when they arrived within two miles of the Britiſh line, the countenance which they perceived, and the preparation made for their reception, were ſo little inviting, that they ſuddenly again tacked, and ſtanding to the eaſtward by the wind, were entirely out of ſight by the evening. The Monmouth being refitted with jury-maſts, in the beſt manner which the preſent ſituation would admit, the admiral

was enabled on the fourth day after to proceed to Trincomale, where he uſed the utmoſt diligence in repairing the ſhips, and preparing the ſquadron for further ſpeedy ſervice; the calls for their utmoſt exertion becoming now more frequent and urgent, than at any former time.

Such was the reſult of this fierce and bloody naval conteſt, in which the Engliſh fought under every diſadvantage of wind and ſituation. Capt. Alms had the fortune to be peculiarly diſtinguiſhed; and it was remarkable, that his ſituation in the Monmouth on this day, ſhould ſo nearly reſemble that of Commodore King, and of the Exeter, in the laſt action. The ſlaughter of his men was equal to the havoc of his ſhip. No leſs than 45 were killed, and 102 wounded, in the Monmouth only; which was probably a full third of her crew. The extraordinary fortitude with which he ſuſtained ſo long and ſo deſperate a conteſt, againſt a ſuperiority that ſeemed to render courage fruitleſs, would have afforded room for the higheſt praiſe, and even for national exultation, if it had been diſplayed in circumſtances wherein that virtue was leſs general. It was much and generally regretted, that his recollection of ſuch an action ſhould have been embittered, as it was, by the loſs of his ſon; a moſt gallant youth, who having been juſt made a lieutenant in the admiral's ſhip, fell, on that day, in a noble emulation of his father.

The whole loſs ſuſtained in the ſquadron, amounted to 137 killed, and to 430 wounded; the latter, in that climate, and at that diſtance from home, being little leſs a detraction from the common ſtrength than the former. The French not only directed their principal attack to the centre, but it was there only, that, after the example of M. de Suffrein, and immediately under his eye, they ventured upon bold exertion, and came into cloſe action: our officers in the van complained, that they generally kept at a guarded long-ſhot diſtance; a mode of action, which, from whatever cauſe it proceeds, generally proves very pernicious in its effect upon the maſts and rigging of Engliſh ſhips.

The ſtrong motives which induced Sir Edward Hughes rather to wiſh to avoid than to ſeek action, until he had landed the ſupplies and troops, and got quit of the ſick at Trincomale, proved extremely unfortunate in the event, having afforded the means for all thoſe advantages which the enemy poſſeſſed in the engagement. Could he have foreſeen or thought that they were really determined on fighting, he undoubtedly would have bore down upon them, and brought them to that point while the wind was in his favour; but more eſpecially on the firſt day of their appearance, when they are ſaid to have been ſo much ſcattered that they could not eaſily have recovered their order. In either of theſe caſes, but particularly the latter, it may well be preſumed, that the action would have borne a very different colour, and produced conſequences far different from what it did. But it is to be obſerved, that the admiral could only form a judg-

ment of the enemy's preſent, by their general conduct, which at almoſt all times goes rather to evade than to ſeek, cloſe and general action with the Engliſh at ſea; at leaſt without a very decided ſuperiority; which, as they were ignorant of the weak ſtate of the Sultan and Magnanime, was not at this time of ſuch apparent magnitude, as might encourage any extraordinary deviation from the uſual practice. It ſeems then, conſidering the eſſential objects which he had in view, that the admiral acted the part of a wiſe and able commander, in not abandoning them for a vain purſuit, or for the ſake of fighting the enemy, when even that would have preſented no conſideration of equal value in return. It ſeems indeed, that the intention of fighting on the other ſide, only ſprung up with the unexpected occaſion of advantage that offered, when the Engliſh ſquadron was ſo locked in by the wind and the land, that they might direct their attacks againſt it, in whatever manner, and to whatever extent they pleaſed.

The French fleet proceeded after the action to Batacalo, a Dutch port on the iſland of Ceylon, about 20 leagues to the ſouthward of Trincomale, where they were detained until the month of June, in endeavouring to repair and equip their ſhattered ſhips. It is acknowledged in their own account, that the admiral's ſhip the Heros, with her ſeconds, the L'Orient, and the Brilliant, had ſuffered extremely; that M. de Suffrein had been obliged to ſhift his flag from the former to the Ajax; that the condition and ſituation of theſe three ſhips, occaſioned his putting an end to the action, and making the ſignal to caſt anchor. It is farther acknowledged, and ſerves to ſhew more than any thing elſe, the diſorder and confuſion which then prevailed on the French ſide, that the Heros had caſt anchor in the middle of the Engliſh ſquadron, while the rain and darkneſs prevented their perceiving her ſituation; until her captain at length diſcovering his danger, ſeized a favourable moment to cut his cable and eſcape: they likewiſe acknowledge, that the La Fine had been under orders to tow her off, when ſhe fell on board the Iſis; but the fact of her ſtriking is overlooked; and it is only coldly obſerved, that ſhe ſeparated from that ſhip without fighting.

The loſs of men on the French ſide, as ſtated in their publiſhed account, by no means accords with former experience, any more than with the nature and circumſtances of the action, the acknowledged damage ſuſtained by their ſhips, and the number of officers (whoſe names could not well be concealed) which appear in both liſts of the killed and wounded. In this account, the ſlain are rated at 139, and the wounded at 364.

Though theſe actions neither were nor could be deciſive in favour of the Engliſh, yet they were, particularly the firſt, of no ſmall importance in their conſequences. Every body knew the great force which France, at an immenſe expence, had been long collecting in her African iſlands; and all India was in expectation of the mighty blow which ſhe was now to give,

and which it was ſuppoſed would have proved fatal to the Britiſh intereſts in that quarter of the globe. It was in this idea that Hyder Ally firſt ventured to invade the Carnatic; and it was upon the ſame principle, that notwithſtanding his repeated defeats, he ſtill rejected every overture tending to an accommodation that could be made. A ſufficient naval force to cruſh that of the Engliſh, was, excepting ſome artillery and engineers, probably all the aid which he wiſhed for from France; for he was little diſpoſed to place any great confidence in the ſervices of a French, or indeed of any European army in India; their military knowledge and ſkill, as officers and engineers, was all that he valued; nor did he wiſh that France, or any other foreign nation, ſhould retain any inland footing whatever in the country. He only wiſhed the Engliſh reſources by ſea to be cut off, and he knew that every thing muſt then be at his own diſpoſal.

Exhauſted then as his patience was, through the failure of France in ſo long delaying to fulfil her engagements, whilſt he was alone expoſed to all the rigours of a moſt dangerous war, how great muſt have been his diſappointment, and how highly muſt it have excited the aſtoniſhment of all India, when it was ſeen, that with ſo conſiderable a real, and ſo vaſt an apparent ſuperiority of force, the French fleet would not venture to attack the Engliſh in the open road of Madras; but that on the contrary, theſe inſtantly purſue the ſuperior enemy, take or diſperſe the convoy under his protection, and in a hard fought battle, wherein they had other diſadvantages beſides a ſuperiority of force to encounter, leave the claim to victory undetermined? Nothing could have impreſſed the princes and ſtates of India more ſtrongly with an opinion, of the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh in all naval affairs, than theſe circumſtances; nor could any thing afford a more grievous mortification to Hyder; who now ſaw his hopes of taking Madras, of depoſing the Nabob of Arcot, and of placing his ſon Tippoo in poſſeſſion of the Carnatic, to be as remote and uncertain as ever.

We have heretofore ſeen, that Tellicherry, on the Malabar coaſt, had been conſtantly inveſted, and more or leſs cloſely preſſed, by Hyder's forces, from the very beginning of the war; and, that under the preſſure of thoſe loſſes and misfortunes, which were about that time ſo general, and of that depreſſion and hopeleſſneſs, bordering on deſpair, which prevailed, it had even been in contemplation to abandon that ſettlement. We have likewiſe ſhewn, that Sir Edward Hughes had relieved and preſerved the place. The blockade, however, ſtill continued, and the ſtrength and number of the enemy increaſed; but they were of a kind, at that diſtance from the ſeat of Hyder's power and diſcipline, unequal to the carrying on of a regular ſiege, and were contented with cloſely ſhutting up the place, and barring the principal paſſages with forts; waiting for famine, or other diſtreſs, to ſupply the defects of military ſkill. The works with

with which they blocked up the place, were covered by a fortified camp at a moderate diſtance.

Such was the ſtate of things at Tellicherry, when, in the very beginning of the year, Major Abingdon having arrived there from Bombay, with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops, he immediately concerted meaſures for relieving the town from the diſtreſſes which it endured through its preſent ſtraitened ſituation, by a vigorous attempt to diſlodge the enemy, and open the communications with the country. Having originally encamped with his own troops without the town, he was the better enabled to diſcover the ſituation of the enemy, and could the more immediately commence his operations; while his lying quiet for ſome days, together with a vain opinion of their own ſtrength, concurred in rendering them totally unapprehenſive of his deſign.

Having drawn ſuch part of the garriſon as could be ſpared, without notice, into his camp, he concerted his meaſures ſo well, that he had ſurprized, attacked, and carried their ſeveral forts, before day, on the morning of the 8th of January 1782; and purſued his ſucceſs with ſuch celerity and vigour, that not giving them a moment to recover from their confuſion, he ſtormed the enemy's fortified camp as ſoon as it was light, and completely routed and diſperſed their main force. Saddos Cawn, who commanded for Hyder, with his family, and a party of his beſt or moſt attached troops, retired into an exceedingly ſtrong fortified houſe, and of a moſt ſingular conſtruction; it being ſcooped into the ſide of a hill, and the walls formed of the living rock. Here they made an obſtinate defence; but their faſtneſſes were at length forced, with conſiderable ſlaughter; and an inner receſs, which was of ſuch ſtrength and contrivance as to be bomb proof, was not ſufficient to ſave Saddos Cawn (who was ſorely wounded) and his family, from being made priſoners. This man was repreſented in the European gazettes as being brother-in-law to Hyder Ally, an error founded on a ſiſter of his being in that prince's ſeraglio; a ſort of connexion which is not at all conſidered as conſtituting any ſuch degree of affinity.

Several hundreds of the enemy were killed, and fourteen or fifteen hundred taken priſoners, in this briſk action; which beſides afforded a very conſiderable ſpoil, conſiſting in a numerous artillery, with a large quantity of military ſtores, and a number of elephants, which were found in the ſeveral forts and redoubts. By this ſucceſs, the communications with the country were not only opened, but the coaſt, for ſeveral miles on either hand of Tellicherry, was entirely cleared of the enemy. Few things could have been more vexatious to Hyder than this ſtroke. For his poſſeſſions on the Malabar coaſt being partly acquired by conqueſt and partly by fraud, the Nairs, who are the native princes and nobility, and who had ſuffered moſt ſeverely in the ineffectual ſtruggle for the preſervation of their antient rights and liberties, which had, from the earlieſt times, till then, been unviolated, were ſtill exceedingly diſaffected

to his government. It was beſides a matter of the moſt ſerious alarm to him, that the Engliſh ſhould at all become formidable in that quarter, from its vicinity to the rich kingdoms of Canara and Myſore, which were the great ſources of his wealth and power.

CHAP. III.

Colonel Brathwaite's detachment ſuddenly ſurrounded by Tippoo Saib, with a conſiderable army, on the banks of the Coleroon. Deſperate reſiſtance. Cruel ſlaughter reſtrained by the humanity of M. Lally. Southern provinces laid entirely open to the enemy by this loſs. Embarraſſing ſituation of Sir Eyre Coote. French forces, under the conduct of M. Duchemin, land at Pondicherry, and are joined by a body of Hyder's troops; the combined enemy beſiege Cuddalore and Permacoil, both of which they take; and meditate, in concert with the grand army, an attack upon the important fortreſs of Vandiwaſh. Sir Eyre Coote, in advancing to the protection of Vandiwaſh, hopes thereby to bring on a battle with Hyder; but finding the latter relinquiſhed his object to evade that deſign, he puſhes on two days march to attack him on his own ground. Hyder abandons his camp, and retires to a ſecure poſition on the Red Hills. Britiſh general, in order to draw the enemy from his ſtrong poſt, and bring on an action, advances towards the fortreſs of Arnee, where his magazines are depoſited. Manœuvre ſucceeds: Hyder immediately deſcends from the Red Hills, and marches to the relief of Arnee. Battle of the 2d of June. Enemy routed and purſued till night. The want of cavalry on one ſide, and abundance of it on the other, prevent the grand effects of victory in this war. Purſuit continued for two days. Enemy abandon the great road, and croſs the country to Arnee. Britiſh grand guard cut off. Fatigue, ſickneſs, and want of proviſions, oblige the army to fall back towards the ſources of its ſupply. Sir Eyre Coote's ill health obliges him to quit the army, and leave the command to General Stuart. Hyder in a ſimilar ſtate of ill health. Deſtined never to face each other again in the field. Both, probably, victims to the contention. Failure of Hyder's great deſigns, affects his conſtitution. French ſquadron returns from the iſland of Ceylon to the coaſt of Coromandel, and is followed by the Engliſh. M. de Suffrein takes on board great reinforements of troops and artillerymen at Cuddalore, with a view of entirely cruſhing the Britiſh naval power in thoſe ſeas. Appears before Negapatam, to challenge Sir Edward Hughes. Action of the 6th of July. French fleet ſaved by a ſudden ſhift of wind. Severe *ſtrikes to the Sultan, but afterwards eſcapes. Capt. Maclellan, of the admiral's ſhip, killed. Great loſs of the enemy. While the ſquadron is refitting at Madras, M. de Suffrein joins the Sieur d'Aymar, on the coaſt of Ceylon, who is arrived there with two ſhips of the line, and the ſecond diviſion of the Marquis de Buſſy's troops from the Mauritius. Enemy beſiege and take Trincomale, while the Britiſh ſquadron is detained by adverſe winds from its reſcue. Sir E. Hughes arrives early in the morning cloſe in with that place. Enemy, relying on their ſuperior*

ſuperior force, come out to battle. Deſperate and well fought action on the 3d of September. Enemy loſe one of their beſt ſhips in getting in to Trincomale. Loſs of men ſmall, with reſpect to number; but the three brave captains, Wood, Watts and Lumley, with other diſtinguiſhed officers, are unfortunately ſlain. Great loſs of the enemy. Admirable behaviour of the Britiſh commanders, through the whole courſe of this ſevere naval warfare.

THE blow which Hyder received on the Malabar coaſt, was ſoon returned with heavy intereſt on the banks of the Coleroon. Indeed retaliation was generally to be apprehended as the conſequence of ſucceſs, in the conflicts with that dangerous enemy.

Colonel Brathwaite had for ſome conſiderable time commanded a detached body of forces, which was called the ſouthern army, and appears to have been deſtined to the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. It likewiſe appears that Sir Eyre Coote had early in the year been ſtraining every nerve to advance the army from Madras to the ſouthward, in order to be at hand to repreſs the deſigns of Hyder Ally and the French on the ſide of Pondicherry; and that he was ſo entirely deſtitute of the means neceſſary to that purpoſe, that it was a work of time, and a matter of the greateſt difficulty, to make a movement even to ſo ſmall a diſtance as Chingleput. It is not a little fortunate to the commanders of armies in general, that ſuch embarraſſing circumſtances with reſpect to the means of warfare are not frequent.

We find by that general's letter to the ſecretary of ſtate upon the ſubject, that he was at the ſame time involved in another difficulty, the nature of which we can by no means clearly comprehend. Sir Eyre Coote repreſents in that letter, that he was anxiouſly expecting the reſult of an application which he had made to the governor general and council of Bengal, for reſtoring his authority over the ſouthern troops, that he might be enabled to direct them to ſuch a co-operation, as would tend to facilitate his own movements, and to diſtract the deſigns of their enemies. What new powers the commander in chief of all the company's forces could have wanted upon this occaſion, or how the ſouthern command ſhould have got beyond his authority, we are incapable of explaining.

Colonel Brathwaite lay with his detachment on the banks of the Coleroon, which forms the northern boundary of the Tanjour kingdom. Though his force was not great with reſpect to number, his troops were excellent, conſiſting of about 2,000 tried infantry, and a ſmall body of 250 cavalry, with 13 field pieces. His ſituation in a flat and open country, where no ſecurity, through the want of advantageous poſts, could be obtained by retreat, and where ſuccour was impoſſible, evidently would have expoſed him to great danger, if a ſuperior enemy, abounding in cavalry, had been within reach to profit of it; but this did not appear to be the caſe, for Hyder's army was diſtant, and

the ſeveral deep and great rivers in the way, ſeemed to forbid the ſudden and unexpected approach of any ſuch conſiderable body of the enemy, as might be ſufficient to afford real cauſe for alarm.

Theſe circumſtances of the colonel's ſituation did not eſcape the vigilant attention of Tippoo Saib; whoſe active mind, eagerly ſeeking for adventure, was ſtill the more ſtimulated to this ſort of deſultory enterpize, from the ſucceſs which had attended his attack upon Colonel Baillie. It is to be obſerved, that rivers, and even ſmall or moderate arms of the ſea, are a very ineffective barrier againſt Hyder's forces; who has for many years conſtituted the paſſing of ſuch great and dangerous waters, under the moſt untoward circumſtances and alarming appearances, among the common military exerciſes both of his cavalry and infantry. Tippoo Saib was accompanied in this expedition by Monſ. Lally, with about 400 French; his native forces being eſtimated at 20,000, of whom more than half were cavalry. With this army, and 20 pieces of cannon, he, by ſeveral forced marches, gained, with great expedition, the banks of the Coleroon; and paſſing that river with no leſs celerity than he had hitherto ſurmounted all other obſtacles in his way, ſuddenly ſurrounded Brathwaite's corps, which could not be ſuppoſed in any degree of preparation for ſo unexpected an attack.

This action, in many reſpects, reſembled that in which Colonel Baillie was engaged, but was of much longer continuance. The attack commenced on the 16th of February, 1782, and the affair was not decided until the 18th. It has been aſſerted in a letter, written by an officer who was in the action, that during 26 hours of thoſe three days, an unremitting fire of cannon and ſmall arms had been ſupported on both ſides. The ſuddenneſs of the ſurprize, nor the imminence of the danger, produced none of their uſual effects, whether with reſpect to the collection and compoſure, or to the undaunted courage, which were diſplayed and ſupported thro' the whole affair, by the Britiſh commander and his officers; the former of whom, though ſeverely wounded and bleeding faſt, could not be prevailed upon to withdraw from the action even for a moment. As he was attacked on all ſides, and obliged to preſent a front to every attack, he threw his detachment into a hollow ſquare, with his 13 field pieces interſperſed in its faces, and his ſmall body of cavalry drawn up in the centre.

Tippoo Saib's deſign, (and in which he thought he could not fail of ſucceeding) was by a violent cannonade on all ſides to break or diſorder the ſquare in ſome of its faces, and then ruſhing on impetuouſly with his cavalry, inſtantly to complete the deſtruction of the whole. But the noiſe and violence of his cannonade, with the diſtant fire of his muſquetry, were totally incapable of making the ſmalleſt impreſſion on the order of the Britiſh ſepoys, who, with a firmneſs that cannot be too much admired, were proof to a fire, and to ſuch an aſpect of inevitable deſtruction, as might have put the conſtancy and diſci-

pline of the beſt European troops to the teſt. Finding this failure in the firſt part of his deſign, and not placing the loſs of men in any competition with the attainment of his object, he thought to ſupply the defect by the number and courage of his cavalry, who he expected could not fail of breaking in at ſome point or other of the attack, and of then ſoon cutting or trampling down the whole party. He accordingly made reiterated attempts to lead on his cavalry to the charge; but though they advanced with the greateſt impetuoſity and fury, they were conſtantly received with ſuch inceſſant ſhowers of grape and muſquet ſhot, and ſuch havock made amongſt them in the approach, that they were as conſtantly broken on the way, and obliged to fly in the utmoſt diſorder; whilſt at the very inſtant of their breaking, the party of cavalry ſallied full gallop from the centre of the ſquare, and purſuing them furiouſly with heavy and unreſiſted execution to a proper diſtance, again returned to their former ſtation.

Such was the nature of the repeated attacks which they ſuſtained, and ſuch the hard and deſperate ſervice, which this handful of brave men underwent through ſo long a courſe of time. But in this courſe their numbers were continually thinned, while the brave ſurvivors, worn down with wounds and fatigue, were ſtill more ſubdued by the evident fruitleſſneſs of their exertions. At length, on the third day, Monſ. Lally ſeeing the total failure of the cavalry, and that ſo far from fulfilling Tippoo Saib's ſanguine hopes of riding over at once and trampling upon the Britiſh infantry, no poſſible means could bring them to the reſolution of ever making one charge up to the lines, he propoſed a new diſpoſition and more effectual mode of attack.

M. Lally marched himſelf at the head of his 400 Europeans, with fixed bayonets, to the attack of that ſide of the ſquare, which was the moſt expoſed or ſeemed the weakeſt; he being accompanied and ſupported by ſeveral battalions of the enemy's beſt infantry, and flanked by cavalry. Whilſt he was advancing to this attack, the whole fire of their artillery was poured in upon the other three faces, which were at the ſame time menaced and harraſſed by great bodies of cavalry, who were ready to ruſh in upon them, at the inſtant that they ventured upon any change in their poſition; ſo that the attacked front could not receive the ſmalleſt ſupport whatever from the others. The poor wearied ſepoys in that front, were little able to withſtand the vigorous bayonet attack of ſuch a body of Europeans coming freſh into action, confident, as they were, of ſucceſs, and ſupported by ſuch a weight of native troops. They were ſoon broken, and the cavalry inſtantly ruſhing in, a dreadful carnage enſued.

This moment of horror and deſtruction afforded an opportunity to M. Lally of diſplaying the nobleſt humanity, and of tranſmitting his name with favour and honour to poſterity. He not only iſſued immediate orders for putting a ſtop to the carnage, which were readily obeyed by the infantry,

fantry, but he haſtened perſonally, and with apparent hazard, to chaſtize and reſtrain the blind and cruel fury of the cavalry; five of whom are ſaid to have fallen by his own hand in that generous exertion. The ſlaughter was, however, great in the firſt inſtance; but as ſoon as it was effectually reſtrained, Lally, as if it were entirely to perfect what he had ſo happily begun, prevailed upon Tippoo Saib to commit the priſoners to his own charge; and the kindneſs and tenderneſs which they continued to experience from him, particularly the officers and wounded, fully equalled his generoſity and humanity in the field. Many gallant Britiſh officers fell in this unfortunate affair; and of the whole number who were in the field, only one eſcaped being wounded. They loſt every thing but their honour; and were ſtill doomed to ſuffer the miſeries of a long and cruel impriſonment at Seringapatam, Hyder's capital in the Myſore kingdom.

This unfortunate ſtroke on the Coleroon, could not but totally diſconcert Sir Eyre Coote's plan for the conduct of the campaign. All the countries to the ſouthward were now laid entirely open to the deſigns of the enemy; whilſt Hyder, with his grand army, cloſely watched the motions, and was powerfully prepared to obſtruct the deſigns of the Engliſh general, on the northern ſide, who was already moſt unfortunately cramped in his operations through thoſe circumſtances which we have before ſtated. In this ſtate of imbecility or conſtraint on the one ſide, and of active power on the other, the French forces and artillery from the iſlands, under the immediate conduct of M. Duchemin, (being the firſt diviſion of that great force, under the Marquis de Buſſy, which was intended for the ſubverſion of the Engliſh power in India) were, in the courſe of the month of March, diſembarked by Suffrein at Pondicherry. Theſe being received or joined by a body of Hyder's forces, the combined enemy marched in full confidence and ſecurity to beſiege Cuddalore; a place of ſufficient ſtrength and of great importance; but not expecting a ſiege, and being, through that, and the unfavourable circumſtances of the times, unprovided for any length of defence, Captain Hughes, the commandant, was obliged to ſurrender it by capitulation on the 8th of April. Thus aſſured by ſucceſs, and encouraged by having no enemy to oppoſe them in the field, as well as by the weak and unprovided ſtate of the garriſons, they advanced to the northward, where they beſieged and took Permacoil; and then, in concert with Hyder, were directing their views to a joint attack upon Vandiwaſh.

Theſe unexpected loſſes, and this new danger, were not neceſſary to quicken Sir Eyre Coote in his endeavours to put the army in motion. Vandiwaſh was indeed of ſuch great importance, that a leſs active and vigilant commander, could have left no means unſought, nor reſource untried for its preſervation. He accordingly advanced with the army towards that place, in full confidence that Hyder, being now ſtrengthened by ſo powerful an aid of Europeans, would be no ways

ways averſe to a general action, or indeed that he would rather be pleaſed with ſo early an opportunity of trying, and of benefiting by their energy: at all events, he concluded that he would ſooner fight, than to relinquiſh an object, which he had ſo much at heart, and which was of ſo much real conſequence as the taking of Vandiwaſh. He found himſelf, however, miſtaken in all his concluſions, well founded, as they certainly were; and it ſoon appeared, that the preſence even of his European allies, was not ſufficient to reſtore Hyder's confidence in the iſſue of a field battle with the Engliſh.

The protection of Vandiwaſh was not, however, ſufficient to ſatisfy the Britiſh general; and as his poſition there was too advantageous to encourage Hyder's approach, he determined to ſeek him upon his own ground; ſtill concluding, that the diſgrace of retiring from ſo inferior a force under the eyes of ſtrangers, who were themſelves his allies, eminent for their own military abilities, and already prepoſſeſſed, through the greatneſs of his name, in an opinion of his ſuperior proweſs in war, together with a ſenſe of the impreſſion which ſo ſhameful a retreat would make upon all the other ſtates of India, and even upon his own ſubjects and forces, would inevitably induce Hyder to ſtand the hazard of a battle; and that even though the meaſure ſhould be contrary to his own opinion, he would notwithſtanding be forced to give way to the united operation, of ſo many powerful concurrent motives. In this opinion, he puſhed on two days march directly to Hyder's camp. But that wary prince was not to be overruled or guided in his conduct, by any regard to appearances, or to the opinions of others. He ſubmitted without heſitation to the ſuppoſed diſgrace, and took care to fall back in good time, without at all waiting for ſo near an approach of the Britiſh army as could by any means enable them to diſturb his retreat; and directing his courſe to the Red Hills, he there took a poſition of ſuch ſtrength, as he well knew would deter an able and experienced general, from all attempt upon an army of ſuch magnitude as he commanded.

It is perhaps among the diſtinguiſhing features of great talents, and is undoubtedly highly neceſſary in military affairs, not to truſt ſo much to them, as to venture upon meaſures of great importance, and capable of much danger in their conſequences, without full conſultation and advice. This was at leaſt a leading part of Sir Eyre Coote's character. He held a council of war, and having communicated all the intelligence he poſſeſſed to his officers, he then laid before them his own ideas, and the plan he had thereupon framed, in order to draw the enemy from his preſent ſtrong poſt, and thereby to obtain an opportunity of bringing him to action. Hyder's great magazines were depoſited in the ſtrong fortreſs of Arnee, and the general ſuggeſted, that a movement towards that place, would not only be a means of effectually checking his ſupplies, but would alarm him ſo much for its ſafety, that

that on both accounts, he probably would be led to descend from his present position on the hills.

The general's proposal being unanimously approved of in the council of war, he directed his course towards Arnee, and encamped within five miles of that place. This judicious movement, immediately produced the intended effect, by drawing Hyder down from the hills, who marched with the utmost expedition to the rescue of a place which contained the means of carrying on the war. This movement, however, continued unknown to the general, until a little before day, at the very moment that the army was commencing its five mile march to Arnee; and this intelligence rendered it then a matter of deliberation, whether he should still proceed to that place, or advance to meet Hyder, and fight him on the way? He determined on the former, as the most certain means of bringing the enemy to action; for if Hyder found that he could save the place, by drawing the English army away from its position, he then would have been under no necessity of risquing a battle, which was a decision that he evidently had no disposition to appeal to, while it could be avoided without some signal loss.

It was not the least of the many great difficulties which the British general had to encounter in this war, that the vast crowds of Hyder's cavalry, which constantly attended and watched all the smallest movements of the army, covering as it were the whole face of the adjoining country, rendered it almost impossible to obtain any precise information of the motions or situation of his main body; nor could the evolutions or approach of the former, which they were endless in the repetition of, be considered as the smallest indication either of his distance or designs. The van of the army had already reached Arnee, and were marking out a camp in sight of the place, when a distant cannonade on the rear, announced to the general Hyder's sudden approach, who was till then supposed to be at several miles distance.

This surprize, however, produced no manner of disorder, although their arrival at that critical juncture afforded great advantages to the enemy in their attack; for the army was in a low situation surrounded by commanding grounds, which Hyder's forces instantly took possession of; so that their manœuvres were performed under every possible disadvantage in that respect, and they were exposed to a heavy though distant cannonade during the time they were forming. These difficulties and disadvantages by no means disconcerted the general, who used the utmost dispatch, and displayed all his usual ability, in making such dispositions, and adopting such measures, as would the most speedily remove or remedy them, and might, in their effect, tend to bring the enemy to close and decisive action.

It was notwithstanding near mid-day, before he could reduce the enemy's various attacks to one settled point of action; but as soon as June 2d. 1782.

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that was accompliſhed, the Britiſh troops advanced upon them with ſuch reſiſtleſs impetuoſity, that Hyder's army gave way on every ſide. A total rout enſued, and the enemy were purſued till late in the evening.

The want of cavalry on the Britiſh ſide, and the ſuperabundance of it on the other, prevented victory from producing any of its grand effects in this war, whether with reſpect to the deſtruction of men, the taking of priſoners and artillery, or the total diſperſion and ruin of the enemy's army. It is however a matter peculiarly worthy of obſervation, that although Hyder's tried and veteran ſepoys and grenadiers, who once would not have dreaded the encounter of any enemy whatever, had long ſince been worn out and conſumed in this war, yet that ſuch were the effects of his own great military talents, and of the remains of that admirable order and diſcipline which he had been ſo many years eſtabliſhing, that even the ſort of troops which he now commanded, though incapable of long ſtanding the brunt of cloſe and ſevere action with the Engliſh ſepoys, yet they were, in all circumſtances, ſtill obedient to command, and ſoon recovered their order; never once being guilty of that ſhameful dereliction of their commanders, and irretrievable diſperſion, which, before his time, had been the conſtant concomitants of defeat in Indian armies. When Hyder's army was beat, whatever the loſs, or however great the defeat, it was ſtill beaten like an European army; and, like that, was eaſily recalled to order and ſervice, and ſpeedily fit for freſh action. It is not leſs remarkable, nor worthy of obſervation, that, although before Hyder's time, the ſurprize of Indian camps at night by Europeans, and the ever conſequent deſtruction of their armies, were among the common incidents of warfare; yet, that ſo wonderful was the change which he introduced in the government of armies, and ſo admirable the meaſures with reſpect to guards and the eſtabliſhment of poſts, that in all the courſe of his wars with the Engliſh, though oppoſed by ſome of the moſt enterprizing officers in the world, and by commanders of firſt-rate abilities, no camp of his was ever ſurprized by night or by day. Nor will this appear the leſs extraordinary when we recollect, that ſome of the greateſt generals and beſt armies, even in Europe, have not at all times been exempt from ſuch misfortunes.

On the day after the battle, Sir Eyre Coote having obtained intelligence, that Hyder was encamped upon ſuch ſtrong ground, as might encourage him to ſtand another action, and ſeemed to be choſen for that purpoſe, he again advanced upon him. But, upon his coming up, he found the enemy retreating with great precipitation, although the approaches to his encampment were ſo difficult that they might be diſputed with much advantage. The purſuit was continued on the following day, until it was found that the enemy had quitted the road, and croſſed the country towards Arnee. But however Hyder might be defeated, and obliged to fly, he ſtill remained unconquered; and

and was ever formidable and dangerous. In less than a week after the battle, a body of his chosen cavalry found means to draw the British grand guard into an ambuscade, and cut them entirely off before they could be supported by the army. The troops and cattle during this time, having suffered greatly by heat, sickness and fatigue, and the stock of provision they had brought with them being nearly exhausted, the general found it necessary to fall back, within reach of the sources of his supply.

The battle of the 2d of June was the last, in which these two great commanders were ever destined to face each other; nor was either of them afterwards present at any action of importance. They did not survive many months; and though they equally escaped the dangers of the field, it seems probable that they were both victims to this contention.

The British general could not but complete the ruin of a constitution, already much impaired and broken, by the fatigues which he underwent, and the unparalleled difficulties which he had to encounter, in every part of this most arduous and dangerous war.

On the other hand, though his great rival and antagonist, was much a younger man, and possessed an uncommonly vigorous and robust constitution, he had for some time encountered, and was now particularly experiencing, such a series of unexpected difficulties, disappointments, and dangers, as were sufficient to put the firmest mind and the strongest constitution to the test. His prospects were every day becoming more unfavourable, and affairs seemed now rapidly tending to a crisis, which could not, to a mind so comprehensive as his, but be seriously alarming. He had been able to bring desolation and ruin upon the Carnatic; but with all his power and all his exertions, he had failed in the great purposes of the war; and he was too clear sighted not fully to perceive, that the season for their attainment was now elapsed. He had long considered the English as the only effective obstacles to the vast designs which he had formed in India. His ambition not only soared to the restoration of the Mogul empire, and its establishment in his own family, but he confided in his own ability, for laying it out upon a more extensive scale, and fixing it upon much stronger and more permanent foundations, than those upon which it had been originally raised. The present weak and degenerate race of Mahometan princes, who had sprung up upon the ruins of the fallen empire, he held in such contempt, as men unworthy of the situations in which fortune had placed them, and incapable of all the purposes whether of war or of government; that so far from considering them as at all interfering with his views, he, on the contrary, held their wealth and their power as sure resources, to be applied, as the occasion might require, to their completion. The Mahrattas were the only native power which he had to apprehend; but he had been so long in the practice of playing upon and managing those intestine divisions, to which the nature of their government so

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peculiarly expoſes that people, that he had no doubt of being equally ſucceſsful in the future; and that he ſhould be able, either by money to render them inert, or by civil commotion incapable, until he had grown beyond their graſp or reach.

Theſe mighty deſigns, which had been long reſtrained by the great power and military reputation of the Engliſh, were at length brought into act, by that diſtracted ſtate of affairs, and thoſe numerous enemies, which the alternate weakneſs and temerity of their councils, with the rapacity of individuals, had, at length, brought upon them. Theſe were the real motives, independent of all former cauſes, whether of private or public reſentment, which led to Hyder's irruption into the Carnatic. The ſtate of their affairs at that time, and the weakneſs and ill government of their ally the Nabob of Arcot, ſeemed to lay that rich and extenſive country an eaſy prey at his feet; and his firſt ſucceſſes were ſuch, that it was no wonder he expected to have been maſter of Madras, and of the whole coaſt of Coromandel, within a few weeks. With this vaſt addition of power, and increaſe of renown, together with the means which they would afford to him of preſcribing laws for the conduct of all the leſſer ſtates, and of directing the already excited reſentments of the Mahrattas to the attainment of his own purpoſes, it ſeemed, as if there would be nothing, but a ſufficient naval force wanting, to enable him to drive the Engliſh entirely out of India. This deficiency France had promiſed to ſupply, and he depended upon her engagement. Indeed ſo little was he diſpoſed to depend upon the aid of others, in any thing which came within his own poſſible comprehenſion, that he had for ſeveral years paſt uſed extraordinary, and for that part of the world, almoſt wonderful efforts, to become himſelf a potent maritime power; not only by the acquiſition of a great length of ſea coaſt, but by his ſparing no expence in the purchaſe and building of ſhips; not to mention his conqueſt of the numberleſs Maldive iſlands, which would have afforded him an inexhauſtible reſource of ſeamen.

The vigorous meaſures purſued upon the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote at Madras, and the ſubſequent repeated defeats which he received from that commander, not only blaſted Hyder's hopes of ſpeedy conqueſt, but broke in upon and diſconcerted the whole ſcheme of his deſigns. He ſoon made the unexpected and unwelcome diſcovery, that inſtead of rapidly ſubduing the Carnatic, and being then free to follow up the chain of his other projects to the end, it was become a matter of the greateſt doubt, whether his own force ſingly, would ever be equal to the accompliſhment of the firſt object. The confidence in his own power thus overthrown, he had only to place his truſt in, and wiſhfully to look forward to the arrival of that French naval armament, which was to ſweep the Engliſh out of the Indian ſeas; this great ſervice once performed, Hyder well knew that he was himſelf fully competent to the completion of the buſineſs by land,

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at leaſt ſo far as related to the coaſt of Coromandel. After long and tedious delay, when expectation and hope was nearly exhauſted, the French fleet arrived, and after exciting a tranſitory gleam of hope, failed in the attainment of all its objects, ſo far at leaſt as related to him; for deſperate fights at ſea, without any deciſive conſequences, or the taking two or three tranſports, or a number of proviſion veſſels on their way to and from Madras, were matters which afforded neither conſolation nor profit to Hyder.

It could not then be without that anguiſh, which diſappointed ambition, and a total overthrow of the moſt ſanguine hopes are capable of exciting, that he now beheld all his deſigns fruſtrated. The lingering war in the Carnatic afforded neither advantage nor hope; and if it was ruinous to his enemies, it was ſcarcely leſs ſo to himſelf. The country was already ſo deſolated, that it was of little farther value to either of the parties, than as it afforded them a multitude of ſtrong poſts and garriſons, and a wide ſcene for every kind of action and manœuvre in war. It had already been the grave of his beſt generals, officers and troops, and not much leſs of his own military reputation; at the ſame time, that he was ſo deeply involved, that he could not quit ſo unfortunate and hopeleſs a ſcene of conteſt, without a total dereliction of his paſt name and renown.

Whilſt he was thus chained down in the Carnatic, he ſaw the clouds gathering on every ſide, and every indication of an approaching and dreadful ſtorm. He knew that a treaty of peace, and perhaps of alliance, was far advanced, if not already concluded, between the Engliſh and the Mahrattas. He had too much reaſon to apprehend, that an intended partition of his dominions, would be the band of union between thoſe late enemies; who were both exceedingly jealous of his power, and had both ſuffered extremely by his arms. He had no confederacy to oppoſe to ſo formidable a junction; which, on the contrary, was likely to draw after it all the ſtates in India; for there were few of them who had not been either jealous of his power, or afraid of his deſigns; and the moſt inconſiderable, would hope to pick up ſome ſhare of the ſpoil, in ſuch a general wreck of his fortunes. But if this apprehended confederacy did not even take place, he ſaw that the Engliſh being now freed from their Mahratta enemy, would direct their whole force againſt him ſingly; and that while his hands were fully occupied in the Carnatic, Bombay and Bengal would urge their utmoſt efforts againſt him on the Malabar ſide; where he was moſt vulnerable, and from whence they might eaſily carry the war into the very centre of his dominions. As to his French allies, they had already failed him in that point, in which only he conſidered them as capable of doing him any eſſential ſervice; for as to their land forces, he ſet but little value upon them; and he beſides knew, that they could never be able to ſend ſuch an army to that diſtance, as would be in any degree capable, in theſe circumſtances, of turning the ſcale of war

war in his favour. Indeed it had been one of his own long eſtabliſhed maxims, that the Europeans could never become powerful or formidable in India, by any other means, than by that of native troops, raiſed and diſciplined in the country.

Such was the ſituation, and ſuch probably the feelings and reflections of Hyder.

Sir Eyre Coote's ill health rendering him incapable of continuing any longer in the field, and Sir Hector Monro returning to Europe, the command of the army devolved on Major-general Stuart. The country was now ſo entirely ruined, that the contending armies were obliged to draw their ſupplies from other quarters, which, beſides the immenſe expence it occaſioned, could not but greatly impede the operations of the war. Hyder, however, from the nearneſs on all ſides of his own dominions, was, comparatively with the Engliſh, but little affected by this circumſtance. As the enemy ſtill cautiouſly abſtained from riſquing an action, and that it was impoſſible to force them to it, at the ſame time, that they were too numerous and powerful in the field, and the French too ſtrong at Cuddalore, to admit of any attempt for the recovery of that place, a toilſome campaign on the ſide of General Stuart, was ſpent in long and laborious marches, either occaſioned by the motions of the enemy, or intended to counteract their deſigns, by the ſupply and relief of garriſons; ſo that no event of any conſiderable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

But this ceſſation was confined entirely to the land; for the Indian ocean was ſtill deſtined to be the ſcene of hard and bloody action. M. de Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coaſt of Coromandel, pretty early in June, and having touched at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar, where his fleet was revictualled by ſeveral Dutch ſhips which had arrived for that purpoſe from Batavia, he proceeded thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their ſtrong and great place of arms, both for the land and ſea ſervice. The French commander had it now in contemplation to fulfil Hyder's hopes, (with whom he had held ſeveral conferences) by totally cruſhing the Engliſh ſquadron, before the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton, who with ſeveral ſhips of war, had been long on his way from England, and moſt impatiently expected at Madras. He ſtill preſerved his former ſuperiority, of twelve ſhips of the line to eleven, beſides his heavy frigates, and he uſed all poſſible means to prepare them in the beſt manner for immediate action. In order to render this ſuperiority fully deciſive againſt a ſquadron ſo weakly manned as the Engliſh, he repleniſhed his ſhips with 400 French, and as many ſepoys, at Cuddalore; and receiving intelligence ſoon after that Sir Edward Hughes was arrived on the coaſt, he, under pretence of a deſign on Negapatam, ſtrengthened his ſquadron with 300 artillery men; than which, no aid could be more thoroughly effective.

Sir Edward Hughes having new maſted the Monmouth, and re-

fitted his other ſhips, as well as time and circumſtances would admit at Trincomale, as ſoon as he received intelligence that the enemy were departed from Batacalo, loſt no time in his preparation to follow them to the coaſt; and having taken on board his recovered men, arrived at Negapatam towards the end of the month.

The French commander, confiding in his ſtrength, appeared boldly with 18 ſhips before Negapatam to challenge his enemy, who, without regard to his number or force, was by no means ſlack in anſwering the defiance. It was paſt noon when the French fleet came in ſight, and Sir Edward Hughes was in ſuch admirable readineſs, and ſo little diſpoſed to give them any delay, that by three o'clock he had weighed anchor, and inſtantly putting out to ſea, ſtood to the ſouthward during the evening and the night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy. This eſſential point being gained, and confirmed by ſeveral maſterly evolutions in the morning, when the ſquadron had nearly cloſed with the enemy, he threw out ſignals for every ſhip to bear down directly upon her oppoſite in the French line, and to bring her to

July 6th. cloſe action. Theſe orders were admirably obeyed; and for ſome conſiderable time, the action was cloſe, warm, and generally well maintained on both ſides. The firing had commenced in the French line, about twenty minutes before eleven o'clock, but was not returned on the ſide of the Engliſh until they had ſufficiently neared the enemy, which was ſome minutes later.

At ſomething more than half paſt twelve, the French line appeared to be in great diſorder, and ſeveral of their ſhips were perceived to have ſuffered extremely both in their maſts and hulls. The van ſhip had already been obliged to bear away quite out of the line; the Brilliant, the French admiral's ſecond a-head, had loſt her main-maſt; and ſeveral others ſhewed ſufficient marks of loſs and diſorder. At this critical moment, when even hope itſelf could ſcarcely find any thing to cling to, fortune befriended the enemy, and a ſudden ſhift of wind ſaved the French ſquadron from abſolute ruin. The ſea-breeze ſet in with ſuch unuſual power, that ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips in the van and centre, particularly thoſe which had received the greateſt damage in their maſts and rigging, were taken a-back, and paid round on the heel, with their heads the contrary way; while others, particularly thoſe in the rear, whoſe rigging had ſuffered the leaſt in the action, were able to withſtand this ſhift of the wind, and accordingly continued on their former tack.

This circumſtance, ſo fortunate to the one ſide, and untoward with reſpect to the other, neceſſarily breaking the Britiſh line, and totally deforming their order of battle, rendered them incapable of proſecuting their advantage with effect; while the diſabled, broken, and flying enemy, were thereby enabled to recollect and recover themſelves. For during this ſtate of diſorder in the

British line, the French ſquadron had time to wear, and getting upon a new tack, to form with thoſe ſhips which had ſuffered leaſt a-line to windward, in order to cover thoſe which were diſabled. In the intermediate time, Sir Edward Hughes ſeeing part of his ſhips on one tack, and the more numerous on the other, while the Eagle, Worceſter, and Burford, which had been able to continue on their former, were nearing the enemy's main body very faſt, he attempted to remedy the diſorder, by hauling down the ſignal for the line, and throwing out another to wear, which he intended to follow with that for a general chace. But at this inſtant he was hailed by Captain Gell, of the Monarca, who informed him, that not only all his ſtanding rigging had been ſhot away, but that his ſhip had otherwiſe received ſo much damage as to be utterly ungovernable; and the admiral perceiving at the ſame time, that the enemy, who had now worn, and were coming on the larboard tack, were endeavouring to cut off the Eagle, while at the other extremity of the line, his van ſhip, the Hero, was getting in ſo cloſe with the land as to make a ſignal of diſtreſs, he found it neceſſary to throw out the ſignal for wearing only. During this operation, a partial engagement was continued between ſuch of the Engliſh ſhips and of the French as happened to come within reach of each other, and the Eagle was for ſome time hard preſſed by two of the enemy.

At half paſt one, the admiral made the ſignal for the line of battle a-head, and was preparing to renew the attack; but at two o'clock, ſeeing that the enemy were ſtanding in ſhore, and collecting their ſhips in a cloſe body, while his own were much diſperſed, and ſeveral of them ungovernable, he gave up that deſign, and thought only of collecting his ſhips, and preparing them for that ſervice, which he hoped would be concluſive and final with reſpect to its object, on the enſuing morning. The Britiſh ſquadron caſt anchor at the approach of the evening between Negapatam and Nagore, and were buſily employed during the night in ſecuring their lower maſts, as moſt of their ſtanding rigging had been ſhot away, and in ſtretching ſerviceable ſails to their yards; but no exertions, in ſo ſhort a time, could render them capable of freſh evolutions and immediate ſervice; they had been well able in the line, to continue the engagement, and to preſs upon their enemy to the laſt; but when their already torn rigging had been ſtrained and racked in the gale, and by the ſubſequent movements, they could not but be crippled in ſuch a manner, as muſt require time, as well as application, for its cure.

The French ſquadron had anchored about three leagues to leeward; and it could not be without the moſt unſpeakable mortification, that the Engliſh admiral beheld them getting under ſail in the morning, and proceeding on their way to Cuddalore, while his ſhips were utterly incapable of preventing or purſuing them. Their frigates upon this occaſion,

as well as in all the late preceding circumſtances, were of the moſt ſignal ſervice to them.

The enemy were completely beaten, although the fruits of the victory could not be gathered. If the Engliſh ſhips had not been thrown out of action, in the ſingular manner, and at the inſtant they were, when the enemy's line was completely broken, ſome of their ſhips running away, and others too much diſabled to run, it can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed that many of them would have eſcaped to Cuddalore. The fore, or indeed the only real part of this action, ſerves to throw great light upon the two former engagements; for it is from thence clearly evident, that if they had been general inſtead of being partial, and that all the Engliſh ſhips could have been brought fairly up at once to the encounter, the reſult of both would have been very different from what it was; unleſs indeed, that the firſt might have been ſo deciſive as to prevent any ſecond trial. Upon the whole it may be truly ſaid, that the elements, without being abſolutely unfortunate, had been exceedingly perverſe to the Engliſh in theſe three actions.

In the courſe of the diſorder occaſioned by the ſea breeze, the Severe of 64 guns, one of the French admiral's ſeconds, had ſuffered ſo extremely, and was become ſo totally ungovernable, that ſhe fell along ſide of Captain Watt, in the Sultan, and ſtruck to him. But while Captain Watt was, under ſignal, in the act of wearing, to join the admiral, the Severe, taking advantage of that ſituation, ſuddenly hoiſted all the ſail ſhe could get up, and without ſhewing any colours, and in defiance of the eſtabliſhed laws of war and of nations, poured her fire into and raked the Sultan as ſhe paſſed. It is not a little to be regretted, that ſhe eſcaped the vengeance due to ſuch an act, by getting in among a cluſter of French ſhips, whoſe nearneſs undoubtedly gave life to the deſign. Sir Edward Hughes diſpatched Captain Watt on the following day with a letter to M. de Suffrein, complaining of this treatment, and demanding the ſurrender of the ſhip; but the French commander, not chuſing to avow the act, alledged, (on what foundation every man will form his own opinion) that the colours had not been intentionally ſtruck, but had come down through the halliards of the enſign being ſhot away.

The reſult of an enquiry into this tranſaction, which afterwards took place in Paris, and was there publiſhed, totally overthrows M. de Suffrein's defence, and ſubſtitutes one which does not ſeem much better. By that it is acknowledged that the colours were really and intentionally ſtruck; but this act is not attributed to neceſſity, but charged to the cowardice of the acting commander at the time; a ſtrange ſtory is then told, that an auxiliary officer being diſſatisfied with his ſtriking, and ſenſible of the motive, firſt had the addreſs to perſuade him that he was dangerouſly wounded, and then, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for his health to go down; that having by

by these means obtained the command, he renewed the engagement, and bravely fought and saved the ship.

The loss of men on the English side, amounted to 77 killed, and to 233 wounded; on the side of the French, their acknowledged loss was much more considerable, the slain amounting to 178, and the wounded to 601; the comparative state being 779 to 310, or above five to two. Among other brave officers, as well of the 98th regiment, as of the naval department who fell in this action, the gallant Captain Maclellan, of the Superbe, was shot through the heart in its very commencement. It was remarkable, if not singular, and fully shews the warm service they were engaged in, that the admiral's two immediate captains should have been killed within so short a time of each other.

We are totally in the dark as to the motives which induced the admiral to keep the sea, to the windward of Negapatam, while the French were busily employed in repairing their ships at Cuddalore, for near a fortnight after this engagement; at the same time, that the desire of information on this head is exceedingly excited, from its seeming, that the very unfortunate event which soon after happened, was, in a very considerable degree, the consequence of this delay, in not proceeding directly after the action to Madras, where the stores were, in order to refit the squadron. It is not from hence even to be imagined, that this proceeding was not fully authorized by the motives, although they do not appear at this distance; and it is as little to be supposed, that the admiral did not communicate them to government, however it might at the time be deemed inexpedient or unnecessary to lay them before the public. It might be imagined that he intended to cover the arrival of Sir Richard Bickerton's long expected squadron, had not the French fleet been in a condition which seemed to forbid all present adventure. The probability seems to be, that the naval movements now, as at other times, were concerted with, and in a great measure governed by those of the army; and that the situation of the latter at that time, or perhaps some proposed scheme of co-operation, made it appear necessary for the squadron to keep its station on that part of the coast.

However these things were, the necessity of providing some of the ships with top-masts, and other essential articles which had been lost in the late action, and of supplying the whole with ammunition and provisions, both of which were nearly exhausted, became at length so urgent, that the admiral proceeded with the squadron to Madras, where he arrived on the 20th of July. He was there joined by the Sceptre, of 64 guns, which had left England along with Sir R. Bickerton. The Sceptre having been separated from the rest of the squadron soon after clearing the Channel, had put into the Brazils, where meeting with the Medea frigate, they were proceeding in company, when falling in on their way with a large French ship laden with naval stores, Captain

Graves left the prize in charge of the Medea, that he might proceed himſelf with the greater expedition to join the admiral. While the ſquadron were refitting and taking in their ſupplies, Sir Edward Hughes, anxious for the ſecurity of Trincomale, diſpatched the Monmouth and Sceptre, with ſuch a reinforcement of troops, and ſuch ſupplies of proviſions and ſtores for that garriſon, as both the general and admiral expected, would have been fully competent to their repelling, at leaſt, any deſultory attempt which the enemy might make upon that place.

In the mean time, M. de Suffrein uſed the utmoſt induſtry and diſpatch in refitting his ſquadron at Cuddalore, and having received advice from the Sieur d'Aymar, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Ceylon, in his own ſhip the St. Michael of 64 guns, accompanied by the Illuſtre of 74; and of their having under their convoy the ſecond diviſion of the Marquis de Buſſy's troops and artillery, the French admiral was enabled to ſail on the firſt of Auguſt to join them at that iſland.

So exceedingly difficult were the means of information at that time, that with an army in the field, garriſons every where diſperſed, and in a country belonging to the Nabob of Arcot, no intelligence of a tranſaction of ſuch importance and notoriety, and at the diſtance only of Cuddalore, was received at Madras until about the middle of the month; and then only through mere accident, and from a directly oppoſite quarter. For it happened, that Captain Mitchel, in the Coventry frigate, of 32 guns, being cruizing on the coaſt of Ceylon, fell in with the Bellona of 40 guns, when a confidence in himſelf, and in the goodneſs of his ſhip's company, on the one ſide, and, in the weight of his ſhip, and the great ſuperiority of his force, on the other, drew on a moſt deſperate engagement of two hours and a half; at the end of which, Capt. Mitchel moſt gallantly obliged his enemy to fly; and purſuing him with great eagerneſs, was aſtoniſhed at finding himſelf led by the chace amidſt a French fleet of 23 ſail, when he did not imagine they had any ſuch armament at ſea; he, of courſe, was obliged to fly in turn, being chaced by two ſhips of the line; and fortunately eſcaping, brought the intelligence directly to the admiral.

This intelligence, and his anxiety for Trincomale, urged the admiral to quicken his departure, and the ſhips having received their ſupplies, and being rendered tolerably fit for ſervice, he ſailed from Madras on the 20th of Auguſt, and uſed every endeavour with the utmoſt expedition to gain the iſland of Ceylon. But the uſual perverſeneſs of the weather, not only now recurred, but operated with more miſchief in the effect than at any former time; the wind blew directly againſt him, and the extraordinary delay thereby occaſioned, produced the intervening loſs.

The French admiral having been joined by the ſhips of war and convoy at Point de Galles, proceeded directly to the attack of Trincomale, where he arrived towards the end of the month, and

and the fire of the batteries was incapable of preventing his fleet from anchoring in Back Bay. The landing of the troops, under the conduct of the Baron de Agoult, was effected the next morning before day, and the place was immediately inveſted. After two days work on the batteries, thoſe on the left were opened early on the morning of the 29th, and ſoon gained ſuch a ſuperiority over thoſe of the garriſon, that they were entirely ſilenced before night. This encouraged the French commanders, on the following morning to ſummon the place. Some difficulties at firſt aroſe about the terms of capitulation; but M. de Suffrein was too eager to gain poſſeſſion of the place, and too apprehenſive of the arrival of Sir Edward Hughes, to loſe much time in debating conditions.

Aug. 26th.

Captain Macdowal, the commandant, accordingly obtained every thing he demanded. The honours of war in the utmoſt extent; they being to carry off with them entirely, two field pieces and a mortar, with a certain number of charges, and all things whatever appertaining to them; the garriſon to be directly tranſmitted to Madraſs, and amply provided for, in ſhips to be properly equipped for the purpoſe, at the French King's expence; and a particular ſhip appointed for the conveyance of the officers and ſtaff. A particular and laudable attention was paid to the intereſts of the Dutch inhabitants, although they were falling into the hands of their own allies; it being ſpecially provided, not only that all private property, whether belonging to the garriſon or the inhabitants, ſhould be fully ſecured, but that all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the latter, ſhould be preſerved inviolate. Two of the articles ſeemed to indicate ſome diſtruſt of the good faith of the enemy; for by one, the commander of the land forces was rendered perſonally reſponſible for any diſorders committed by his troops; and by the laſt it was ſpecifically preſcribed, that the capitulation ſhould be executed, in all the eleven articles, with reciprocal good faith. It is obſervable, that there was not a ſingle condition binding on the garriſon, excepting merely the delivery of the public magazines, and that there was not a poſſibility of their evading. Fort Oſtenburgh was given up on the following day, which was the laſt of the month, upon the ſame conditions.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate, whether in its immediate effect, or in its ſubſequent conſequences, than the loſs of Trincomale; nor does it appear that any event through the war, ſo grievouſly affected Sir Eyre Coote, and the admiral; who both ſeem likewiſe to have conceived, that the place was capable of a much longer and more vigorous defence. The garriſon undoubtedly was ſufficiently numerous, and as they had been ſo lately ſupplied, it does not ſeem that they could have wanted either proviſion or the means of defence; but as it does not appear that any blame has fallen upon the commandant or his officers, it may be ſuppoſed, that the natural or artificial defences were not ſo ſtrong as had been imagined, that there

were ſome defects in other reſpects of which we are not informed, or, perhaps, that the enemy's artillery were more weighty and powerful than could have been apprehended.

When it was no longer of uſe, the wind ſuddenly became favourable to the Engliſh ſquadron, and the French commanders had no more than time to poſſeſs and ſecure their new acquiſitions, when Sir Edward Hughes, on the 2d of September at night, arrived off Trincomale. Nothing undoubtedly could exceed the mortification and aſtoniſhment, with which the admiral, at the opening of the morning, perceived French colours flying in all the forts, and a fleet of above 30 ſail riding at anchor in the different bays. Of theſe, fifteen were of the line, including three fifties, (for they had been reinforced by an old company's ſhip of 50 guns, as well as by the St. Michael and L'Illuſtre) ten or eleven were frigates or fireſhips, and the reſt tranſports. Thus they had three fifties to ſpare, while they preſented 12 ſhips of 64 guns and upwards to the Engliſh line of the ſame number; but in which the Iſis of 50 guns, was of neceſſity oppoſed to one of their ſixty-fours.

The admiral might well have avoided an engagement, and the ſuperiority of the enemy, together with the loſs of the place, which no ſucceſs could now immediately recover, would undoubtedly have warranted his ſo doing; but ſuch was the general indignation ſpread through the whole ſquadron, that no ſuperiority of force could ſtand in the way to their vengeance, nor induce a ſufficient conſideration of the conſequences in its purſuit.

The enemy, fully ſenſible of their ſuperiority, as ſoon as they perceived the Engliſh in the morning, who were then within two leagues of them, got immediately under ſail, and about ſix o'clock, making their way through Back Bay, they ſtood out to ſea to the ſouth-eaſtward; by which they gained the wind, then blowing ſtrong off the ſhore. Sir Edward Hughes immediately made the ſignal for the line of battle a-head at two cables length diſtance; and ſhortening ſail, edged away from the wind, in order that the ſhips might the more ſpeedily get into their reſpective ſtations for completing the line. Soon after eight o'clock, the enemy began to edge down towards the Engliſh line, and the Britiſh admiral, in order to render the action deciſive, by drawing them as far as poſſible from Trincomale before its commencement, ſtood off before the wind from the ſhore until eleven o'clock. During this whole time, the enemy ſhewed great indeciſion in their movements; ſometimes edging down, as if diſpoſed to come to action, again bringing to; and keeping no regular order; as if totally undetermined how to act.

But towards noon they ſeemed to have fixed their reſolution for action; and at half paſt two they began to fire upon the Engliſh line, which was in a few minutes returned, and the engagement ſoon after became general.

Sept. 3d. The French, to derive the greater advantage from their ſuperiority in number, directed the attack of their additional ſhips upon

upon the extremities of the Engliſh line, which were already in cloſe action with an equal enemy. By this means the Worceſter, which was the laſt ſhip of their rear, was moſt furiouſly attacked by two of the enemy, who ſeemed confident of entirely ruining, if not of taking her, as all her fellows in that diviſion were fully engaged. But ſhe made ſo noble a reſiſtance, and the Monmouth, which was her ſecond, throwing all her ſails a-back, came up ſo timely, and threw in ſo cloſe and powerful a fire upon the enemy, that the attack on that ſide entirely failed of its expected effect. At the ſame time, five of the enemy's ſhips came down in a cluſter, and fell with equal fury and greater powers, upon the Exeter and Iſis, which were the headmoſt of the Engliſh van. It ſeemed peculiarly deſtined to the Exeter, to be expoſed to the encounter of great odds. In ſo unequal a combat as the preſent, it could be no wonder, that ſhe was ſo much diſabled, as to be at length obliged to retire from the line; while the weak and forlorn Iſis was left, it might be ſaid, to run the gauntlet, under the ſucceſſive paſſing fire of the five French ſhips before ſhe could be ſupported.

During theſe fierce attacks on the points of the Engliſh line, the centre diviſions on both ſides, were fairly and cloſely, ſhip to ſhip, engaged; the rival commanders, in the Superbe and Heros, dealing out their rage with unremitting fury upon each other. At half paſt three o'clock, the French admiral's ſecond a-ſtern, had his mizen-maſt ſhot away; and his ſecond a-head loſt his fore and mizen top-maſts. The battle was, however, ſtill deſperately maintained at half paſt five. At that time, the wind ſhifting ſuddenly from the ſouth-weſt to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, Sir Edward Hughes made the ſignal for wearing, which was inſtantly obeyed; and the evolution was performed by the whole ſquadron with ſuch alertneſs, and in ſuch admirable order, that it ſeemed to be rather a naval exerciſe of parade, than a movement in the height of action and danger.

The enemy were engaged, during this time, in the operations of either wearing or ſtaying their ſhips, until the Engliſh renewed the engagement, on the other tack, with freſh violence. At 20 minutes paſt ſix, the French admiral's main-maſt was ſhot away cloſe by the board; and ſoon after his mizen-maſt met the ſame fate. On the Engliſh ſide, the Worceſter, about the ſame time, loſt her main top-maſt. At ſeven o'clock, the body of the French ſquadron hauled their wind to the ſouthward, but were expoſed to and received a moſt ſevere fire from the ſhips in the Engliſh rear for about 20 minutes after, when getting clear off, the action entirely ceaſed.

Thus ended, one of the beſt fought actions perhaps recorded in naval hiſtory; and it terminated a naval compaign (if the word may be admitted) unequalled as to the number, the variety, the nature and the obſtinacy of the actions by which it was diſtinguiſhed. Certainly we have no memorial, of the ſame men, and the ſame ſhips, meeting and fighting, ſo often and ſo deſperately, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time.

It cannot be ſuppoſed, after ſo long

long and ſo ſevere an engagement, that the Engliſh ſquadron could be in any condition for purſuing the enemy; but the darkneſs of the night, and the nearneſs of Trincomale, would not have admitted the attempt, under any poſſibility of effect, if things had even been otherwiſe. No part of the French ſquadron was to be ſeen at day-light.

The loſs of men on the ſide of the Engliſh, was, in point of number, ſo ſmall, as to be almoſt below credibility; amounting to only 51 ſlain, and 283 wounded; but if conſidered with reſpect to the brave officers who fell, though included in that ſmall number, the loſs to their country, and to the naval ſervice, was beyond eſtimate. Among thoſe who glorioufly dedicated their lives on that day to the ſervice of their country, were the three brave and diſtinguiſhed captains, Wood, of the Worceſter, Watt, of the Sultan, and Lumley, of the Iſis. The laſt, on account of his youth and noble family, as well as of his being an officer of the greateſt hope and gallantry, was deeply and peculiarly regretted. Such a ſlaughter of captains, in ſo ſmall a number of ſhips, and where the general loſs was ſo moderate, was ſingularly unfortunate. Indeed officers in general ſeemed peculiarly deſtined to ſuffer in this day's action; ſeveral other brave men, as well of the 78th and 98th regiments, as of the naval department, having fallen, and a very conſiderable number being wounded. Too much could not be ſaid in praiſe of Colonel Fullarton, and of the other officers, as well as of the private men of theſe two corps, who had, at their own deſire, and at the liberal expence of their blood, continued, during ſo many months, to encounter all the hardſhips and incommodities of ſo exceedingly ſevere and trying a ſervice; and which was in ſo many reſpects contrary to their profeſſional habits and duties.

It was highly to the honour of the Britiſh commanders, that thro' the whole courſe of this ſevere naval conteſt, and through ſo many days of hard, bloody, and doubtful trial, conſtantly fighting too againſt a ſuperiority of force, yet, that under all theſe circumſtances, the breath of ſlander had not been able to leave the ſmalleſt ſoil on the character, or to cenſure the behaviour of any one of them; but that, in every action, each was acknowledged to have done every thing in the power of a brave and experienced officer; whilſt, on the other ſide, the French admiral was continually breaking or ſuſpending his officers, and actually ſent ſeveral of them home priſoners to France for trial. Perhaps, in no ſeaſon of the higheſt naval ſucceſs and glory in any country, could another inſtance be produced, of an equal number of commanders, going through ſuch a courſe of action, and being ſo uniformly great in their conduct, as not to admit of any diſtinction in the claim of honour at the concluſion.

The French returned to Trincomale on the very night of the action, and ſeem to have been ſo much hurried on that occaſion, that the L'Orient, of 74 guns, one of their beſt ſhips, was loſt in the dark, in the act of getting in. M. de Suffrein gives no account,

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as was customary with him, of the number of his killed or wounded; he barely gives the names of the officers who suffered in either respect, and then unaccountably goes back, to state the loss which he sustained on the 6th of July. A circumstance that afforded at the time full room for supposing, that his loss in this action was greater, than he, or the French ministers, chose to acknowledge. This opinion was fully confirmed some months after, by an accurate state of the French loss in that action, which was brought home by the Fox Pacquet from India. By that statement, which gives the particular loss of each ship, the whole number slain amounted to 412, and the wounded to 676. It is remarkable, that of these, Suffrein's own ship the Heros, whose crew at the beginning of the engagement amounted to 1200 men, had no less than 140 killed, and 240 wounded; a slaughter seldom equalled, except in the cases of burning or blowing up. Suffrein was so little satisfied with the conduct of his officers, that he broke, and sent prisoners to the Mauritius, no less than six of his captains.

CHAP. IV.

Treaty of peace concluded with the Mahrattas, through the mediation of Madajee Scindia. Negociation conducted with ability by Mr. Anderson. Madajee Scindia, the mutual guarantee. Peace fortunate with respect to the season of its conclusion, and advantageous in its stipulations to the English. Baroach ceded to Scindia. Supposed causes which delayed the ratification at Poonah. Dreadful hurricane, and deplorable famine at Madras. British squadron driven to sea, and suffer much from bad weather in their passage to Bombay. Advantages derived by the French fleet from the possession of Trincomale. Colonel Humberstone's successes on the coast of Malabar. Penetrates far into the country; but is obliged to retire with loss from Palacatcherry. Government of Bombay dispatch a body of forces under General Mathews to the coast, with a view to extricate Humberstone; while Tippoo Saib proceeds with the utmost rapidity from the Carnatic, in order to cut him off. Colonel Humberstone gains intelligence of his approach, and retires to Paniany, closely pursued by the enemy. Command of the troops devolves on Colonel Macleod, who is immediately invested by the enemy. Tippoo Saib and M. Lally attack the British lines with a great force, but are gallantly repulsed with considerable loss. Tippoo Saib breaks up his camp by night, and returns to the Carnatic. General Mathews takes Onore by storm. Death and character of Hyder Ally. General Mathews takes Cundapore; forces the Gauts, and makes his way into the Bednore country. Some observations on the conduct pursued, and the cruelties committed in this expedition. Short account of the antient kingdom of Canara, and of the royal city of Bednore, or Hyder Nagar, the supposed depositary of Hyder's treasures. Private negociation and treaty with Hyat Saib, who surrenders the country and capital to the British forces. Great discontents in

in the army, relative to the diſpoſal of the treaſures found in the royal palace. Differences between the general and the principal officers of the king's forces, occaſions the Colonel's Macleod and Humberſtone, with Major Shaw, to quit the army and return to Bombay. Diſpatches from the general, containing a general accuſation againſt his army. Proceedings of the government of Bombay: appoint Colonel Macleod to the command of the army in the Bednore country. Captain Carpenter takes Carwar, with other forts, and reduces the whole Soundah country. General Mathews returns with part of the army to the coaſt; beſieges and takes Mangalore. Tippoo Sultan abandons the Carnatic, and marches with his whole army to recover the Bednore country, and his dominions on the Malabar coaſt. Letters from General Mathews to the government of Bombay, informing them of the approach of the enemy, and requiring a reinforcement: returns to Bednore; marches out to fight the prodigious army under Tipoo Sultan; being inſtantly defeated, he retires with the remainder of the forces to the adjoining fortreſs; cloſely ſurrounded and beſieged. The ſtrong poſts in the Gauts ſhamefully loſt to a detachment from Tippoo's army. The fugitives from the Gauts communicate their panic to the garriſon of Cundapore, who ſet fire to the magazines, and abandon the place, with a large field of artillery. General Mathews capitulates upon honourable conditions. Capitulation violated by Tippoo Sultan. General, and principal officers, ſeized and impriſoned. Army plundered and inhumanly treated. Miſeries endured in a cruel march and impriſonment. General, and ſeveral officers, ſaid to have been barbarouſly murdered. Siege of Mangalore converted to a blockade, upon the departure of the French auxiliaries from Tippoo Sultan. Sir Eyre Coote returns to Madras, where he dies. Sir Edward Hughes arrives with the fleet from Bombay. Succeſſes of the Colonels Lang and Fullarton in the Coimbatour country. General Stuart beſieges Cuddalore. French lines and outworks carried, after a deſperate attack and reſiſtance, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. Laſt naval action between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. Great ſally made by the French with their beſt troops, who are repulſed with much loſs. Account of the peace being received, an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities takes place.

DURING this ſevere courſe of hoſtility by ſea and land, in the Carnatic, and on the coaſts of Coromandel and Ceylon, that fatal ſource of all the loſs and moſt imminent danger, which the company had been expoſed to in India, was, at length, moſt fortunately cloſed, by the termination of the Mahratta war. The ruin which had fallen upon the Carnatic, the ſtill exceedingly doubtful ſtate of the war with Hyder Ally, with the vaſt increaſe of its expence and danger, through the great force ſent out by France, and the addition of Holland in the oppoſite ſcale, were, all together, at length able to diſpel thoſe viſionary ideas, which had been ſo long entertained and ſo pertinaciouſly adhered to, of procuring a revolution in the Mahratta government, or of effecting a partition of their dominions. Nor could the flattering ſucceſſes of the Bengal army,

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nor the alluring hopes of permanent conqueſt, and the attainment of great territorial revenue on the ſide of Bombay, any longer withſtand the operative effect of thoſe powerful cauſes.

On the other ſide, the free and generous releaſe of the Bombay army at Worgaum, by Madajee Scindia, had early marked the favourable diſpoſition of that eminent chief to the Engliſh; nor did the ſhameful breach of faith which his country experienced upon that occaſion, and by which he was himſelf ſo deeply and perſonally affected, ſeem at all to render him, in his ſubſequent conduct, either a bitter or an implacable enemy. We have accordingly ſeen, that a ſeperate treaty of peace was negociated and concluded with Madajee Scindia by Colonel Muir, about the time that the war of Benares had been brought to a concluſion. This was the prelude to Madajee's becoming the ſucceſsful mediator to reſtore peace and harmony between the Engliſh and the court of Poonah. Indeed the placability of the Mahrattas through the whole courſe of theſe late wars, and the moderation of their reſentments, under great loſſes, and the moſt grievous provocations, muſt ever appear unaccountable to Europeans. In fact, they never ſeemed to be truly angry, much leſs to harbour any appearance of malice, or fixed revenge; and they appeared to be equally diſpoſed to liſten to terms of accommodation, under the impreſſions of ſucceſs or defeat.

Nor will the conſtitution of the Mahrattta government, as developed by the preſent tranſaction, (unleſs indeed, that this proceeded merely from the diſordered ſtate of their affairs) appear leſs ſingular. Madajee Scindia, already a ſubject in a certain degree, as holding large territories by a looſe feudal tenure, ſtraitens the bands much more cloſely, and renders himſelf entirely amenable to government, by holding the firſt offices, and conſequently becoming the immediate ſervant of the ſtate. He is the leader of their armies in a dangerous war againſt a powerful enemy, and in the midſt of that war, not only concludes a ſeperate peace for himſelf and his own territories, without the participation or conſent of his maſters, but enters into a treaty of cloſe friendſhip and alliance, with this declared and dangerous enemy to the ſtate. This might be conſidered as deſertion and treachery; but he continues ſtill in the ſame command, without any attempt to deprive him of it, or any charge of having debauched the army; and then, ſtill continuing in the capacity of general, he aſſumes at once the character of a neutral ſovereign power, by mediating and concluding a peace in his camp, of which he becomes the guarantee to both parties for the faithful diſcharge of its conditions.

Mr. Anderſon, being furniſhed with full powers by the governor general and council of Bengal, had the fortune to bring this buſineſs to a happy concluſion, and ſeems to have diſplayed great ability through the whole tranſaction. This treaty, as uſual, takes its name from the place where it was concluded; being a village or town called Salbey, where Madajee Scindia had his head-quarters; and

and where it was ſigned on the 17th of May 1782; being ſtill to be confirmed by the ratification of the principals on both ſides.

By the ſtipulations of this treaty, all places and countries whatever, Baſſein included, which had been taken by the Engliſh from the Mahrattas, ſince the concluſion of the peace with Colonel Upton, (called the Poonah treaty) were to be reſtored to the Paiſhwa, within two months after the reſpective ratifications. — Salſette, and the adjoining iſlands, (ſo exceedingly valuable and neceſſary to Bombay) which had been ceded to the Engliſh by Upton's treaty, were now confirmed to them for ever.—Baroach, and its territory, to be for ever confirmed to the Engliſh, according likewiſe to the terms of Upton's treaty.—A claim upon a territory near Baroach, valued at three lacks of rupees a year, which the Paiſhwa, in Upton's treaty, had promiſed to grant as a mark of friendſhip to the Engliſh, (and which the failure on their ſide, with reſpect to other articles, had hitherto prevented from being fulfilled) was now, at the particular requeſt of Scindia, entirely relinquiſhed.—A diſputed country, which the Engliſh had obtained from the Guiacars, and which the Paiſhwa claimed as his own, to be given up by the former, and the queſtion of right between the others, to be ſettled in the uſual courſe of juſtice, according to their own laws, and peculiar modes of tenure or inheritance.—The two Guiacars, (of whom we have formerly taken notice) to be placed in exactly the ſame ſituation, that they ſtood in before the war, and their territories ſubject to all former tributes and ſervices to the Paiſhwa; but no retroſpect to be taken as to conduct, nor no demands to be made with reſpect to the time paſt.—The firebrand, Ragonaut Row, who had been the author of ſo much miſchief to his country, and the inſtrument of ſo much misfortune and calamity to the Engliſh, was to be allowed four months from the ratification, to determine on the place of his future reſidence; after which time the Engliſh are bound, not to afford him ſupport, protection, aſſiſtance, or money for his expences; but if he will, of his own accord, voluntarily repair to Madajee Scindia, and quietly reſide with him, he is to be ſecured from all injury whatever, and the Paiſhwa is bound to allow him a penſion of 25,000 rupees a month (amounting to about 36,000l. a year) for his ſupport; all territories, or grants of territory, given by him to the Engliſh, being for ever relinquiſhed.

With reſpect to Hyder Ally, the Mahrattas engaged, that within ſix months after the ratification of the treaties, he ſhould be obliged to relinquiſh to the Engliſh and to their allies, all places which he had taken from them during the war; that all the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and the Engliſh, on their ſide, agree, that on the performance of theſe conditions, and ſo long afterwards, as Hyder ſhould abſtain from hoſtilities againſt them and their allies, and ſo long as he ſhould continue in peace

peace with the Paiſhwa, they would, in no reſpect, act hoſtilely againſt him.

This was, indeed, a great point gained; but the grand conceſſion made by the Mahrattas, and an article of ſtill greater importance than even the foregoing, is that by which the Paiſhwa binds himſelf, and all his ſubordinate chiefs, or in other words the whole Mahratta people, from ſuffering any other European nation to eſtabliſh factories in their dominions; and from holding any intercourſe of friendſhip with any other European nation; but the Portugueſe, with reſpect to their antient ſettlements in the Mahratta countries, were particularly and expreſly excepted from the concluſion. On the other hand, the Engliſh bind themſelves, not to afford any aſſiſtance to any nation of the Decan, or Hindoſtan, at enmity with the Paiſhwa. And by a ſubſequent article the parties mutually agree, that neither ſhall afford any aſſiſtance to the enemies of the other.

The allies on both ſides are included in the benefits, and bound to the conditions of the perpetual peace. The Nizam of the Decan, and Ragojee Booſla, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Moodajee Booſla, the Berar Rajah, (whoſe name we have had occaſion heretofore ſo often to mention) are particularly ſtated as allies to the Mahrattas; from which it might perhaps be inferred, that the latter is not now conſidered, as being in any degree of dependance on the Mahratta empire: the Nabob of Arcot, with the Vizier Azoph Ul Doula, Soubah of Oude, are thoſe ſpecified as allies on the ſide of the Engliſh. The principals on both ſides are reſponſible for the conduct of all the ſubordinates and members of their reſpective authority; the governor general and ſupreme council being anſwerable for the preſidencies of Bombay and Madras, as well as for the factory at Surat. We have already obſerved that Madajee Scindia was the mutual guarantee; but this was not merely a nominal office; for he was ſpecifically bound by the treaty, in caſe of any violation of it by either party, to aſſiſt the injured in bringing the other to a proper underſtanding. Some perhaps may imagine that this ſcheme of guarantying, by which Scindia was, as it may be thought, rather ſtrangely, inſtituted the conſervator of good faith between the two parties, looked forward to other matters, beſides his mere attention to the written formalities of a treaty, or his watchfulneſs in detecting and puniſhing all infractions of it. But it is to be remembered that Madajee, independent of his princely, and which may in effect be conſidered as little leſs than tantamount to a royal patrimony, was in act, through his high offices and great intereſt, the ſecond perſon in the Mahratta government, under the minor Paiſhwa; ſo that he was an excellent ſecurity to the Engliſh for the good faith of his countrymen, however incapable he might have been of compelling their own.

Nothing could have been more fortunate with reſpect to time and the occaſion than this peace; and, inde-

independent of the peculiar circumſtances which rendered it of ſuch vaſt importance in thoſe reſpects, it was by no means deficient in others; and it perhaps afforded as many advantages to the Engliſh, as it would have been conſiſtent with their own real intereſts to obtain. Without any enquiry into the rate, at which that iron curb, now clapped into the mouth of Hyder, might be eſtimated, the excluſion of all other Europeans from the Mahratta trade and dominions, was a conceſſion of ſuch value and magnitude, that it becomes a matter of aſtoniſhment, how, in the preſent inauſpicious ſtate of affairs, it could have been obtained. Upon the whole, it will be eaſily obſerved, that the Engliſh gave up nothing to which they had a natural right, and that the Mahrattas gained nothing more than the recovery of their own poſſeſſions, which had not only been unjuſtly, but under the aggravation of the moſt injurious circumſtances wreſted from them. But leaving the matter of right and juſtice entirely out of the queſtion, it will probably be found a real and permanent advantage to the Engliſh, that they had been under a neceſſity of relinquiſhing thoſe territories. For though they might have afforded, for a time, a conſiderable, and perhaps a large annual revenue, yet the holding them upon ſuch terms, would ever have been productive of war, danger, and miſchief; but that their poſſeſſion could not, in the nature of things, be laſting. Indeed the company's conqueſts had already ſwelled far beyond their graſp.

Upon the whole, Mr. Anderſon had undoubtedly great merit in negociating and perfecting the treaty of Salbey.

Madajee Scindia, like other ſtateſmen, was, upon this occaſion, properly attentive to his own peculiar intereſt. The city of Baroach, with its valuable territories, producing a clear revenue of about 200,000l. a year, was, by a private, or ſeparate agreement, ceded to him and to his family for ever by the Engliſh. Such an addition to his hereditary poſſeſſions, cannot fail greatly to increaſe his weight and power in the empire; which may poſſibly lay the foundation of new revolutions in the Mahratta government. It is eaſily ſeen, that in any other ſtate of things than that which now prevailed on the ſide of the Mahrattas, this circumſtance would have been deemed ſufficient to vitiate the whole proceedings, and have ſerved as good ground for refuſing to ratify the treaty.

From whatever cauſe it proceeded, the length of time that elapſed before the ratification took place, notwithſtanding the ſtrong remonſtrances made by the governor general, as well as by Madajee Scindia upon the ſubject, ſufficiently indicate the great difficulties which the meaſure met with at the court of Poonah. It would ſeem, that Nana Furnaveſe, the Paiſhwa's nominal prime miniſter, but in fact the regent, and Madajee Scindia, are at the head of the two great parties, which by their union govern, and

and by their diſſention are capable of convulſing the Mahratta empire. Independant of any remains of their paſt enmity, ſomething near an equality of power muſt be at all times neceſſary to preſerve the accord of two ſuch leaders; and however convenience, and the apprehenſion of conſequences may operate in that reſpect, their mutual jealouſy will ſtill continue, and render each exceedingly watchful of the other. It cannot then be ſuppoſed, that the Mahratta miniſter could be indifferent, or could even avoid being alarmed, at the great acceſſion of influence, power, and weight, which the conduct of the war, the concluſion of the peace, the acquiſition of Baroach, and the friendſhip of the Engliſh, could not but procure to Madajee Scindia. Nor would it be a matter of wonder, conſidering the ſpirit of intrigue, which the company's ſervants had ſo long manifeſted with reſpect to the affairs and government of the Mahrattas, if he ſuſpected that their extraordinary union with Madajee Scindia, might be directed to future as well as preſent objects; and that ſo valuable a ſurrender as that of Baroach, was not made merely for the accompliſhment and guarantee of the peace. Such probably were ſome of the cauſes, which ſo long delayed the ratification of the treaty by the court of Poonah.

There being no harbour on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland of Ceylon, in which, at that late ſeaſon of the year, Sir Edward Hughes could anchor with ſafety, and ſeveral of the ſhips making much water, through ſhot-holes which could not be come at in the open ſea, beſides that they had much other damage to repair, he found it neceſſary, after the action of the 3d of September, to return with the ſquadron to Madras. As the monſoon ſeaſon was at hand, when the line of battle ſhips could not continue with ſafety on that coaſt, the admiral intended no more at Madras, than to give the ſhips ſuch a haſty repair, and to take on board ſuch a ſtock of proviſions and water, as would be neceſſary for their proceeding round to Bombay; where, beſides being ſafe from the monſoon, they were to be coppered, and to receive ſuch a thorough equipment, as, along with the certain recovery and health, which that place at all times afforded to the crews, would enable them, when the ſeaſon admitted, to return to the coaſt of Coromandel with a freſh ſtock of vigour and ability. He had likewiſe great hopes of there meeting with Sir Richard Bickerton, of whom he had yet received no intelligence, and whoſe junction could alone enable him to withſtand the great reinforcement from France and the iſlands which was expected to join Suffrein.

But before he could fully accompliſh the purpoſes which detained him at Madras, the ſquadron was expoſed to great and unforeſeen danger, by one of the moſt ſudden and dreadful hurricanes that had been remembered even on that coaſt. Oct. 15th. The ſhips of war were fortunately anchored in a deep water of 15 fathoms, and it was ſtill more fortunate that the tempeſt blew from the ſhore, other-

wiſe the conſequences to the ſquadron would have been fatal. Having ſoon parted their cables, they put out to ſea, moſt of their boats being aſhore, and many loſt in the effort to recover their ſhips; the long boats, however, were able to withſtand the fury of the tempeſt, and without an exception ſucceeded in the endeavour.

Nothing could be more deplorable than the ſcene of diſtreſs and horror, which ſoon preſented itſelf at Madras. The ſhore for ſeveral miles was covered with wrecks, and with the bodies of the dead and dying; while the roaring of the ſurf, and the howling of the tempeſt, intermixed with the piercing cries of thoſe who were yet ſtruggling with fate, were inſupportable to the ſenſes of the terrified hearers or beholders on ſhore. Several Engliſh trading ſhips, of which number was the Earl of Hertford Indiaman, were either ſunk at their anchors, or daſhed to pieces on the ſhore. About a hundred of the coaſting veſſels of the country, met with the ſame fate. Such trading ſhips and tranſports, as had not been ſo ſuddenly overwhelmed, as to prevent their being able to cut, and to put out to ſea, generally eſcaped; and it ſeems almoſt unaccountable, that a few had braved and rode out the ſtorm.

This hurricane was ſtill more grievous to humanity in its conſequences than in its immediate effect, by ſcrewing up to its higheſt pitch a calamity, which had long prevailed in a certain degree, and the moſt deplorable to which mankind is liable. The deſolation of the country having prevented the cultivation of rice, the failure of this ſupply, which conſtitutes almoſt their only food, could not but reduce the natives to great penury and diſtreſs in that reſpect. Still, however, the great ſupplies which the Engliſh procured of that article, by ſea, at Madras, though incapable of affording any thing like plenty to the multitudinous native inhabitants of that city, as well as thoſe depending on it in the neighbourhood, yet was ſufficient, according to their very abſtemious manner of living, to preſerve them from the abſolute extremes of want. The depredations of the French upon the rice ſhips, ſince their arrival upon the coaſt, had ſo much narrowed theſe ſupplies, that even the garriſon of Madras had for ſome time been reduced to a ſhort allowance of that article. A great ſupply had newly arrived before the hurricane; but through that unfortunate event, moſt of the proviſion veſſels were loſt before they could diſcharge their cargoes; and this misfortune coming upon the preceding penury, the conſequences were obvious.

The famine at Madras accordingly, became within a few days calamitous in the extreme. Money could procure no relief, where the wanted commodity did not exiſt. The roads, outlets, and even the ſtreets, were ſtrowed with the dead and the dying. It was eſtimated, that at leaſt 200 of the natives periſhed every day. All other people had a reſource in animal food; but the conſtancy and fortitude with which the unhappy Hindoos endured the lingering torments and the intolerable

lerable pangs of hunger, and the more than philoſophic calmneſs and mildneſs, with which, without a complaint or a murmur, they ſubmitted ſilently to their fate, rather than to preſerve life at the expence of thoſe laws which they held to be ſacred, was not leſs aſtoniſhing than deplorable. Surely ſuch virtue, however miſtaken in its principle or direction, cannot fail of the reward due to its intrinſic worth!

As ſoon as the news of this calamity reached Bengal, the governor general and council ordered every veſſel in the river of Calcutta to be immediately loaded with proviſions, and diſpatched with the utmoſt expedition to Madras; and ſo laudable was the diligence uſed on the occaſion, that a great fleet of victuallers arrived, and a moſt ample ſupply of rice was furniſhed, ſooner than the moſt ſanguine expectation could even have hoped. The humanity and benevolence of individuals was likewiſe nobly exerted at Madras during the ſad intervening term, by procuring large ſupplies of rice from every place within reach for the relief of the famiſhed multitude. But notwithſtanding all theſe efforts, about 10,000 of the natives were ſuppoſed to have periſhed through this calamity.

Sir Edward Hughes experienced a continued courſe of extraordinarily bad weather in his paſſage to Bombay; and we may judge in ſome degree how boiſterous it was, when for near a month ſcarcely any two ſhips of the ſquadron had been able to ſpeak together. The Superbe was accordingly diſmaſted, and ſuffered much more in every reſpect than any other of the ſhips; ſo that the admiral was obliged to quit her, and ſhift his flag to the Sultan. In order to expedite the repair of the ſquadron, and knowing that only four ſhips of the line could be laid down at once in the docks at Bombay, he left the Hero, the Monmouth, and the Sceptre, (being probably thoſe which had ſuffered leaſt damage) to be refitted at the antient Portugueze capital of Goa; once the great and famed emporium of the Europeans in the eaſt. The exceeding tediouſneſs of the voyage, together with the neceſſity the ſhips were under of keeping their lower ports cloſely ſhut through the whole way, occaſioned the crews of thoſe which kept on for Bombay, to grow ſickly in an extreme degree; and they were at length ſo ſcattered by the unceaſing continuance of the bad weather, that their ſeparate arrival at that place, extended from the 13th to the 21ſt of December. The recovery of the ſick at Bombay was ſo ſudden, as almoſt to exceed all belief.

Sir Richard Bickerton arrived at Madras from Bombay, with five ſhips of the line, and his convoy, towards the end of October, having neither met nor heard of the admiral; and what was much leſs to be expected, having good weather all the way, and being totally ignorant of the hurricane until his arrival. He had brought with him under convoy, three regiments of infantry of 1,000 men each, of which one was Hanoverian, beſides Sir John Burgoyne's regiment of light horſe, amounting to about 340,

and a thouſand recruits, which had been raiſed for the company's ſervice in Ireland. Notwithſtanding the unuſual length of time which they ſpent in the voyage, both the ſeamen and troops were uncommonly healthy, and the ſhips of war in excellent condition. Sir R. Bickerton returned to Bombay to join the admiral; and it requires ſome knowledge of the theory of the winds in the Indian ſeas not to be ſurprized, that he arrived at that place ſome weeks before him, and met with the moſt favourable weather through the whole way.

The French now experienced the vaſt advantages which they derived from the poſſeſſion of Trincomale, as the Engliſh did, the full extent of thoſe evil conſequences which reſulted from its loſs. The former, inſtead of being expoſed to the rigours of the monſoon, before they had yet well recovered the effects of the late action, and being beſides obliged to abandon the ſcene of action, and to return to the African iſlands, as well for ſafety as equipment, were now fully at eaſe, and in the greateſt ſecurity, thoroughly refitting their ſhips at that place. By being thus immediately upon the ſpot, they became the uncontrouled maſters of the Indian ſeas as ſoon as the ſeaſon for action began to open, and were thereby enabled, at a moſt critical period, to interrupt with great effect, and much miſchief to the Engliſh, the trade and intercourſe between Bengal and Madras. In the intermediate time, they proceeded to Achen, on the coaſt of Sumatra, probably to procure ſome articles of ſupply, which the iſland of Ceylon was not competent to furniſh. As they were in expectation of being joined, as ſoon as the ſeaſon admitted, by the Marquis de Buſſy, with the laſt diviſion of his troops from the Mauritius, which were eſtimated at about 5,000 men, and as he was to be accompanied by a ſtrong reinforcement of freſh ſhips of war, which were newly arrived from France, and were to bring a vaſt ſupply of all manner of naval and military ſtores and proviſion, together with the moſt formidable train of artillery that had ever been ſent to India at any one time, they entertained no doubt, but that the tide of war, both by ſea and by land, would, in the enſuing ſeaſon, be turned entirely in their favour.

But during this ſtate of hope and deſign on their ſide, the governments of Bengal and Bombay, being now freed from the Mahratta war, were directing their views to the making of ſo powerful a diverſion on the Malabar ſide, as would compel Hyder entirely to abandon the Carnatic, and return to the defence of his own dominions; which he might in a little time, perhaps, find a taſk more than equal to his powers. In that caſe, all the deſigns of France would be entirely fruſtrated; as ſhe was totally incapable of maintaining a war ſingly, for any length of time, againſt the Engliſh in the Carnatic; nor could ſhe ever ſupport ſuch an European force there as would be equivalent to the purpoſe, if they were freed from their conteſts with the native powers.

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In the mean time, until matters were ripe for greater exertions, and encouraged perhaps by the ſucceſs of Major Abington, the preſidency of Bombay, had, towards the cloſe of the European ſummer, diſpatched Col. Humberſtone, with a conſiderable detachment both of the king's and the company's forces, to the coaſt of Malabar. This officer ſoon took or gained poſſeſſion of the antient and royal capital of Calicut, which lies upon the coaſt, between 30 and 40 miles to the ſouthward of Tellicherry; and proceeding farther in the ſame direction, took the conſiderable city of Panian, or Paniany, lying about the ſame diſtance beyond Calicut; all the intermediate places along the coaſt, undoubtedly falling into his hands.

Encouraged by theſe ſucceſſes, and perceiving no enemy able to oppoſe him, the colonel ventured to quit the ſea coaſt, and to direct his operations inland. This happened early in the month of September, 1782; and as none of the places ſpecified on his route appear in the maps, we can only ſuppoſe that he bent his courſe towards the borders of the Coimbatour country. However that was, it is evident that he encountered great difficulties on his way, and that ſeveral weeks elapſed, without his being able to penetrate to any conſiderable diſtance. In that courſe he took a number of ſmall forts, which there much abound, in order to guard the narrow paſſes and deep defiles of thoſe almoſt impracticable mountainous regions, which every where environ that iron-bound and narrow country which ſtretches along the coaſt of Malabar.

Having at length taken and garriſoned a fort called Mungarry Cottah, which lay in ſo ſtrong a poſition as to afford a ſecure retreat, the colonel advanced to the ſiege or attack of a town called Palacatcherry; and which ſeems to have been of more ſtrength or conſideration than any he had yet met. He arrived before this place on the 19th of October; but it ſoon appeared, that he had been miſerably deceived and miſled by his intelligence; for on the very next day, he found the enemy ſo unexpectedly ſtrong, and ſo cloſe upon him, that he was compelled to a ſudden and haſty retreat; and though it was only eight miles to Mungarry Cottah, he was purſued and attacked with ſuch violence and fury, that beſides the men who fell, he loſt both his baggage and proviſions in that ſhort way. Major Hutchinſon, of the 98th regiment, was mortally wounded in this unfortunate affair.

The government of Bombay having received 15 lacks of rupees from Bengal, in order to enable them to carry on the war with vigour on the coaſt of Malabar, and being themſelves apprehenſive that Humberſtone's ſituation at Mungarry Cottah was exceedingly perilous, they uſed the utmoſt expedition in diſpatching General Mathews, with ſuch troops as were immediately at hand, to his relief; for a conſiderable part of thoſe forces which they had employed in the Mahratta war, and which were now deſtined to the Malabar ſervice,

had not yet returned from the northward.

In the intermediate time, Tippoo Saib, being greatly alarmed at the danger in which the Malabar coaſt was involved, and extremely irritated at Humberſtone's penetrating into the interior country, he determined to ſet ſuch an example of vengeance, as, at the ſame time that it removed the evil and danger, might ſerve to damp the enterprize of future invaders on that tender and vulnerable ſide. He accordingly, with his uſual addreſs and activity, ſuddenly and ſecretly collected a conſiderable body of troops, conducting his meaſures with ſuch ability, that his motions, and even his departure from the Carnatic, were ſcarcely obſerved upon the ſpot; and uſing equal precautions to conceal his march, he proceeded with incredible rapidity to cut off the Britiſh detachment at Mungarry Cottah.

But notwithſtanding all his diligence and precautions, Colonel Humberſtone had the fortune, by ſome means of which we are not informed, to receive intelligence of his arrival, with ſome troops, on the northern banks of the Coleroon; and it happened no leſs fortunately, that though the intelligence went no farther, the colonel at once ſuſpecting his deſign, immediately blew up and deſtroyed the fortifications at Mungarry Cottah, and retreated to Ramgaree; where, receiving certain intelligence, that Tippoo Saib was approaching with the utmoſt rapidity, he retreated to Nov. 20th. Paniany, which he reached in a march of two days. He had run ſome riſque in waiting upon this occaſion to deſtroy the works at Ramgaree; for he was cloſely purſued, and not a little harraſſed by the enemy, during the courſe of the two ſubſequent days retreat; but it is probable, that none but their irregular cavalry had been able to come up, for his loſs of men was ſo very ſmall as to ſhew the purſuers were by no means formidable.

Colonel Macleod being juſt arrived at Paniany from Madras, the command of the forces of courſe devolved to him; nor was this in any degree to be conſidered as a mere honorary command; for at the inſtant of receiving it he found himſelf inveſted by Tippoo Saib and Monſ. Lally, with a very formidable force, conſiſting of 8,000 regular infantry, including ſome hundreds of French and other Europeans, who compoſed Lally's corps; of 10,000 cavalry, and above 6,000 poligars. The Britiſh troops were ſtrongly poſted with reſpect to natural advantages; and they ſpared no induſtry in improving theſe by new works; they were likewiſe ſupported and aſſiſted by the Juno frigate and the Pondicherry armed ſhip. The enemy kept up a conſiderable but ineffectual cannonade for ſeveral days, without any farther attempt; and this circumſtance, along with ſome miſinformation in reſpect to their ſtrength, and, poſſibly, more than both, a ſenſe of the facility with which Indian armies had been heretofore liable to defeat and ruin in the ſame manner, induced the Britiſh commander to attempt, at the dawn of day, to ſurprize their

their camp. But Hyder's ſon was not to be caught aſleep in his camp. After forcing an outpoſt or two, and taking a few priſoners, the colonel either perceived ſuch a face of things, or received ſuch intelligence, as convinced him that it was neceſſary to relinquiſh his deſign, before he was too far involved in the attempt.

This inſult was returned by the enemy a few days after; who made a regular and vigorous attack with their whole army upon the Britiſh lines and works, being led by Lally at the head of his Europeans; but they were every where repulſed with the greateſt gallantry, and with no ſmall loſs to themſelves; the termination of the affair, ſo far as the great diſparity of force would permit the victors to profit of their ſucceſs, being no leſs than an abſolute defeat. About 200 of their dead, whom they could not carry off, were buried by the Engliſh; and a French officer, who led up one of the columns to the attack, was taken priſoner. Col. Macleod had great merit in this action; and his conduct fully juſtified all the praiſe that was beſtowed on it.

Tippoo Saib acknowledged his defeat, by repaſſing the river of Paniany, and placing it as a barrier againſt his enemy. A ſtate of inaction ſucceeded on both ſides for ſeveral days; but in the night between the 11th and 12th of December, Tippoo Saib ſuddenly broke up his camp, and returned by the moſt rapid marches to Palacatcherry; from whence he held on his courſe directly back to the Carnatic. As Hyder had for ſome time been grievouſly afflicted by a moſt painful and incurable diſorder, no doubt can be entertained, but that this precipitate retreat proceeded either from intelligence of his death, or of his life being in extreme danger; for it is not to be ſuppoſed that any thing leſs could have induced him to abandon the Malabar coaſt, in the ſtate of danger, to which he knew his departure would expoſe both that and the interior countries; nor were there any military operations, either in act, or in immediate contemplation in the Carnatic, which could at all have demanded his preſence.

In the mean time, Col. Macleod being reinforced by ſome troops from Bombay, and Gen. Mathews having received intelligence at Goa of Tippoo Saib's defeat and retreat, and knowing that the detachment to the ſouthward was thereby freed from all danger, he changed his intention of proceeding much lower down the coaſt, and directed his views to an attack upon Hyder in the richeſt and moſt valuable parts, as well as thoſe the moſt remote from ſuccour, of all his dominions. In this view he proceeded with the fleet and forces to the river Mirjee, which falls into the ſea, ſomething about 80 miles to the ſouthward of Goa, and about five leagues to the northward of Onore. After taking a fort at the mouth of this river, he changed his deſign of attacking another fortreſs of greater ſtrength which lay higher up, and proceeded directly to beſiege the city of Onore, which lies about midway between Paniany and Bombay,

and is ſomething about 300 miles from either. It ſeems to be the capital of the long and narrow territory of Canaree, ſhut in between the mountains and the ſea; and ſeparated by the former from the antient kingdom of Canara, of which it is a member.

Gen. Mathews had already diſpatched moſt of the tranſports with a convoy to the ſouthward, with orders to bring up all the troops that could be ſpared from the mere purpoſes of defence on that part of the coaſt, to aſſiſt in his intended operations. In conſequence of which Col. Macleod immediately embarked as many troops as the ſhips were capable of receiving, conſiſting of all the Europeans, and of the ſecond regiment of ſepoys, with which he proceeded, under convoy of the Iſis and Juno, to join the general; two other regiments of ſepoys, being left at Tellicherry in readineſs to proceed, together with the elephants and draught bullocks, and the Africa man of war ſtaying behind for their convoy, as ſoon as other ſhips ſhould arrive for their conveyance.

Jan. 5th. 1783. But before the arrival of the ſouthern troops, Onore was taken by ſtorm, and a cruel ſlaughter was ſaid to have been made of the inhabitants of all ſexes, ages, and orders, as well as of the garriſon; the official accounts however ſtate, that the killedar, or governor, with 1,200 men, were made priſoners. It is to be obſerved, that Hyder had no regular forces in this or the neighbouring parts of his dominions; that the defence of the country was committed entirely to the native poligars or militia; and that theſe, particularly in this quarter, had never before ſeen the face or appearance of war; for the kingdom of Canara (which, from the former name of its capital, is generally called by the Engliſh the Bednore Country) had fallen to Hyder without ſtriking a blow; and its ſituation had, in all earlier times, been conſidered as inacceſſible to the approach of an enemy. Though no particulars as to the amount are given, the plunder at Onore muſt have been neceſſarily very great; and ſome peculiar circumſtances which then took place with reſpect to the diſpoſition of the ſpoil, laid the ſeeds of that diſſatisfaction and diſcontent between the commander and the army, which continued to grow up and ſtrengthen through the whole courſe of the expedition, and ended in mutual charge and accuſation.

Hyder Ally's death happened about this time; probably towards the cloſe of the year 1782. We are left in the dark as to time, place, and all the other circumſtances of that event; for as Tippoo Saib's ſituation afforded the ſtrongeſt motives for keeping it ſecret as long as poſſible, ſo, when it could no longer be concealed, it was paſt over as a thing already known, without the parade of a detail which would have been then out of time.

Hyder Ally was undoubtedly one of the greateſt princes, as well as the greateſt warrior, that India ever produced. His mind was ſo vaſt and comprehenſive, as at once to reach to and embrace all the parts of war and of government. It ſeemed as if all the

the qualities neceſſary to the foundation and permanency of a great empire, were among the earlieſt ſeeds that ſprung up in his mind; and that he looked forward from the ſmalleſt beginnings, to that ultimate point which never departed from his view. The formation of ſuch a native military force, as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing; the conqueſt of great countries, and the acquiſition of others without the ſword; the raiſing of theſe to a degree of power, eſtimation, and real value, which they never before poſſeſſed; afforded but a moderate diſplay of Hyder's talents and abilities. Beſides the eſtabliſhment of a mighty empire, and the reducing of the Europeans to their original ſtate of merchants and factors, living, as ſuch, entirely under the protection and government of the ſtate, his vaſt deſigns reached, not only to becoming the greateſt commercial power of Aſia, but to what the eaſt had never before beheld, the creation of an invincible navy, which ſhould for ever ſecure the coaſts of India from the invaſions or inſults of foreigners. If he was not a legiſlator, he had, however, the merit of eſtabliſhing ſo mild and equitable a ſyſtem of government in his dominions, that the new ſubjects of ſo many countries were not only attached to his perſon in a moſt extraordinary degree, but the neighbouring nations ſhewed on every occaſion their wiſhes to come under his protection; excepting only from the foregoing part of this concluſion, that moſt ſingular of all people, the conquered Nairs on the Malabar coaſt; whoſe habits were invincible, though their bodies were eaſily ſubdued.

Nor was he more redoubtable as a warrior than as a ſtateſman; and if his actions, and the chain and motives of his conduct, had not been too remote from obſervation, to be thoroughly known and comprehended, he might poſſibly have been conſidered as one of the firſt politicians of his day, whether in Europe or in Aſia. He was ſo far from being naturally cruel, that he differed in that reſpect from all the eaſtern conquerors of whom we have any knowledge; but as he deteſted all private treachery, and was a ſtrict obſerver himſelf of the laws of war, and of the public faith, ſo, his puniſhments in the one inſtance, and his retaliations in the other, were ſo extremely ſevere, as to carry upon ſome occaſions the appearance of cruelty; eſpecially with thoſe who were not informed of the cauſes, or who were not diſpoſed to conſider the motives. Hyder deſpiſed, and diſpenſed with, ſo far as it could with propriety be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; diſplaying in his own perſon the frank manners of a camp, inſtead of the proud diſtance and auſtere reſerve of an eaſtern deſpot. He had been, greatly through their own fault, and partly through their interference with his deſigns, a bitter, and very nearly a fatal enemy, to the Engliſh Eaſt India company; but it would be diſgraceful and mean, on that account, to ſuppreſs

preſs his virtues, or endeavour to conceal his great qualities.

General Mathews had received poſitive orders from the preſident and council of Bombay, that, if the reports of Hyder's death were confirmed, he ſhould, without delay, uſe every poſſible exertion, to penetrate through the Gauts, as the paſſes in the mountains on both ſides of the Peninſula are called, into the Bednore, or Canara country, and particularly to gain poſſeſſion of the capital; which, along with a ſtrong fort on a ſmall mountain that joins the city, were the great depoſitaries of Hyder's treaſures, as well as the grand magazines of his arms and military ſtores. That commander accordingly, after the taking of Onore, proceeded farther down the coaſt, which was ſtill purſuing the line of conduct propoſed, where he took the town of Cundapore, with little loſs or difficulty.

That eaſy ſucceſs did not however ſeem to reconcile him to the enterprize againſt the Bednore country; for immediately after the taking of Cundapore, he repreſented in very ſtrong terms to the government of Bombay, the difficulty, if not the impracticability of that deſign; ſtating the total inſufficiency of his army for the purpoſe, and the neceſſary fatal conſequences of a failure, which he ſeemed to think inevitable.

This deſpondency of their commander, in the actual courſe of ſucceſs, when the moſt ſanguine hopes were already formed, and no enemy appeared within reach, nor no untoward accident intervened to prevent their completion, excited great diſſatisfaction at Bombay. That government had built much of their deſign in the invaſion of the Bednore country upon the ſuppoſed diſaffection of Hyder's ſubjects, and the diſorders which his death, in ſuch a diſpoſition of the people, would occaſion in every part of his dominions; nothing leſs than revolutions in whole kingdoms were expected, and even reported, as facts, to have happened; and as that temper was particularly attributed to the kingdom of Canara, it was not to be imagined, under that opinion, that any extraordinary force would be neceſſary, to induce the inhabitants to the accompliſhment of their own wiſhes, in throwing off or rejecting the government of Tippoo Saib.

But however diſſatisfied the preſident and council were, in being obliged to relinquiſh their favourite object, they did not think it by any means fitting or prudent, to perſevere in exacting a ſtrict compliance with their former orders, when ſo decided an opinion had been given againſt the deſign, by the very officer who was entruſted with carrying it into execution. They accordingly, tho' with great reluctance, relaxed their former orders, in the new inſtructions which they diſpathed to Gen. Mathews; giving him a diſcretionary power, with reſpect to deferring, or to proceeding on the deſigned expedition; but, at the ſame time, ſtrongly recommending to him, that he would, in balancing the difficulties againſt the advantages, give due weight in the latter ſcale, to the conſequences which were naturally or probably to be expected from Hyder's death.

But

But that commander had already taken his meaſures without waiting for any inſtructions; and it would indeed ſeem that they had been determined upon, at the very time that he remonſtrated ſo ſtrongly to his employers upon their impracticability. His conduct at and after this time was ſo extraordinary, that it not only became myſterious, but in many inſtances totally unintelligible. He ſeemed to forget the government by which he was employed, and that he was under the controul of any. All correſpondence with Bombay was at an end; and thro' the whole courſe of the ſubſequent ſplendid ſucceſſes, no military detail of the proceedings of the army under his command, was ever tranſmitted by him to that or to any other government. It is with pain we recount, that as ſlaughter, cruelty, rapine, and avarice, had diſgraced this expedition in its commencement at Onore, ſo the ſame deteſtable maxims and vices, continued to ſtain its whole progreſs, until they were, at its fatal concluſion, moſt cruelly requited; when the innocent became, indiſcriminately with the guilty, victims to the rage of an exaſperated and mercileſs enemy.

Under one of the circumſtances which we have already ſtated, and others which will appear in the courſe of the narration, it will be eaſily ſeen, that we are left much in the dark as to the detail of the enſuing military operations. A few leading facts, ſerve to form an authenticated general outline; the intervening matter muſt be conſidered either as a deduction neceſſarily proceeding from theſe, or as reſting upon the authority of thoſe private letters which have appeared from ſome of the officers engaged in the expedition, to their friends; but even of this kind of information, the calamity, which finally involved the deſtruction of the whole army, has occaſioned an unuſual paucity. Indeed one officer has ſince declared, that at that unhappy inſtant, he tore to pieces in the face of the enemy, a regular detail which he had written, of the whole courſe of military operations throughout the expedition.

It may be judged from ſome of theſe accounts, that the ideas entertained at Bombay, of conciliating the good-will of the natives, and thereby of encouraging the diſpoſition of the people to a revolt againſt the government of Tippoo Saib, were either not at all underſtood, or, at leaſt, were by no means adopted by the army; for the ſurprizing and ſurrounding of a few hundreds of the unmilitary poligars at their poſts, and without remorſe or pity conſigning them to the bayonet, are repreſented lightly, without the obſervation or reflection which ſuch matters ſeem to demand.

The officer, indeed, who gives an account of the maſſacre at the fortreſs of Annampore, which was taken by ſtorm, under ſome preceding circumſtances of aggravation on the ſide of the governor, and from whence only one horſeman, deſperately wounded, had the fortune to eſcape the general ſlaughter, ſeems to feel no ſmall compunction and horror, in deſcribing the ſpectacle which was there exhibited, of four hundred beautiful women, all bleeding with wounds of the bayonet, and either

already dead, or expiring in each others arms; while the common ſoldiers, caſting off all obedience to their officers, were ſtripping off their jewels, and committing every outrage on their bodies. He ſays that others of the women, (without taking notice whether their lives were offered or not) rather than to be torn from their relations, threw themſelves into large tanks, and were drowned. He, however, obſerves, that the troops were afterwards ſeverely reprimanded for this action.

Such enormities undoubtedly deſerved a ſevere vengeance! Whether in the degree it was ſoon inflicted, may be another conſideration.

A fortunate ignorance of the difficulty and danger of forcing a paſſage through the Gauts, ſeemed to be the only apology that could be made for the attempt, at leaſt in the manner that it was conducted; and the ſucceſs ſerved to juſtify the raſhneſs of the undertaking. The only account we have of this tranſaction, is from an officer who was one of the party engaged in the attack; and he acknowledges that the poſt would have been impregnable in any other hands than thoſe of the *motley crew*, as he calls them, who were appointed to its defence. He deſcribes the paſs as being about eight feet wide, three miles in length, and ſtrongly fortified. The party ſent on ſo deſperate and important a ſervice, conſiſted only of the Bombay light company of Europeans, and between three and four hundred ſepoys. He ſays they took the firſt barrier with little oppoſition; but that when they were arrived at the ſecond, they were alarmed at the prodigious number and ſtrong poſition of the enemy; but that as it would be then no leſs dangerous to rereat than to advance, they attacked them with ſuch vigour, that they ſoon fled, leaving about 500 of their killed and wounded behind. Being fluſhed by this ſucceſs, they then made their way with the bayonet, notwithſtanding a heavy cannonade, until they had gained the ſummit of the Gaut, by which the work was completed. He likewiſe informs us, that having then diſpatched an account of their ſucceſs to the general, he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment no leſs than his ſatisfaction at the event.

The mountains being thus ſcaled, their paſſes ſecured, and a free communication eſtabliſhed with the ſea-coaſts, the rich, and ever yet unſpoiled Canara kingdom, with its capital, Hyder's royal favourite palace, and as it was ſuppoſed his treaſures, together with many of thoſe things on which he had moſt ſet his heart, now lay open and defenceleſs to the hands of the invaders.

The city of Bednore, the reſidence through many unknown ages of the antient and ſequeſtered Kings of Canara, had of late changed its name to Hyder Nagur, or the Royal City of Hyder; a name which the Engliſh did not at this time admit, and which they hoped entirely to annihilate. This capital was to be ranked among the largeſt and fineſt cities in India; its extent being ſo conſiderable, that ſome of its ſtreets run nearly in a right line two leagues in length; while its greatneſs was forgotten in the conſideration of its beauty. But its population

was

was not proportioned to its extent; for being the favourite residence of the nobility, their spacious palaces and extensive gardens, enclosing vast basons or reservoirs of water, (one of the favourite and most pleasing luxuries of the East) took up much, and probably, the greater part of the ground. The Christian religion had been early propagated (undoubtedly by the Portuguese) and still flourished so exceedingly in this city, that a majority of its inhabitants, estimated at 30,000, were of that profession.

The government and command of the city and country, were lodged in the hands of Hyat Saib, who seems to have most worthily discharged the trust reposed in him; and to have acted with a very extraordinary degree of judgment and policy in those measures which he pursued for the preservation of both from that impending ruin, which, all things considered, it is not probable that any others could at that time have averted.

This man, sensible of his total inability to oppose the enemy, and of the certain destruction which either that attempt or a flight would inevitably and immediately occasion, seems at once to have wisely directed his thoughts, to cast about the means, by which he might so judiciously apply a part or the whole of those treasures in his care, and which would otherwise become a spoil, as that they might serve to preserve the country, and more particularly the capital from desolation and ruin, until his sovereign could arrive to their rescue, and might then perhaps recover the very ransom which was the price of their salvation.

If it was upon this principle that Hyat Saib acted, and none other is apparent, that could at all accord with his conduct, he certainly displayed great art, address and knowledge of mankind in his management of the business. As soon as the English army had passed the Gauts, he dispatched agents to the camp, who entered into a private negociation with the general, and some sort of a strange treaty was concluded, the particulars of which, so far as our information goes, are not yet perfectly known. It was however understood in the army, and accords pretty generally with the private accounts received by the government of Bombay, even after they had seen the principal officers of the king's forces who returned thither, that the capital, the country, the fortress at Bednore, with the public treasures and property, were to be delivered up to the English; that the persons and property of the inhabitants were to be fully secured from all molestation and injury; and that Hyat Saib was to continue in the government, under the authority of the English, holding much the same powers that he had done under Hyder.

The army then advanced to the capital, which, as well as the fortress, they were put in possession of, pretty early in the month of February. The government of Bombay were informed, that notwithstanding this treaty and capitulation, the general, immediately upon getting possession of Bednore, broke through them, by suddenly seizing and confining

Hyat

Hyat Saib, to a close imprisonment; and that many bad consequences resulted from the alarm given, and the impression made by this violent proceeding. They say, that very great treasures were found in the durbar, amounting to fourteen lacks, and upwards, which were at first publicly shewn to the officers by the general, and declared to be the property of the army. That there was much other treasure, and jewels, which were not exposed. That the breach between the general and Hyat Saib was soon after made up; and that the army were astonished in a few days after to hear, that all that money, which evidently belonged to the government of the country, had been claimed by Hyat Saib as his private property, and was, upon that plea, actually restored to him by the general.

The effect of this conduct on the army need not be described; but it was increased upon this occasion, by a recollection of some former management tending to the same object, which had been practiced at the sack of Onore, and by which they considered themselves as having been wronged of the greater part of the booty found at that place. Nor did the general's measure, of carrying some of the principal officers to Hyat Saib, and prevailing upon him to make a present of half a lack of pagoda's, amounting to about 20,000l. to the army, serve in any degree to allay the discontents, or to remove the suspicions which so generally prevailed.

But as if all these things had not afforded sufficient grounds for dissatisfaction, and still more dangerous effects in the army, the general had the misfortune to quarrel with the principal officers of the king's troops, upon the discussion of some points of rank between them and the company's forces; matters of dispute, which it will be easily supposed, might have been well and prudently evaded in such a season. They were, however, so managed, that the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone, with Major Shaw, being the principal officers of the royal forces, and all gentlemen of distinguished character and honour, thought themselves so injuriously treated, that, in a few days after the taking of Bednore, they were under a necessity of quitting the army; and accordingly returned to Bombay, where they arrived towards the end of February. The loss of these officers, was in due time, and that at no great distance, most fatally experienced.

During this course of such important events; the passage of the Gauts; the treaty with Hyat Saib; the reduction, or possession of the Bednore, capital and country; besides several intervening military actions, and all the extraordinary affairs that afterwards sprung up; not a syllable of information, whether by letter or by message, had been received at Bombay from the general; and that government were under a necessity of applying to Colonel Macleod for a detail of the operations of the army, as well as for such information as he could give, respecting the nature of the treaty with Hyat Saib.

At length, on the 4th of March, being almost a week after the arrival of the royal officers at Bombay, the general found leisure to forward

forward his dispatches from Bednore to that government. It was found upon their being received, that instead of conveying any particular, or even general account of his operations, of the treaty with Hyat Saib, or other matters, the explanation of which were so much expected and desired, his letter contained a general accusation against his whole army; charging them indiscriminately, without the exception of a single officer or soldier, with acts of the highest criminality.

He stated, that after the surrender of Bednore, the flame of discontent had broke out among the officers, which rapidly spread, from those in the king's immediate service, to those in the company's; and that this flame being blown by a few zealots for plunder and booty, he was apt to think was the cause, which deprived him at that critical time, of the services of the Colonels Macleod and Humberstone. That the agents for the captors had been loud in their representations of the supposed right of the army; and that they and the officers had done every thing that was disrespectful and injurious to him; which circumstances, so contrary to good order and discipline, could not fail to increase the spirit of plunder in the soldiery, who, encouraged by the practice of the officers, were become as loose and unfeeling as the most licentious freebooters.—He called upon the government to take measures for preventing such dangerous proceedings; said, that the troops in Bednore were almost in a state of mutiny; that the enemy were collecting a force within 30 miles; and that the prospect of resettling that city became every moment more distant, through the dejection of Hyat Saib; who, from the illiberal and indecent expressions of officers, was filled with apprehensions that made him utterly despond, and rendered him incapable of any exertion.

Nothing is mentioned of the treasure, which was the ground of dissatisfaction or dispute, nor whether any treasure whatever was found at Bednore; and the government of Bombay were by him left totally in the dark, as to the objects to which the rapacity attributed to the army was directed.

As the general had referred in his letter to the disputes between him and Colonel Macleod, relative not only to rank, but to the manner of supplying the king's forces on service, and to certain papers upon the subject, which he supposed had been already laid before the board, these were accordingly demanded and obtained from the colonel. That government likewise found themselves under a necessity of applying to him and to Colonel Humberstone, for all the verbal information, and for all the written details, relative to the proceedings and state of the army, during that period in which they had been kept totally in the dark upon the subject, between the time that the general wrote his letter from Cundapore on the 19th of January, and that of their departure from Bednore.

The result of all their information and enquiries were, a declaration that imputations of the most serious nature, and supported by strong testimony, appeared against the general: and that, feeling the strongest con-

conviction that the ſervice could not proſper in his hands, they thought it their indiſpenſible duty not to continue him any longer in the command of the army. They accordingly paſſed a reſolution to remove him from the command of the army, as well as to ſuſpend him from the company's ſervice, until he had cleared up the charges which appeared againſt him. As Colonel Macleod was the firſt officer in rank upon the coaſt, beſides his merit having been already eminently diſtinguiſhed in the defeat of Tippoo Saib, he was appointed to the command of the army in the Bednore country; and Colonel Humberſtone and Major Shaw were required to rejoin it along with him.

It was the latter end of March before theſe reſolutions were paſſed, and this appointment made; and that unfortunate army was doomed never to experience the benefits which it might have derived from the abilities of thoſe approved officers.

They were, however, permitted to baſk in the glare of a ſhort-lived ſucceſs. That formidable hoſtile force which the general repreſented in his letter as collecting within 30 miles of him, muſt have been totally ideal, as the ſubſequent events fully ſhew that no enemy whatever appeared either then or long after in the country. He had indeed an enemy, and that enemy ſufficiently dangerous; but he was far diſtant, and not yet even in motion. Hyat Saib had managed matters with ſo much addreſs, that ſo far from ſuffering any appearances in the Bednore country, which could excite alarm or apprehenſion, he carried his policy ſo far (if we may credit ſome of the private accounts) as to offer to raiſe a conſiderable body of forces to join and ſupport the Engliſh army; and the general is even charged with deſpiſing his enemy too much, and with placing too great a confidence in his own force, for refuſing this dangerous ſuccour.

The upper country being thus apparently ſecure, the troops carried on their operations upon the coaſt with great ſucceſs. On the upper part towards Goa, a Captain Carpenter invaded the Sundah, or Sounda country, (which Hyder had conquered or recovered from the Portugueſe, as an appendage to his then new kingdom of Canara) where he carried every thing before him; reducing Carwar, and all the other principal forts.

But the great and principal expedition, was that againſt the important fortreſs and port of Mangalore; than which, none of all his acquiſitions had been dearer to Hyder during life; as all his ſanguine hopes of becoming a formidable naval power were there centered. Indeed his induſtry and perſeverance in that reſpect, would, in any other perſon, be conſidered as amazing. And notwithſtanding the heavy loſſes which he had repeatedly ſuſtained at ſea from the Engliſh, and notwithſtanding the numberleſs cares and dangers in which he had been involved by the preſent war, yet his attention to this point was ſo unremitting, that the rudiments of a navy, it might be ſaid in deſpite of fortune, were now riſing into form at Mangalore; where three ſhips of the line, from 50 to 60 guns each,

each, were in great forwardneſs, if not nearly finiſhed, and ſeveral others, of different ſizes, and in different ſtates, upon the ſtocks.

Two battalions of ſepoys were firſt ordered from the Bednore country to inveſt Mangalore; which does not ſeem to have been much better garriſoned than other places lately ſubdued. The town was taken without much reſiſtance; though the only account we have of it ſtates, that a mine was ſprung which blew up 80 ſepoys; that they notwithſtanding carried it ſword in hand, though every ſtreet was mined and ſtockaded.

The killedar, or governor, with his *rabble*, as the account calls them, fled into the fort; and that being of ſome ſtrength, they were obliged to wait the arrival of General Mathews, with artillery, and the greater part of his army, to carry on the ſiege. The fort made no long reſiſtance; a breach nearly practicable being made in 36 hours after the batteries were opened, the governor ſurrendered upon conditions; the March 9th, ſecurity of perſon, and 1783. of private property, being the principal. The Engliſh were now, nearly, if not entirely, in poſſeſſion of all the ſtrong holds on the Malabar coaſt; acquiſitions which might have been of the greateſt importance, if things had been in a happier train.

But Tippoo Saib, now called Tippoo Sultan, determined to relinquiſh all other objects and purſuits, for the recovery of thoſe very valuable as well as favourite poſſeſſions, which he had loſt in the Bednore country, and which he could not but expect to be loſt on the Malabar coaſt. He ſeems, however, to have heſitated much upon the queſtion of relinquiſhing the Carnatic; for it was approaching to the middle of March before his troops began to file off from that country through the Changamah Paſs; and he ſeemed unwillingly himſelf to evacuate Arcot and bring up the rear; ſo that it was evident, that nothing leſs than the abſolute neceſſity which prevailed, could urge him to the adoption of that meaſure.

Thus, whatever faults or errors appeared in the conduct of this expedition, and however fatal its concluſion to the actors, the great object of the invaſion on the Malabar ſide, which was to oblige the enemy to withdraw his forces from the Carnatic, was more fully and completely attained than it could even have been hoped for.

The conduct of the general upon this approaching danger, ſeems to have been ſo incomprehenſible, as to be equalled only in that reſpect by his letters to Bombay, which now became frequent. Indeed it may well be ſuppoſed from the whole, that his mind was at this period in ſome ſtrange ſtate of diſorder. His intelligence, if it may be called ſuch, was not only ſo defective, but ſo incoherent and contradictory, that, in the manner he ſtates it, it carries more the appearance of a ſucceſſion of dreams, than of any regular or rational chain of information. He was, however, conſiſtent in all his letters in preſſing for a reinforcement; but, he at the ſame time talked with as much confi-

dence and careleſſneſs of meeting the enemy in the field with that handful of men he commanded, as if the armies had been ſomething nearly upon an equality.

One of theſe letters is dated at Mangalore on the 20th of March, when he was, he ſaid, to ſet out on the following day to Bednore to meet the enemy in the field, whom he repreſents as approaching to that place, and eſtimates at 25,000; and, if there is no error in the copy we have ſeen as to the number, he talks of collecting 12,000 ſepoys, along with his Europeans, to encounter them; although the troops of all ſorts then on the coaſt, or in the Bednore country, diſperſed even as they were, could ſcarcely amount to half that number. He is, however, a week after at Cundapore, from whence he dates his next letter, the intelligence of the enemy being as vague as could be; excepting, that they are now repreſented as being within 35 miles of Bednore; and he concludes by obſerving, that, without a reinforcement, it will be next to a miracle if he can keep his footing. His laſt letter was dated at Bednore on the firſt of April. The enemy were then repreſented as being at 45 miles diſtance; but it was diſcovered that Tippoo Saib commanded them in perſon.

The line of conduct neceſſarily to be purſued by the general in this emergency ſeems ſo obvious, that nothing leſs than ſome ſtrong infatuation on his ſide, together with the abſence of the principal officers, could prevent its being adopted. He ſhould undoubtedly, at the time that he diſpatched his firſt letter from Mangalore, or as much ſooner as he had any certain intelligence of the enemy's approach, have withdrawn his troops and artillery entirely out of the open Bednore country; and poſted them in the Gauts, which were already fortified, and deemed impregnable. He ſhould have defended theſe paſſes into the Malabar country to the utmoſt; and if they had been at length found no longer tenable, he could have retired to the ſtrong poſts on the coaſt, which the enemy were in little condition for beſieging; and where he would have been, at all events, open to ſuccour from the ſea. By this means, even the dearly purchaſed treaſures might have been ſaved; and all the ſubſequent calamities would have been evaded.

Tippoo Sultan appeared in ſight, at the head of a prodigious army, in the beginning of April, and probably in three or four days after the writing of the general's letter from Bednore. His forces were ſo numerous, that they not only filled the plains near the city, but covered the hills to a greater diſtance than the eye could reach. The moſt moderate eſtimate ſtates them at more than a hundred thouſand men. General Mathews's European force conſiſted of detachments from the 98th, 100th, and 102d royal regiments, and of ſome Bombay infantry, amounting in the whole to ſomething about 600 men; and he had with theſe ſome thin battalions of brave and excellent ſepoys, amounting to about 1600.

If ſeveral accounts from the unfortunate ſurvivors had not concurred in the relation, it would have been difficult to believe or

to relate, that with this diminutive handful of men, the general marched out of Bednore, to encounter, in the open field, ſo prodigious a force. The enemy were led in the attack by a French detachment; and about five hundred of his men having fallen in a few minutes, he then retreated to the fortreſs, abandoning the city altogether.

Tippoo Sultan inſtantly encloſed the fort, and the whole hill upon which it ſtood, in the ſtricteſt manner; and bringing up heavy artillery with the utmoſt expedition, ſurrounded the former on every ſide with batteries. In the mean time, to prevent all poſſibility of their reſcue or eſcape, (though neither were in fact to be apprehended) he ſent a detachment to attack the two Gauts; which, though they were not near ſo effectually garriſoned as their ſtrength and great importance deſerved, were yet ſhamefully loſt, through the bad conduct of one or both of their commanders. Thus all communication with the lower country and ſea coaſt was cut off.

That ill fortune, which is the proper ſcourge of ill conduct, and which generally purſues it ſo cloſely at the heels, now began every where to appear. The fugitives that eſcaped from the Gauts, communicated their own confuſion and terror ſo effectually to the garriſon of Cundapore, that they were inſtantly ſeized with an equal panic; ſo that, without the appearance of an enemy, nothing but flight and eſcape were thought of. The precipitation and confuſion under the impulſe of this blind fear were ſo great, that a number of men and horſes were drowned in the flight. Large magazines of ſtores and proviſions, which had been depoſited in that place, were ſet on fire and conſumed in this unaccountable diſorder; and a large field of artillery, was either diſabled, or left to whatever enemy ſhould arrive without being injured.

Cundapore, with its valuable proviſion for war, being thus ſhamefully abandoned or deſtroyed, a part of the fugitive garriſon took refuge at Onore; where it required all the firmneſs and prudence of Captain Toriano to preſerve the troops from being infected with their panic. Having however ſucceeded in confirming his own garriſon, and reſtoring the fugitives in ſome degree to their ſenſes, he made a ſpirited exertion to recover the artillery, which they had abandoned at Cundapore. But the enemy, purſuing their ſucceſs, had by this time fallen into the low country, and were not only before-hand with him, but he hardly eſcaped paying an undeſerved penalty for the attempt.

After ſeventeen days hopeleſs defence, the unfortunate garriſon of the fortreſs of Bednore, being greatly reduced in ſtrength, their ſick and wounded exceeding 500, beſides the great number ſlain, and the fire of the enemy greatly ſuperior, they were reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating. After ſome difficulties, they were allowed the honours of war, but to pile their arms on the Glacis; they were to retain all private property, and to reſtore all public; and they were to be conducted to a ſpecified port, and from thence

conveyed to Bombay; being properly ſupplied with proviſions both on the road and in the paſſage. The general to be allowed a guard of one hundred of his own ſepoys, with their arms, and 36 rounds of ammunition.

The luſt of avarice ſeems ſtill to have been predominant, even in this forlorn ſtate of affairs, and under all the dangers to be apprehended from the reſentments of a highly enraged victor, and at all times avowedly implacable enemy. For, in order to cover the public money in the fort from the captors, whoſe property of right, and by the conditions it was, the officers were deſired to draw upon the paymaſter general for whatever ſums they choſe, to be accounted for in their pay at Bombay, ſuppoſing that the money being divided in ſo many hands, would paſs without obſervation. This opportunity of getting ready money without trouble or delay, was eagerly ſeized by the officers; and ſeveral, to their ſubſequent great loſs, if not preſent misfortune, drew for large ſums, from one to two thouſand pagodas apiece.

Through this management, not a ſingle rupee was found by the captors in the fort; and this circumſtance, along with the profuſeneſs of the garriſon in the purchaſes which they made at a market provided on their coming out, eaſily led to a ſuſpicion of the fraud; which the money afterwards found in their poſſeſſion abundantly confirmed; and thus, a ſmall infraction of the treaty on the ſide of the weak, afforded (which is not entirely without example) a plea for the total overthrow of all the conditions to the ſtrong. It is not, however, certain, that Tippoo Sultan would have conſidered this plea or pretence, as at all neceſſary to give a colour to the cruel vengeance which he took; whether he would not have founded it upon paſt enormities, or whether he would not have gratified his indignation and revenge, without regard to appearances or conſequences, are queſtions ſtill to be reſolved.

The troops having marched out of the fortreſs, and piled their arms, were led about a mile from Bednore, where they encamped; being ſurrounded by ſome battalions of the nabob's armed ſepoys. On the following morning, the general was ſent for to meet Tippoo Sultan without the town; but he, and thoſe who accompanied him, after ſome unknown examination, were put into cloſe confinement, and never returned. In two days after, the field and ſtaff officers, with all the captains, the paymaſter, and the commiſſary, were all ſent for and likewiſe detained. The buckſhy, or paymaſter, was then ſent to the camp, when all the remaining officers were ſhamefully ſtripped and ſearched before him; and the money being found and taken, they were afterwards plundered of every thing; and no meaſures of humanity were longer obſerved with them or the troops. April 28th. 1783.

It would be too painful to enter at all minutely into the ſubſequent ſufferings of theſe ill-fated troops. It will ſuffice to ſay, that after ſuffering every degree of indignity and hardſhip in the firſt inſtance, they were compelled to march

march 16 days, under a burning ſun, almoſt naked, but loaded with irons, and driven without mercy like wild beaſts, to a fort in the interior part of the country; where they underwent the moſt grievous and cruel impriſonment, that any equal number of Engliſhmen, in the moſt inhoſpitable and ſavage regions of the earth, had ever experienced.

Though it is known that the general ſuffered a violent death, the manner of it is not certain; ſome accounts ſtating that melted lead was poured down his throat; others that ſcalding oil was thrown over his body; and a third, which ſeems more probable, that he was compelled to ſwallow the poiſonous milk or juice of a ſhrub, by which he died in great agonies. Several of the principal officers are likewiſe ſaid to have been barbarouſly murdered.

We are in the dark as to the amount and final diſpoſition of the treaſures found at Bednore. They were undoubtedly very great; and it ſeems probable, that they were moſtly, if not entirely, recovered by the conqueror. One private account, to which the officer's name is ſigned who wrote it, ſtates, that the general got poſſeſſion, excluſive of what Hyat Saib claimed, of thirty lacks of pagoda's, (amounting at leaſt to 1,200,000l.) beſides a great quantity of diamonds and other precious ſtones; all which he ſays he ſecreted, and ſent by his brother to Bombay. That his brother ſoon after fell into the hands of the nabob, who beheaded him; that the army was yet uninformed whether the treaſure had arrived at Bombay: and that, by calculation, it was a loſs of 25,000 rupees to each ſubaltern officer.

The ſum here ſtated ſeems, however, too vaſt, to have been ſecreted and conveyed in ſuch a manner.

Another officer, who ſays he was ſecretary to the general, and had free acceſs to the rooms at the palace in which the treaſure was depoſited, and was even appointed to count parts of it, deſcribes it as immenſe; and, beſides heaps of unvalued riches, ſuch as jewels, and maſſy gold and ſilver furniture, eſtimates the money at 48 lacks of pagodas. He farther ſays, "A great part "of this money belonged to the "officers, and there was a great "ſtir about it, but the general "kept it ſecure a long time, and "what became of it I know not! "If we had juſtice done us, and "the money divided out to us, it "would have been about 3,000l. "a ſubaltern."—Both the letters were written ſince the releaſe of the officers from the long and grievous impriſonment we have mentioned.

Such was the iſſue of this unfortunate expedition, and the fate of a moſt gallant body of troops, who ſeem to have been devoted, by a continued ſeries of miſconduct, to deſtruction. Though it be an anticipation in point of time, yet, as the occaſion may not offer again, we ſhould think it unpardonable not to give due praiſe, to the unequalled fidelity, conſtancy and reſolution, with which the ſepoys who were now taken, endured all the calamities and dangers of their long moſt grievous, and almoſt hopeleſs captivity;

tivity; during which they were equally proof to all the allurements, and to all the terrors held out by the victor; generously to the last refusing, though at the apparent peril of life, to sacrifice their faith and attachments by entering into his service. The affection and tenderness which they shewed to their European fellow soldiers, who were perishing under those common miseries which they were better able to bear, dividing their miserable pittance of food with them, and endeavouring to lessen or to share in all their sufferings, are without example, in such circumstances, and among such a class of men, in any other part of the world. When they were at length permitted to rejoin their officers, who were still labouring under every degree of want and distress, they, with the most rapturous expressions and appearances of joy, offered to present them with such small sums of money, as had either escaped the general pillage, or they had since saved by starving themselves. It may well be hoped, that no European who was a witness to these transactions, or who even hears them recounted, can ever be deficient in mercy or kindness to a Hindoo. Such actions, if any thing could, might serve to cure all local prejudices; and induce all the race of mankind, however different in colour, or remote in place, to consider each other as brethren.

Tippoo Sultan, immediately after the reduction of Bednore, appeared with his vast army before Mangalore; the recovery of which was the next great object of his wishes. The place was well commanded and well garrisoned; but the defences were in no degree worthy of the defenders; so that it required all the abilities of Major Campbell, seconded by the well-tried valour of the 42d regiment, and supported by some brave battalions of sepoys, to supply the defects of the fortifications.

But notwithstanding the multitude of the enemy's troops, the handful of French auxiliaries, alone gave energy to their attacks; for Hyder's numerous body of native artillery men, who had cost him so much time and pains in forming, seem, by this time, as well as the rest of his best troops, to have been entirely exhausted. By their exertions the works were so much ruined, that it seemed as if the garrison would soon be reduced to fight upon equal terms with the besiegers, when an account of the peace between England and France was received in the month of July. Tippoo Sultan was by no means pleased with the conduct of France, in concluding a peace without his concurrence, or, at least, without including him in the treaty; but the positive refusal of the French commander and his troops to act in any manner against the English, or even to continue longer in the camp, was exceedingly ill taken by him; and he is said to have shewn, upon this occasion, much want of that command of temper, by which Hyder was eminently distinguished. Sensible of the insufficiency of his own troops to prosecute the siege with effect, and stung to the heart at missing the recovery of a place of so much importance, after having considered

dered it as little leſs than already in his hands, it is ſaid, that when all means of perſuaſion failed, he then inſiſted, that no treaty whatever, in which he was not a party, could releaſe the French troops from their engagements with him, or at all warrant their departure from his army, until the enterprize, which they had undertaken in concert with his own forces, and in which they were now ſo far advanced, was completed.

We are not certain how far we can rely upon our authorities in this matter; but it ſaid, that Tippoo Sultan urged this point with ſuch pertinacity, that it was for a time imagined he intended to retain the French troops, and to compel their ſervices by force. And it is farther aſſerted, that though he did not venture to proceed to ſo violent an extremity, he however parted them with an exceeding ill grace, and that much diſſatisfaction was evident on both ſides.

The ſiege of Mangalore was then converted to a blockade. A ceſſation of arms afterwards took place; but the garriſon were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs through the want of proviſions; and it would ſeem, that though a peace was in agitation, Tippoo uſed his utmoſt endeavours to ſtarve them into a ſurrender; but the arrival of General Macleod, with a ſtrong force from Bombay, upon the coaſt, obliged him, unwillingly, to conſent to their receiving a ſupply. No military event of any conſideration afterwards took place on the Malabar coaſt. Carwar, Onore, and ſome other forts, as well as Mangalore, ſtill continued in the hands of the Engliſh, until, by the peace concluded between the company and Tippoo Sultan, in the following year, a general reſtitution of the conqueſts on both ſides took place, and the tranquility of India was, for the preſent, fully reſtored.

We are now to take notice of the proceedings on the coaſt of Coromandel, during theſe tranſactions on the oppoſite ſide of the Peninſula, which will cloſe our account of theſe long, dangerous, and very extenſive wars.

Sir Eyre Coote's ill ſtate of health, which, we have ſeen, obliged him to quit the field, and to leave the command of the army in the hands of General Stuart, ſtill continuing, and the ſeaſon of action being likewiſe over, the hope of benefiting by the voyage and change of air, with the no leſs operative motive, of procuring ſuch a ſupply of money as might enable him to proſecute the war with deciſive effect in the enſuing campaign, induced that general to proceed in the Medea frigate, from Madras to Bengal, juſt previous to the coming on of the monſoon ſeaſon, and to that dreadful hurricane which deſolated the coaſt in the preceding year.

If the proceedings of public bodies of men, were to be at all meaſured or judged of, by the ſame lines of action or rules of conduct, which preſcribe or influence the tranſactions of individuals in private affairs, it would appear an extraordinary, if not a very reprehenſible circumſtance, that this ſeaſon of the general's abſence, and that upon buſineſs of the utmoſt importance to the ſtate, ſhould be ſeized, by a government which owed its exiſt-

ence to his military abilities and exertions, for the adoption of a meaſure ſo exceedingly ungrateful in its nature, as to carry all the appearance of an intended perſonal ſlight, if not of a direct and poſitive affront.

That admirable band of ſelected ſoldiers, conſiſting of ſeveral companies of the firſt regiment of Bengal European infantry, who had originally, in the ſeaſon of diſtreſs and danger, accompanied the general by ſea to the reſcue of the Carnatic, and whoſe unequalled valour and conduct had contributed ſo highly, not leſs in example than in act, to the unhoped-for turn of affairs, and the glorious ſucceſſes of the war, were now, ſpeedily after the general's departure, and without his conſent or knowledge, remanded back, the ſame way by which they came, to their eſtabliſhment at Calcutta.

The public addreſs of thanks, which the commander in chief dedicated to thoſe brave troops upon their arrival, is in ſome degree expreſſive of his ſentiments and feelings upon the occaſion. This piece (which may be conſidered as his military teſtament, and which, along with his own, communicated the royal thanks, juſt received from England) does equal honour to the parties on both ſides concerned; to the general who beſtows, and to the troops who merited ſuch ſignal praiſe. After ſuch unbounded acknowledgments to both officers and ſoldiers, as nothing but the warmeſt gratitude, ariſing from a freſh ſenſe of great and important ſervice could inſpire, and pointing them out, not only as reflecting particular luſtre on the corps to which they belonged, but as patterns of imitation to the army in general, he barely mentions, without any immediate comment on the proceeding, the circumſtance of their being ſent back by the government of Madras, but then indicates the vexation as well as diſappointment to himſelf, by obſerving in a plaintive manner, that he had intended, that that choſen band of veterans, who originally undertook the ſervice in the Carnatic along with him, ſhould ſtill have remained there, until they had participated in the honour of glorioufly cloſing a war, in which they had throughout held ſo active a ſhare, and lamenting, that he ſhould now, upon his return, be deprived of their ſervices on that field.

The commander in chief's health being to all appearance conſiderably reſtored, and the ſeaſon for action approaching, he took his departure from Calcutta, bringing with him ten lacks of rupees, on board the Reſolution armed ſhip, belonging to the company; and in a full confidence of bringing the war in the Carnatic to a ſpeedy concluſion. It happened very unfortunately towards the cloſe of the voyage, that they fell in with and were ſo cloſely chaced by two French ſhips of the line, that during the greater part, if not the whole, of two days and two nights, the eſcape of the Reſolution ſeemed little leſs than impoſſible. The ruinous conſequences of becoming himſelf a priſoner, and of the loſs of the money, which muſt have included the total overthrow of all his deſigns and hopes, could not, in ſo critical

critical a ſeaſon of public affairs, but deeply affect the general's mind. His anxiety kept him almoſt conſtantly on deck during the whole time that the chace continued. It was ſcarcely then to be expected, that the heat, the fatigue, the night air, and above all, the agitation of mind inſeparable from ſuch a ſituation, ſhould not have ſeverely affected a conſtitution, and brought on a return of diſorders rather palliated than cured, already ſo much weakened and impaired as his was. Such in reality was the event. The ſhip and the treaſure got ſafe into Madras; but, to the irreparable loſs of the Eaſt India company, as well as of his country, the general lived but two days after his arrival.

April 26th. 1783.

It would be unneceſſary to dwell much upon the military character and abilities of this great commander. Independent of the former brilliant actions of his life, the two laſt years of it afford abundant matter to place both in the moſt exalted point of view. Whoever reflects upon the deplorable and fallen ſtate of the Britiſh affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel, when Sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras in the year 1780, and conſiders the very inferior force, conſiſting only of infantry, with which he maintained ſo ſucceſsful and glorious a war, againſt the greateſt commander and the moſt formidable armies that ever India produced, will be ſatisfied that a recital of thoſe acts is the higheſt eulogium that could be offered to his memory, and will not heſitate to acknowledge, that he ſhould hold a conſpicuous place among thoſe generals, whoſe inherent abilities have moſt eminently ſupplied the deficiency of force in war.

Sir Edward Hughes, with the fleet from Bombay, arrived at Madras about the ſame time as the general. It may be an object not only of curious but very neceſſary enquiry, to endeavour to diſcover the cauſes, through which this fleet, that had left Bombay in excellent health and condition, was, in a very moderate ſpace of time, reduced and weakened by ſickneſs, particularly the ſcurvy, in a moſt extraordinary degree. The admiral put to ſea from Madras to watch the motions of the enemy on the 2d of May; and upon diſcovering that their fleet was at Trincomale, it became his object to intercept them on their paſſage to Cuddalore; or at all events to prevent their junction with the Marquis de Buſſy at that place, until the operations by land were decided. In this eaſy cruize, without any circumſtance of bad weather, and frequently in ſight of land, the ſcurvy made ſo rapid a progreſs, that by the 8th of June, the ſick on board the line of battle ſhips, amounted to no leſs than 1125 men, of whom 605 were in the laſt ſtage of the diſorder. And though the fleet was then cleared of all that number, who were diſpatched to the hoſpital at Madras, yet in the ſmall ſpace of a fortnight, the healthieſt ſhips had from 70 to 90 men a-piece, and others double that number, incapable of duty; which, along with the long liſt of thoſe that died through the whole time, muſt have reduced the crews in

in ſuch a degree, as to render them little more than capable of working the ſhips.

An unfortunate accident at Madras had previouſly leſſened their force, by the loſs of ten officers, and 127 of the beſt ſeamen in the fleet, who had been all blown up in their endeavours to ſave the Duke of Athol Indiaman, which had taken fire in that road. It is obſervable, that the ſhips which had arrived in ſuch remarkable good health from England under Commodore Bickerton, in the preceding year, ſuffered much more extremely than any others by this diſorder; although it might be ſuppoſed, that their crews had time ſince to become tolerably ſeaſoned to the climate. A circumſtance mentioned by the admiral, without any apparent alluſion to this ſubject, might poſſibly have contributed to the diſorder. He obſerves, that great delay and diſappointment occurred in watering the ſhips at Madras, through the want of a ſufficient number of ſhore boats, and the high ſurf on the beach; and that the water of many of the ſhips was by no means complete when he put to ſea. It likewiſe appears that he afterwards attempted, in vain, to procure a ſupply of water, both at Porto Novo, and at Tranquebar; and that the ſcarcity became at length ſo great, as to affect his operations, and obliged him, at a very critical ſeaſon, to return to Madras. The cauſe, however, (if we conſider this as ſuch) does not ſeem equal to the effect; and if it was, the ſcarcity or badneſs of water, was not likely to affect the ſhips laſt from England, in a greater degree than any others.

The command of the army continued of courſe in the hands of General Stuart. The great object of the campaign was the expulſion of the French from the Carnatic; but though they were now left to fight the battle nearly alone, yet they were ſo ſtrongly fortified in Cuddalore, ſo abundantly provided with artillery, ammunition, and every proviſion for war, and their force ſo conſiderable, both with reſpect to quality and number, that as their views for the preſent were merely defenſive, it could not but be a taſk of great difficulty to diſpoſſeſs them of that hold, which they had ſpent ſo much time and labour to render unaſſailable.

The Marquis de Buſſy had lately arrived to take the command, and had brought with him the laſt diviſion of the forces from the Mauritius. As France had no continental war to occupy her armies in Europe, ſhe had ſent ſome of her beſt troops and oldeſt regiments upon this ſervice. We have no particular information as to the amount of their force at this period; and the viciſſitudes in that reſpect are ſo great and ſudden in that part of the world, that no well-founded concluſion can be drawn, from any former ſtatement, of the actual number of troops fit for ſervice at a ſubſequent given time. It however appears that their European force was very conſiderable; and was farther ſtrengthened by a body of ſepoys, which Tippoo Sultan had left behind to act with them as auxiliaries.

General

General Stuart, upon the retreat of that prince from the Carnatic, had detached a conſiderable diviſion of the army, under the Colonels Lang and Fullarton, to carry the war into his own dominions, by invading them on the ſouthern quarter. Though theſe officers had great ſucceſs, took Dindigul and other conſiderable places, and that it could not but be highly embarraſſing and diſtreſſing to the enemy to be ſo formidably attacked in this diſtant part, while his hands were fully occupied on the Malabar coaſt; yet this detraction from the main ſtrength, was afterwards ſo ſenſibly felt in the proſecution of the principal object, that as the difficulties and ſervices on the ſide of Cuddalore multiplied, while the army, through the loſs of men and the greatneſs of the duty and fatigue, became leſs equal to their ſupport, the general found it at length neceſſary to recal Colonel Fullarton, although he had then nearly, if not entirely, ſubdued the whole Coimbatour country; and ſeemed in a train of extending his deſigns ſtill farther.

The month of May was ſpent in providing and ſhipping proviſions, ſtores, and moſt of the bulky articles neceſſary for the ſervice, on board thoſe veſſels which were to attend the army in the courſe of the expedition. As we have ſeen no plan, nor particular deſcription of Cuddalore, we can only form our ideas of the ſtate of that place, and of the nature of the approaches and defences, from the circumſtances which occur in the ſiege. It ſeems to be ſurrounded on two ſides, at leaſt, by the ſea; and the interval, or neck, as it is called, (though rather too open to the continent to be properly conſidered as an iſthmus) is compoſed of very unequal and difficult ground; being incumbered with rocky hills, and interrupted by a large tank or pond. To the ſouth, it is covered by a very thick and deep wood; than which nothing can be deemed a better natural defence in India; for as the hardneſs of the timber trees renders the cutting of them in a great meaſure impracticable, ſo the innumerable bamboos which fill up the interſtices, are proof to fire through their extreme ſucculence. The French accordingly, relying upon that ſecurity, were ſatisfied to fortify thoſe parts of the neck which lay open to the country; and theſe they covered with ſtrong lines and redoubts well mounted with artillery.

It was then with aſtoniſhment that they beheld General Stuart marching round through the open ground in the face of the works, and encamping on the ſouth ſide under the cover of that wood, which they regarded as their own ſecurity, and as impenetrable, at leaſt to the paſſage of artillery, and the regular approaches of an army. But though his operations were, by this manœuvre, out of view, they ſoon perceived that he was ſucceſsfully directing them to obviate the difficulties of the wood; and upon this diſcovery, they immediately applied themſelves with extraordinary labour and induſtry, to ſupply the failure of that defence, by continuing June 7th.

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the chain of works quite acroſs the neck.

The Britiſh general obſerving the wonderful facility, with which new and mighty works were riſing faſt into view, and ſeeing that the approaches would ſoon be covered in ſuch a manner, as to render the body of the place unaſſailable, thought it were better, notwithſtanding the great force of the enemy, to endeavour by a bold attack to prevent their completion, than to wait the tedious reſult of regular approaches for their future ſubverſion.

Relying upon the goodneſs of his troops, he accordingly took his meaſures for this purpoſe. The greater part of the firſt line, under the conduct of General Bruce, were deſtined to the attack; who took their ground ſilently on the preceding evening, about half a mile in front of the camp. They were compoſed of the *precious* remains, as the general repeatedly calls them, of the 73d, and of the 78th and 101ſt royal regiments; of detachments from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, amounting to 600 men, under the conduct of Colonel Wangenheim, and Major Varrenius; of a handful of the Madras Europeans, amounting only to about 80; and of ſome battalions both of Bengal and Madras ſepoys. The European grenadiers, amounting with their officers to 360, formed a diſtinct corps, under Lieutenant Colonel Cathcart. The whole number of the Europeans was about 1600.

The attack was ſucceſsfully commenced early in the morning on the left, by Lieutenant Colonel Kelly, who having carried the enemy's works and batteries on the Bandipollum hills, continued to direct their own fire againſt them from thence, with great effect, through the courſe of the day. Colonel Cathcart with the grenadiers, ſupported by Colonel Stuart with the remains of the 73d, under Captain Lamont, and two battalions of ſepoys, attempted, under cover of the guns juſt taken by Kelly, to turn the enemy's right, and particularly to take a ſtrong redoubt, by which they were extremely galled in the advance; but the ground was ſo difficult, and the fire ſo heavy, that Colonel Stuart found it neceſſary to cover the troops in the beſt manner he could, until he could communicate their ſituation to the general; with a view that a diverſion might be made, by attacks being directed from other quarters to that point at the ſame inſtant.

The reſerve accordingly, under Colonel Gordon, conſiſting of the 101ſt, of the Hanoverians, and of five companies of ſepoys, were ordered up to ſupport Stuart's corps, while General Bruce made a movement from the right, in the direction of the redoubt. As this was the grand point of attack and defence, on which the fortune of the day entirely depended, and where the utmoſt exertions of valour were diſplayed on both ſides, the troops being ſo admirably matched in point of goodneſs, that ſome advantage of ground or chance, ſeemed almoſt neceſſary to afford a ſuperiority to either over the other, we ſhall be the more particular in our account of this exceedingly hard fought and bloody action.

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As the fire of the artillery had not been able during the morning to produce any effect upon the enemies works, an attempt to carry them by ſtorm became the laſt reſort. As ſoon then as the advancing troops were able to cloſe upon the enemy with their muſquetry, the firing of the artillery ceaſed, and the guns were laid under cover. The reſerve, with Stuart's corps and the grenadiers, endured in their approach, the heavieſt fire of muſquetry, round and grape ſhot, from the enemy, that, the general ſays, he had ever beheld. They notwithſtanding advanced in the moſt admirable order to the works, where they forced their way into the entrenchments, and mingled in cloſe and mortal combat with the enemy. But the French troops received them moſt valiantly, ſuſtaining this fierce attack with wonderful firmneſs; and their ſtrength and ſpirits being continually renewed by ſupplies of freſh men, after a long and bloody conteſt, in which a number of gallant officers fell on both ſides, the aſſailants were repulſed; and the enemy, unable to reſtrain their ardour, ſallied out of their works and puſhed the reſerve, ſtill deſperately fighting, down the declivity, towards the level ground. This ſucceſs, and the change of poſition it occaſioned, produced an effect, unthought of by the enemy in the eagerneſs of their purſuit; for the grenadiers, with the other troops of Stuart's diviſion, had in the mean time turned the works, and gained poſſeſſion of that ſtrong poſt which had been the object of ſo much bloody contention; and not contented with this ſervice, having effectually ſecured the redoubts and works there, they puſhed on incontinently to another ſtrong poſt called Brickmyre's, conſiderably nearer the town, which they likewiſe carried, with its artillery, and were ſome time in poſſeſſion of; but the great force of the enemy being there at hand, they poured in ſuch a number of freſh troops upon them, that they were obliged to abandon Brickmyre's. In the mean time, the reſerve having rallied, repulſed and purſued the enemy; who now perceiving the loſs of their poſts, were obliged to take a circuitous courſe to gain the fortreſs; upon which a ſpirited attempt was made by General Bruce to cut off their retreat; but ſome of the works enfiladed a hollow way thro' which the troops were paſſing, and poured ſuch inceſſant ſhowers of grape ſhot upon them, that the deſign, after ſome loſs, was of neceſſity relinquiſhed.

As the works on the Bandipollum Hills, and thoſe now taken, commanded or enfiladed the whole extent of the Neck, and laid the way open for carrying on the approaches with effect directly to the fortreſs, the general thought it fitting to ſpare the effuſion of blood, and to give ſome reſpite to the troops after ſo ſevere a ſervice. But ſuch was their ardour, that notwithſtanding the heavy loſs they had already ſuſtained, they wanted to puſh on directly in the preſent heat, to the attack of the remaining works towards the town, though they were ſenſible of the heavy fire both of ſmall arms and artillery, to which, without cover, they would be expoſed in the approach. The general, however, reſtrained

reſtrained their eagerneſs, and relying upon his knowledge of the temper of the enemy, judged rightly, that when they had leiſure to cool, and time for reflection, they would not retain the remaining outworks, at the hazard of another encounter. His opinion was ſoon verified, for on the very next morning, they abandoned all their poſts without the fortreſs.

This brilliant and important ſucceſs cannot be ſuppoſed, from the nature of the action, to have been cheaply purchaſed; the loſs of men, in killed, wounded and miſſing, including the native troops, amounting to 962. The royal forces ſuffered extremely, ten of their officers being killed, thirty wounded, and between four and five hundred of the private men included in the different liſts. This was ſaid to be the greateſt loſs of Europeans, particularly of officers, in proportion to the whole number, that had been yet known in any action in India. Undoubtedly, there never had been one better fought on both ſides than the preſent. The Hanoverians, the grenadiers, and the remains of the 73d, gained diſtinguiſhed honour on this day; but it was a glory by no means ſlightly acquired, for their reſpective loſs was ſevere indeed. Of the firſt, four officers fell upon the ſpot, and twelve were wounded; and of their private men, 62 were killed, and 144 wounded; being more than a third of their whole number in the field. Their brave Major Varrenius fell, as he was gallantly leading up his men to the attack of the entrenchments, under that terrible fire which we have before mentioned. Captain Lindſay, who commanded the grenadiers of the 73d, was mortally wounded; and refuſing to admit the gallant mark of affection eagerly propoſed by his men, of ſtaying behind to protect, or to periſh along with him, he was taken priſoner. The grenadiers under Colonel Cathcart, as well as their commander, excited general admiration; but their loſs in killed and wounded, including 12 officers, was little ſhort of half their number.

Nor was the loſs of the French, making allowance for their cover, and the ſtrength of their works, at all diſproportioned to that of the Engliſh; 42 of their officers, and above 600 of their beſt troops, being that day killed or wounded.

On the day after this action, the French fleet arrived from Trincomale at the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquebar; from whence a correſpondence taking place between M. de Suffrein and the Marquis de Buſſy, the latter found himſelf yet ſo ſtrong, that he detached 1200 of his troops to reinforce the ſhips, in the expected encounter with Sir Edward Hughes. We have before obſerved the great reduction of ſtrength that took place in the Britiſh fleet, through the extraordinary ſickneſs of the ſeamen. They were, notwithſtanding, at this time cruizing before Cuddalore, to cut off all ſupplies from the Marquis de Buſſy; an object, however, to which the ſituation of the place, with the nature of the coaſt and winds, and ſome other circumſtances, were by no means favourable. Upon the appearance of the enemy, two or three days were ſpent in manœuvres

vres on both ſides, the Britiſh admiral uſing his utmoſt efforts to gain the wind, while the enemy were more ſucceſsful in their exertions to preſerve that advantage.

The enemy at length, on the fourth day, ſhewing a diſpoſition to engage, the wind ſtill entirely in their favour, the admiral immediately formed the line of battle a-head, and brought to to receive them. It was a little paſt four o'clock, in the afternoon, when the van ſhip of the enemy's line, having fired a ſingle gun to try her diſtance, and although ſcarcely within point blank-ſhot reach, the whole fleet began inſtantly to fire; which they continued for about 20 minutes, before a ſingle ſhot was returned by the Britiſh line. The diſtance being then conſiderably leſſened, though ſtill far too great for the kind of engagement wiſhed by the Engliſh, a heavy cannonade took place, which was continued on both ſides, without intermiſſion, until ſeven o'clock. At that hour the enemy hauled off, having preſerved a guarded diſtance through the whole courſe of the engagement. June 20th.

The enemy were out of ſight in the morning. On the 22d Sir Edward Hughes diſcovered them at anchor in the Road of Pondicherry; where he braved them during the day, and anchored in the evening within their ſight. But the want of water was now ſo extreme, and the number of the ſick, now increaſed by the wounded, ſo great, that the admiral was under an abſolute neceſſity of proceeding to Madras, in order to land the one, and to procure a ſupply of the other.

The loſs of men on the Engliſh ſide in this action, amounted to 99 killed, and to 431 wounded; a few brave officers were included in both liſts; but the captains were for this time *Scotfree*. It ſeems not a little ſurprizing, as we cannot ſuppoſe that M. de Suffrein could be ignorant of the ſickly weakened condition of the Engliſh fleet, that he did not venture to come to cloſe action, and endeavour to render the engagement deciſive. It is, however, to be obſerved, that the Engliſh had, for the firſt time, a ſuperiority of ſhips and guns in this action; their line of battle conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips, and that of the French only fifteen. But this apparent ſuperiority, it might be thought, would have been much more than counterballanced by the weakneſs of the crews, when the ſhips came to be ſingly hard preſſed in a cloſe fight. It may at the ſame time be obſerved, with reſpect to the other ſide, that it indicated no ſmall confidence in their own inherent virtue, that, as upon all former occaſions, ſo, even in their preſent reduced ſtate, they uſed every endeavour to bring their enemy to the cloſeſt poſſible action.

This was the fifth and laſt battle between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein; and this concluded the ſevere courſe of naval warfare between the two nations in India. A war in which infinite valour was diſplayed on both ſides; but in the courſe of which, ſeveral appearances of national rancour and animoſity which occurred on

on that of the French admiral, will by no means ſerve to exalt his character as a philoſopher or a man, however high his reputation may be deſervedly held, as a bold and brave naval commander.

Upon the departure of the Britiſh ſquadron to Madras, M. de Suffrein immediately proceeded to Cuddalore, where he not only returned the 1,200 land forces which had been lent by the Marquis de Buſſy, but he landed 2,400 of his own men from the fleet, as a moſt powerful aid to the defence.

During theſe tranſactions, Gen. Stuart was carrying on his approaches to attack the body of the fortreſs; at the ſame time, that the number of poſts he had to maintain, and the very conſiderable loſſes he had ſuſtained through action and ſickneſs, could not but greatly reduce his effective force againſt the town. But the departure of Sir Edward Hughes, and the arrival of the enemy's fleet at Cuddalore, multiplied all his difficulties in an extraordinary degree; the poſts, and ſervices of every kind, becoming more numerous, and the force of the enemy being greatly increaſed, at the very time that the army was reduced to its weakeſt ſtate. The general accordingly, could not but impatiently expect, the arrival of reinforcements which he had ordered from Madras, as well as of Colonel Fullarton and his detachment from the Coimbatour country.

The enemy, who could not be ignorant of theſe circumſtances, and were confident in their increaſe of ſtrength, conſidered this as a moſt favourable opportunity for deciding the fortune of the ſiege; or if a vigorous attack did not even produce all the effect that might be hoped, the deſtruction of the beſiegers works towards the town, they held as the ſmalleſt benefit that was to be expected. The conduct of the enterprize was committed to the Chevalier de Damas, a Knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitaine, who led ſome of the beſt troops of France in this ſally; his detachment being compoſed, beſides his own regiment, and other old entire bodies, of picked men, as volunteers, from all the different corps in the place; and to theſe were added two battalions of ſepoys; ſo that his party was ſcarcely leſs conſiderable with reſpect to number and force, than to the goodneſs of the troops.

With this force, the French commander advanced in the dark, and with great ſilence, to the attack of the trenches, about three o'clock in the morning. Though it will not be ſuppoſed, conſidering the great ſtrength of the enemy, and the nearneſs of their fleet adminiſtring continual room for apprehenſion, that the Britiſh troops were not in a conſtant ſtate of preparation, and in expectancy of ſuch an attempt; yet every attack of this nature, in the dark, and at a previouſly unknown hour, muſt, in the beginning, neceſſarily produce ſome of the effects of a ſurprize. So upon this occaſion, a few of the foremoſt French, wrapt up in ſilence and darkneſs, got into the trenches, and in the blind ſcram-

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ble which for a short time there took place, the falling of the officer who held them, threw the colours of the 24th regiment of Bengal sepoys into their hands, which they immediately sent off in triumph to the town; but that brave battalion convinced them before they parted, that they were well entitled to their colours, and that they must have been dearly purchased by those who had attempted to gain them in open day-light.

As soon as the troops had time to seize their arms, the assailants were opposed with the greatest resolution and firmness, and as the light opened, the troops in the trenches, not contented to maintain their defences, attacked the enemy in turn, and pushed them so hard on every side, that a complete rout took place. The Chevalier de Damas, with some other officers, and about 150 of his soldiers, were taken prisoners; and the whole loss of the French in every way, was said to amount to about 400 men. Nothing could exceed the admirable behaviour of the troops, both Europeans and sepoys, in this action. It was held as equally singular and extraordinary, that the 24th battalion of Bengal sepoys, with another belonging to Madras, fought some of the oldest and best troops of France with the bayonet, and foiled them at that favourite European weapon, which is supposed to be the most trying test of the firmness and excellency of soldiers. It will probably then afford no small satisfaction to many who read this narrative, to be informed, that the general, in his address of thanks to the army, gave an assurance to those brave sepoys, that he would recommend their distinguished services so effectually to the governments of Bengal and Madras, that they, and their families, should be ever supported and rewarded according to their merit.

Colonel Gordon, Lieut. Col. Cathcart, and Major Cotgrove, were the three officers who commanded on that morning in the trenches. They all gained the greatest honour by the presence of mind and firmness with which they withstood the surprize, and the gallantry with which they avenged the insult. The brave major, who led the Madras sepoys, was killed at the close of the action. Colonel Cathcart, who had been so highly distinguished in the action of the 13th, seemed as if he had rested his military reputation entirely upon his conduct in the present. The loss was wonderfully small; and the little there was fell principally upon the sepoys.

In two or three days after this sally, the Medea frigate arrived under a flag from Madras at Cuddalore, bringing information from Lord Macartney and the admiral, of the conclusion of peace between the two nations; in consequence of which, a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately took place.

CHAP. V.

Retrospective view of affairs in the West-Indies, North America, Africa, and Europe, previous to the conclusion of peace. Bahama islands taken by the Governor General of Cuba. Dutch settlements in Africa reduced by the English. French expedition to Hudson's Bay, where they take and destroy two of the Company's settlements. Various successes on the Musquito shore: Fort Dalling retaken: Don T. Julia, with the Spanish forces on Black River, surrender prisoners of war to Colonel Despard. Calamities of the fleet and convoy from Jamaica. Ramillies, Centaur, Ville de Paris, Le Glorieux, and Le Hector, with many merchant ships lost. Sir Guy Carleton communicates to General Washington the resolutions of parliament for an accommodation with the Americans, and the instructions and authority he had received for that purpose from government; requiring at the same time a passport for Mr. Morgan, who he intended to dispatch upon the business to Congress. Washington refers the proposal to Congress, who forbid his granting the passport. Resolutions of several assemblies, against any separate negociation, peace, or truce with Great Britain. Subsequent declaration to the same purpose by Congress; with strict injunctions, against the receiving of any proposals, or the admission of any emissaries from England. Measures pursued in Europe towards the attainment of a general peace. Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany, mediators. State and condition of the contending parties. Mr. Grenville sent to Paris. Mr. Fitz-Herbert appointed plenipotentiary, to negociate and conclude a treaty of peace, with the ministers of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oswald appointed commissioner on the part of his Britannic majesty, to negociate a treaty with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, the American commissioners. Provisional articles signed with America. Preliminary articles of peace between England, France, and Spain, signed at Versailles, by Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, Esq; the Count de Vergennes, and the Count D'Aranda. Sketch of the provisional and preliminary treaties.

HAVING thus traced the war through all its stages in the far regions of the East, we are now to follow the course of those transactions which preceded, or led to its conclusion in the other quarters of the world. Europe, though the smaller division, yet being, thro' the extraordinary energy of the men it produces, at this time, as in remote periods, the arbiter of war and peace to much the greater part of the globe.

Great and happy as the effects of Lord Rodney's victory over the French fleet under the Count de Grasse were, they could not at once extend equally to all parts, nor every where restrain the enterprize of our combined enemies. Don Juan de Cagigal, governor general of the island of Cuba and the Havannah, fell, with a part of that great force which had been destined, in concert with France, to the conquest of Jamaica, upon the defence-

defenceleſs Bahama iſlands. Col. Maxwell, the governor of Providence, had only about 170 invalids, to oppoſe to an armament, amounting by ſea and land to above 5,000 men; and the native ſtrength of the iſlands was moſtly diſperſed at ſea; the bold and adventurous part of the inhabitants purſuing their favourite occupation of privateering. In ſuch circumſtances a capitulation was all that could be hoped for, and every pretence or appearance of reſiſtance, any farther than as it tended to that object, would ſeem futile and dangerous.

The governor, however, endeavoured to defer the evil as long as poſſible, heſitating for two days before he agreed to a ſurrender; perhaps reſting upon the ſolitary hope, that the enemy not being ſtrong at ſea, ſome unforeſeen chance or accident might bring a few Britiſh ſhips or frigates of war to his reſcue. Though the Spaniſh commander's ſummons peremptorily required the capitulations to be ſigned within ſix hours, and that he was fully acquainted with the weakneſs of the garriſon and defence, yet he bore this delay with great moderation and temper; and the conditions were, notwithſtanding, as favourable, both to the garriſon and inhabitants, as they could have been aſked for or wiſhed. Indeed it would ſeem as if the humanized and poliſhed conduct of Don Galvez upon former occaſions, (which we have heretofore had much ſatisfaction in acknowledging and applauding) had been conſidered by Don Juan de Cagigal as the model by which to regulate his own through the whole of this tranſaction, were it not that ſimilar minds will purſue ſimilar lines of action without the aid of example.

May 8th. 1782.

The capture of theſe iſlands, whatever their value might be, was not to be eſtimated as a real loſs, as, from their nature and ſituation, they could not be long retained from their former poſſeſſors.

The Dutch, who were deſtined to pay heavy and ruinous fines in every quarter of the world, for the ill-judged, and unnatural part which they took in this war, were about the ſame time ſtripped of moſt of their ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, by Capt. Shirley, in the Leander of 50 guns; who, without any land forces, and the aſſiſtance only of the Alligator ſloop of war, took Acra, with four other of their forts, mounting 124 pieces of cannon. And to compleat their ruin on that coaſt, Lieut. Cartwright of the Argo frigate, having landed with a detachment of ſeamen, to ſupport ſome land forces which were under the direction of the African company, he moſt gallantly attacked, and had a principal ſhare in taking, the ſtrong and well-garriſoned Dutch fort of Commenda; which, beſides two mortars and as many howitzers, had 32 pieces of cannon mounted for its defence.

On the other ſide, as if it had been to vent ſome part of the ill-humour excited by the late defeat in the Weſt-Indies, M. de Vaudreuil, ſome time before his departure with the remainder of the beaten fleet from Cape François to North America, concerted an expedition, purely predatory, againſt the remote poſſeſſions and property of the Hudſon's Bay company, ſhut up as they were among the frozen regions of

the North, and approachable only through obſcure ſtraits and gulphs, which were little known, excepting to thoſe peculiarly concerned in that trade, and only for a ſmall part of the year navigable even by them.

M. de la Perouſe, in the Sceptre of 74 guns, with two 36 gun frigates, was appointed to conduct this expedition; having on board about 300 ſoldiers and artillery men, with ſome mortars and cannon for the ſuppoſed ſieges they were to undertake. This ſmall ſquadron ſailed from Cape François on the 31ſt of May, 1782, and did not arrive at the iſlands of Reſolution, which mark the entrance of Hudſon's Straits, until the 17th of July. From thence they began to experience the difficulties and dangers of the voyage. Every thing was new to them; and they had no chart for their guidance, thro' the unknown perils they were to encounter. Notwithſtanding the power of the ſun at that ſeaſon, they had ſcarcely proceeded 20 leagues up the ſtraits, when the ſhips were ſo faſt locked up in the ice, that the ſeamen went on foot from one to the other. They were detained in this ſtate for ſeveral days, and ſeverely felt, as they afterwards continued to do, the want of ice anchors. The ſhips ſuffered much damage, particularly the frigates, which were more than once in an alarming ſtate of danger; and even the Sceptre was near loſing her rudder.

Through theſe impediments, the month of July was elapſed before they got clear of the ſtraits; and that ſeaſon was faſt approaching, which was not only likely to forbid the proſecution of their deſign, but might poſſibly ſhut them up for the winter in thoſe inhoſpitable regions. Having at length weathered Cape Walſingham, the weſtern point of the ſtraits, they not only had then ſome more perfect knowledge of their ſituation, but being got into the open bay, they hoped their difficulties were at an end. Theſe hopes were ſoon overthrown; for on the 3d of Auguſt, being ſuddenly enveloped by a fog, they found themſelves immediately ſurrounded by ſuch large iſlands of ice, that they were under a neceſſity of bringing to; and upon the diſperſion of the fog, they perceived that the three ſhips were faſt wedged in a vaſt field of ice, which extended farther than the eye could reach. Things then appeared ſo hopeleſs, that M. de Perouſe had formed a determination, as ſoon as they got clear of the preſent difficulty, to ſend the Sceptre, with one of the frigates, back to the Weſt-Indies, and of wintering himſelf, with the other frigate, and a part of the troops, in the bay; in order to be at hand to deſtroy the Engliſh ſettlements, as ſoon as the opening of the ſeaſon in the enſuing year would admit of their operations. It happened fortunately for M. de la Perouſe and his people, that ſo ſevere a trial of their conſtancy was prevented, by the appearance of a ſmall opening in the ice two days after, through which, with a preſs of ſail, and no ſmall danger to the ſhips, they forced their way; and on the 8th of Auguſt were happy in diſcovering the Engliſh colours flying on the Fort Prince of Wales, upon the Churchill River, which was their firſt and principal object; hoping now to obtain ſome ceſſation of their toils and dangers.

The

The Company poſſeſs ſix of thoſe buildings, which are called forts, in Hudſon's Bay; being in reality factories, erected at the mouths of the principal rivers; the buildings being neceſſarily ſtrong, as well to guard againſt the climate as againſt other dangers, and furniſhed with artillery to command reſpect with the various nations of ſavages, who come from the remoteſt parts to diſpoſe of their furs and peltry; but they had not a ſingle ſoldier in all theſe forts; and the whole number of ſtorekeepers, clerks, and ſervants of every denomination, which they maintain at ſo many ſtations, does not exceed 120, at the utmoſt.

The French, incapable of imagining the defenceleſs ſtate of theſe forts, took a wonderful deal of unneceſſary trouble, in landing their troops and artillery at guarded diſtances, and proceeding with the utmoſt caution in their approaches, under a full perſuaſion of meeting with that formidable reſiſtance, which was ſo well to be expected in an attack upon Engliſh fortreſſes and garriſons. When they had proceeded in this manner within cannon ſhot of Fort Prince of Wales, aſtoniſhed at the ſilence and ſolitude which prevailed, not a ſingle man appearing in any direction, they made a halt, and ſent an officer to ſummon the fortreſs to ſurrender; in anſwer to which the gates were immediately thrown open, and, M. de la Perouſe gravely informs us, that the governor and garriſon ſurrendered at diſcretion. The fort, he obſerves, was built of free-ſtone, the artillery in excellent condition, and the magazines were covered with lead. They found here a great quantity of different kinds of merchandize; but the ſeaſon admitting of no delay, they were under a neceſſity of burning and deſtroying every thing, excepting ſome of the moſt valuable furs, which, with the garriſon, they carried on board.

Having ſpent about two days at this place, they ſailed on the 11th for York Fort, which lies farther down the bay, and on the ſame weſtern ſhore with the former, being ſituated at the point of a long iſland, which dividing a vaſt river into two great branches, that in the front of the fort is called Hayes's, and that on the back of the iſland Nelſon River. In this part of the enterprize they encountered natural difficulties, which ſeemed pretty well to ſupply the place of human reſiſtance. The coaſt was full of rocky ſhoals; the depth of water not above ſix or ſeven fathoms, at beſt; and the bottom every where foul and bad. In this dangerous navigation they were, as before, without any chart for their guidance, and the priſoners obſtinately refuſed to give them the ſmalleſt information or direction whatever. Through theſe circumſtances, beſides great and continual danger to the ſhips, they ſpent nine days in a navigation of not many leagues; nor could they probably have at all ſucceeded, if it had not been for the uſeful aſſiſtance of ſome large, decked boats, which they had found at Fort Prince of Wales, and which, leading the way, under the direction of ſome of their moſt able officers and ſeamen, with great caution and difficulty traced out a paſſage through the numberleſs rocks and ſhoals with which they were environed.

Nor were the difficulties leſs when they arrived within ſight of their object; for the rivers were full of ſand-banks; the currents very violent; and the tides exceedingly rapid. As the enemy expected a great reſiſtance here, and the more ſo, as they had received intelligence that a ſhip of 26 guns belonging to the Company was at anchor in Hayes' River, they anchored out of ſight of land, while the boats ſpent two days in examining and ſurveying the ſhores and rivers. The reſult was, that the attack on the river Hayes' ſide being judged too dangerous, the deſcent ſhould be made on the back of the iſland from the river Nelſon. The fleet of boats, with the land forces, conducted by M. de la Perouſe himſelf, gained the mouth of that river on the 21ſt of Auguſt in the evening; when they found the debarkation ſo difficult that it could not be attempted during the night. The boats anchored in two fathoms and a half water; but to their aſtoniſhment found themſelves left dry by the tide in the morning; and the troops, leaving their mortars and cannon behind, were obliged to wade, with their muſkets on their ſhoulders, through a ſoft mud, for a quarter of a league, to reach the ſhore.

Nor were the impediments to their progreſs yet ſubdued; for though the diſtance to the other ſide did not exceed four leagues, that day was fruitleſsly ſpent in endeavouring to find ſome road that might lead them through the very difficult woods and moraſſes which croſſed their way; and they were at length obliged to truſt to the guidance of the compaſs only for that purpoſe. In the mean time the weather grew ſo tempeſtuous, that M. de la Perouſe being greatly alarmed for his ſhips, run no ſmall riſque in his return to them; while the troops were left to their own fortune, and the ſagacity of their proper commanders. After croſſing a deep moraſs of two leagues, their labours were at length ended, and all thoſe mighty dangers which they apprehended, at once vaniſhed upon their arrival at York Fort, which opened its gates at the firſt ſummons, with no leſs facility than they had experienced at Fort Prince of Wales.

The elements were now become ſo terrible, and both ſhips and boats expoſed to ſuch continual damage and danger, that the utmoſt expedition was uſed in blowing up York Fort, and in burning and deſtroying every thing on ſhore as before. But as we have ever a particular pleaſure in relating all acts of humanity in war, whether on the ſide of friend or of enemy, we ſhall do M. de la Perouſe the juſtice to acknowledge, that he preſerved one of the magazines, in which he depoſited proviſions, gunpowder, ſhot, ſmall arms, and an aſſortment of European goods proper for exchanges with the ſavages, all which he left behind, for the uſe and ſubſiſtence, through the coming long winter, of thoſe Engliſh who had retired to the woods; and who could not, during that time, have received any relief from home.

Theſe ſervices being haſtily performed by the laſt of Auguſt, the French commanders, who were exceedingly apprehenſive of the dangers of their ſituation, immediately ſet out on their return to Europe; bringing with them the nominal

minal governors and garriſons of the forts they had taken; whoſe names and number M. de la Perouſe, however, abſtains from ſpecifying. It was almoſt ſingular, that two of the Company's ſhips, and a ſloop, which were then in the bay, had the fortune of eſcaping the enemy, and of returning ſafe to Europe; this was more eſpecially fortunate with reſpect to the ſhip King George, which being hemmed in at Hayes's River, by the enemy's ſhips on the one ſide, and by their land forces on the other, yet by cutting her cable, and putting out to ſea at night, paſſed the former without diſcovery, and got clear off. The French eſtimate the damage done to the Hudſon's Bay company in this expedition at about half a million ſterling.

Some ſucceſſes within the tropies, on the Muſquito ſhore, were all that England had to counterbalance this loſs in the northern extremity of America. We have heretofore ſeen, that the Spaniards had, ever ſince the commencement of the war, made repeated attempts, with various ſucceſs, upon the Engliſh logwood cutters and ſettlers in the Bay of Honduras, and along the Muſquito ſhore, as well as upon their old and faithful allies, the warlike Indians of the latter country; whoſe hereditary antipathy to the former, and friendſhip and affection for the latter, ſtill continue, through a long ſeries of years, in full force. But ſince the recovery of Omoa from the Engliſh, and ſince the fatal event of the unfortunate expedition from Jamaica to the River St. Juan on the Spaniſh main, in which ſome thouſands of the royal, as well as the native forces of that iſland, became victims to the poiſonous air and water of a moſt deſtructive and mortal climate, the Spaniards, taking advantage of the enſuing weakneſs, and of the perilous ſtate of things which ſo long prevailed by ſea and land in the Weſt-Indies, preſſed much, and with great ſucceſs, as well upon the Britiſh ſettlers, as upon the Indians themſelves, in the bay, and on the Muſquito ſhore. They had particularly, beſides the Iſland of Rattan, gained poſſeſſion of the old ſettlements upon Black River, (which had been ſo long, in ſeaſons of trouble and danger, a ſecure refuge to the Bay-men from all quarters) where they fixed themſelves in conſiderable ſtrength; and they had beſides gained Fort Dalling on Cape River, and poſſeſſed themſelves of other poſts and faſtneſſes in different parts of the country.

The Bay-men have at all times been a moſt hardy and intrepid race; they are eaſily diſturbed and driven from their ſettlements, but their entire expulſion, or abſolute reduction, have ever been found impracticable. The excellent treatment which their negroes experience from them, and the terms of kindneſs, and almoſt of equality, upon which they live together, has intereſted them ſo highly in the fortunes of their maſters, that ſeeming to feel themſelves, in ſome degree, in the character of citizens, they likewiſe conſider themſelves as acting in a common cauſe, and are accordingly upon all occaſions ready, and with no leſs courage than themſelves, to encounter the greateſt dangers in their behalf. Nor is it more extraordi-

nary than praiſeworthy in the hiſtory of this ſingular people, that living nearly without laws, and without government through ſome generations, yet that they obſerved ſo exact a probity, and preſerved ſo inviolable a faith in their tranſactions with the Indians during that period, as never once, upon any occaſion, to have hazarded their friendſhip.

Preparatory to the execution of a ſcheme that had been formed for the entire expulſion of the Spaniards, a Captain Campbell, one of the ſettlers, had, at the head of 150 bold and able negroes, exceedingly harraſſed and moleſted the enemy in their poſts, through the courſe of the ſummer 1782. Continued ſucceſs, in a number of ſkirmiſhes, ſtill encouraging the leader and his black party to bolder attempts, he, with great dexterity and addreſs, evading the enemy's ſurrounding poſts, reached Fort Dalling in the night, which they gallantly carried, by a moſt furious and well-conducted aſſault, with the loſs, on their ſide, of two men only. Such was the roughneſs and fury of this attack, that 65 Spaniards were laid dead upon the ſpot; a few wounded were taken priſoners; and the remainder of the garriſon, amounting to about forty, had the good fortune to make their eſcape in the dark. Eight pieces of cannon, one cohorn, with the colours, ſome ſmall arms, and a conſiderable quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the aſſailants; who, notwithſtanding the danger of their ſituation, environed, as they were, on all ſides by the enemy, waited to deſtroy the works, and retired with ſafety to their own quarters.

Theſe briſk actions ſo much weakened the enemy's force in the country, as greatly to facilitate the ſucceſs of the main enterprize againſt the Spaniards on Black River. A little army was formed at Cape Gracias a Dios, compoſed of 86 American rangers, under a Major Campbell, of 500 ſhoremen, whites and negroes, and 600 Muſquito Indians, led by their reſpective chiefs. It happening, that Lieutenant Colonel Deſpard arrived at this juncture, upon ſome private buſineſs from Jamaica, the different parties, of all colours and degrees, unanimouſly elected him to be their leader, and he immediately marched at their head to attack the enemy at Black River.

The Spaniſh forces in the works and poſts at that place, conſiſting of 27 officers, and 715 rank and file, were principally compoſed of the regiment of Guatimala, and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Don Thomas Julia. We have no knowledge of the ſtrength or nature of their works; but their late experience was by no means encouraging to a bold defence; and ſtill much leſs the apprehenſions of falling into the hands of a rough enemy, exaſperated by recent loſs and injury, or of Indians, who ever regarded them with the moſt implacable animoſity. The governor accordingly ſoon agreed to a capitulation, by which the garriſon and he ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, under the condition of being tranſmitted to Omoa, upon parole, until their exchange was effected, and even then, not to ſerve againſt any part of the Muſquito ſhore during the war; the forts, and every thing in them, were delivered up to the conquerors.

conquerors. In these were found, besides the property of the inhabitants, now recovered, and the colours, 25 pieces of artillery, 1000 firelocks, and a competent quantity of ammunition.

In no equal period of our naval history had our fleets sustained greater losses, or suffered more grievous calamities, whether thro' mere mischance and disaster, or the irresistible violence and fury of the elements, than during the course of the present war. But its close was peculiarly marked with misfortune; and it is not a little to be lamented, that the gallant victors of the 12th of April, whose services to their country seemed to afford a fair claim to the greatest favours of fortune, should have been doomed, in the hoped-for return to their native shore, to have nearly experienced all the vengeance that Nature in her angriest mood could inflict.

It needs scarcely to be observed, that the West-Indian seas and climate are exceedingly destructive to shipping, and inimical to the health of seamen. The urgent necessities of the war having obliged the contending fleets to continue longer on that station than was consistent with a due regard to these circumstances, at the same time that the ships were worn down by continual hard service, and battered and torn by their mutual hostility, it could not be supposed that the hasty repairs which they received under the immediate pressure of the occasion, added to a great paucity of means, as well as lack of time, could be in any degree equal to the remedy of the damage which they sustained. They could only be patched up for present service; but their pristine soundness and firmness could in no degree be restored. Though these circumstances were common to both parties, and that the ships in general were in bad condition, it seems that the French prizes taken on the 12th of April were in a much worse state than those which had been originally English; and they were accordingly destined to bear more than a common share in the ensuing calamity. It must, however, be acknowledged, that no defect in the condition of the ships would be necessary to account for their sustaining much loss, under the almost unparalleled dreadfulness of the weather which they were doomed to encounter.

The unfortunate fleet and convoy, which took its departure for Europe from Blue-Fields in Jamaica, on the 26th of July, 1782, consisted at first of nine ships of the line, the Pallas frigate of 36 guns, and about a hundred sail of merchantmen, being all under the conduct of Admiral Graves, in the Ramillies, of 74 guns. The ships of the line were, however, reduced in number before they got clear of the island to seven; the Ardent of 64 guns, having (fortunately for those on board) sprung a leak at Blue-Fields, was protested against by her officers, and left behind; and the Jason, of the same force, being detained through some other cause, proceeded on her voyage alone.

As a part of the convoy were bound to New York, the admiral was obliged, in order to see them out of danger, to shape his course to a more northern direction than he otherwise would have done. Even before the bad weather commenced,

menced, Le Hector, a French prize of 74 guns, commanded by Capt. Bourchier, not being above half manned, and her masts, sails, and rigging, in very bad condition, hung so far a-stern, that she lost, on the night of the 22d of August, company with the fleet, and was never after able to recover it.

On the 8th of September a heavy gale came on, in which Le Caton, another prize of 64 guns, sprung a leak, and was obliged to throw out a signal of distress; in consequence of which, the admiral ordered both her and the Pallas frigate, which was likewise leaky, on the following day to proceed in company to Hallifax.

This was only a light prelude to what was coming on. For on the 16th of September in the afternoon, the fleet and convoy (which were still little short of 90 sail) being off the Banks of Newfoundland, in lat. 42° 15′, long. 48° 55′, with the wind at east-south-east, a violent gale came on, which continued to increase through the evening and night, until it had exceeded the state of the greatest storms before known in that quarter. The various sufferings and distresses of the ships through the night, were sufficiently grievous and calamitous; but about three o'clock in the morning the wind, without the smallest warning, instantaneously shifted, and was as suddenly succeeded by the most violent squall from the N. N. W. that the oldest seaman in the fleet had ever experienced; exceeding in degree whatever they had known in the tropical regions, to which such sudden shifts of the wind, and hurricanes, are deemed peculiar; but from which those northern latitudes were at all times hitherto supposed to be exempted.

From the immediate effect which this fatal shift and hurricane produced on the admiral's ship, the Ramillies, which, along with being excellently manned and officered, was otherwise neither bad in kind or condition, some idea may be formed of the ruin which it spread through the fleet in general. For this purpose we shall give the following short extract from the journal of Mr. Nash, the first Lieutenant of the Ramillies, and the officer of the watch at the time that it happened. Having stated the unaccountable change of the wind to the opposite side of the compass in an instant, he proceeds thus in professional language—

"The main-sail a-back; all hands "turned up; the main-clue gar- "nets manned; the captain and "officers called up; before we "could let go the tack or sheet, "the mainmast, mizen-mast, fore- "topmast, and fore-yard, carried "over the ship's side, and the "tiller broke, from the strong sea "in the rudder's head; the wa- "ter in the well 4 feet 4 inches, "and still gaining on us, all the "chain pumps being choaked; "the greatest part of the crew "being turned to hatchways "bailing; Lieutenants Turnbull, "Larcolm, and Silly had charge, "and assisted at this fatiguing "duty; Captain Moriarty and "the other officers employed in "cutting away the wreck, secur- "ing the rudder, and shipping a "new tiller in the ward-room. "At day-light, no sail to keep the "ship to; 5 feet 8 inches water, "and

" and ſtill increaſing; the ſhip la-
" bouring in exceeding diſtreſs,
" and going at random."

To increaſe the miſeries of the night, the hurricane was accompanied with ſo furious a rain, that at that inſtant when their utmoſt exertions were called for, to oppoſe fate even for a moment, it was not poſſible for the ſeamen to face the weather. The imagination could not conceive any thing more dreadfully grievous, or more diſtreſſing even to thoſe who were in the leaſt danger themſelves, than the ſcene which the morning light diſcloſed. Signals of diſtreſs in every quarter; the men of war nearly ſtripped of every thing above deck; deſtruction, in its moſt hideous forms, ſpread all around; the ſea covered with wrecks, and numbers of miſerable wretches, of both ſexes, ſtruggling for life, either laſhed or clinging to them; while their piteous efforts to attract attention, and to obtain a relief which was impoſſible to be given, rent every heart with grief, and ſpread univerſal horror and diſmay through all the ſpectators.

At ten o'clock in the morning the Ramillies had ſix feet water in her hold, and to eaſe her, in the courſe of that day, ſeveral of her guns and other heavy articles were thrown over board. The weather ſtill continuing very bad, though not equal in degree to the hurricane, it was only through the great and continual exertions of the officers and crew that ſhe was kept above water until the 21ſt. On that day at noon ſhe had ten feet water in her hold; but ſome hours before that extremity, the remaining merchant ſhips (amounting to about nineteen that were ſtill able to keep in company) being ſummoned by ſignal, the admiral began to ſhift the people on board them; which being finiſhed by four o'clock, when ſhe had 15 feet water in her hold, ſhe was ſo effectually ſet on fire, that Captain Moriarty and the laſt boats had quitted her only a few minutes when ſhe blew up.

The fate of the Ramillies was, however, to be conſidered as happy, when oppoſed to that of the other ſhips of war in company. The Centaur, Captain Inglefield, had already made much water in the night, and was under bare poles, and in every poſſible ſtate of defence againſt the worſt weather that could be ſuppoſed to happen, at the inſtant that the hurricane came on. But all preparation and defence were fruitleſs againſt that irreſiſtible ſquall; which laid the ſhip at once in ſuch a manner upon her beam ends, that the water burſt through from the hold between decks, while ſhe lay motionleſs, and ſeemed to be irrecoverably overſet. She was, however, righted, but with the loſs of all her maſts and rudder, and with a ſhock of ſuch extreme violence, as cauſed unſpeakable miſchief and confuſion. The guns broke looſe, the ſhot was thrown out of the lockers, and the water that came up from the hold ſwept every thing away between decks, as effectually as the waves and the wreck had from the upper. The officers, who had run up naked from their beds when the ſhip overſet, had not an article of clothes to put on in the morning, nor had their friends any left to aſſiſt them with.

The unſhaken fortitude of the ſhip's company, and their unwearied

ried exertions, under every degree of diſtreſs, and with ſcarcely the poſſibility of a hope remaining, while it heightens the merit of the ſufferers, only ſerves to render their fate the more grievous. By theſe means they kept the ſhip above water until the 23d; but the ſtruggle was then at an end. In the midſt of the wide Atlantic Ocean, without a poſſibility of any effectual ſuccour, (for the accidental falling in with a ſhip, or even a few, could only have afforded a partial and very incompetent relief) at ſeveral hundred miles diſtance from the neareſt land, they perceived, on that morning, that all their efforts were fruitleſs; that the ſhip was filling faſt with water, and going gradually down; that her ſwimming in any manner could not outlaſt the day; while the terrible aſpect of the ſea ſufficiently indicated, that neither boat nor raft could live many hours upon it. That laſt ſhadow of hope, faint as it was, in which the heart had till then fondly ſought for refuge, being thus at once diſſipated, the immediate effects, tho' various, were in every inſtance highly deplorable. Many brave ſeamen, who had hitherto perſevered in their ſufferings and labour without a murmur or a fear, ſeeing that all was over, and being ſuddenly ſtruck with a melancholy and tender recollection of their country, and of every thing that was moſt dear to them, burſt out openly into tears, and wept like children. Others, appearing perfectly reſigned to their fate, as if diſdaining to contend with impoſſibility, went to their hammocks, and called to their meſſmates to laſh them in; a greater number were laſhing themſelves to gratings and ſmall rafts; but the putting on of their beſt and cleaneſt cloathing was an idea generally prevalent. In the mean time, the water in the hold had blown up the orlop decks; the cables floated to the gun-deck; the people left off bailing; and the ſhip was left to her fate.

It would have ſeemed almoſt ridiculous at that time to imagine, that any memorial of ſuch a ſituation could poſſibly have come to the knowledge of the world. Indeed the eſcape of Captain Inglefield, with ten of his people, may be conſidered among the moſt remarkable deliverances of which we have any record; and affords a moſt admirable encouragement to mankind, never to ſink in their ſpirits, or fail in their exertions, under any weight of danger, or hopeleſſneſs of condition. Though that gentleman's moſt intereſting narrative of their wonderful eſcape and unparalleled ſufferings, muſt have been ſeen almoſt by every body, yet we cannot refrain from taking notice of a few of the moſt leading or ſingular circumſtances.

It appears upon the face of the whole, that although the booms were prepared, rafts made, and the boats put over the ſhip's ſide, with a ſmall guard to each to prevent diſorder, yet, that almoſt all the officers, and a great majority of the crew, (including probably the moſt experienced ſeamen) felt ſuch a conviction of the impoſſibility of ſaving themſelves, in ſuch a ſea, and under ſuch circumſtances, that they deemed it more eligible to reſign themſelves quietly to their fate, than, for the chance of prolonging a wretched exiſtence for a few hours, to expoſe themſelves to

new miſeries, and to diſturb and embitter their laſt moments by vain and fruitleſs exertions. That this was the general diſpoſition, ſeems clearly eſtabliſhed from the following circumſtance, that when, at ſo late an hour as five o'clock in the evening, Capt. Inglefield (who had yet formed no determination with reſpect to himſelf) went upon deck, the five lieutenants, with all the other officers of ſo large a ſhip, excepting only the maſter, were then below. The five-oared yawl, which was the beſt boat, had been already ſtaved; and upon the Captain's coming up he perceived, that a few of the people had forced their way into the pinnace, that others were preparing to follow, and a greater number looking wiſtfully over the ſhip's ſide at what was going forward. This appearance revived the love of life in the Captain, who inſtantly beckoning to the maſter, they both got into the boat; but had the greateſt difficulty in getting her clear of the ſhip, for beſides the violence of the waves, the whole crowd that were then in ſight were precipitately endeavouring to follow their example. Mr. Baylis, a young gentleman of only fifteen years of age, throwing himſelf headlong into the ſea, had the fortune to reach the boat, and was taken in.

They were now twelve in number in the boat, and we are to look to their condition for facing the dreadful encounter to which they were expoſed; from whence a queſtion will naturally ariſe, which every perſon will ſolve for himſelf, whether their ſituation was apparently preferable to that of their numerous friends who continued in the ſhip? They were, at the approach of a dreadful night, in a leaky boat, with one of her gun-wales ſtaved, nearly in the middle of the Weſtern Ocean, without compaſs, without quadrant, without ſail, a heavy gale of wind blowing, and a great ſea driving. Their proviſion conſiſted of a bag of bread, a ſmall ham, a ſingle piece of pork, and a few French cordials; but of water, that moſt indiſpenſable of all neceſſaries, they had only two quart bottles. The weather, along with its other ſeverities, being extremely cold, it was no ſmall aggravation of their immediate diſtreſſes, that they were all very thinly cloathed, and not ſo much as a cloak or great coat amongſt them; and in this condition, excepting thoſe who were bailing, they were condemned to ſit through the night, in the bottom of the boat, with the water generally up to the middle, as they could ſcarcely clear her of the relics of one great ſea before the coming on of another; while they ſtill expected to be ſwallowed by every ſucceeding wave.

It happened moſt fortunately, that a blanket had been thrown in, and was diſcovered before it grew dark, in the bottom of the boat; this they immediately bent to one of the ſtretchers, and uſed as a ſail, under which they ſcudded through the night. Providence ſeemed diſpoſed to favour their ſtruggles; the weather became moderate on the following day; and what was of ſtill greater importance, the wind (any conſiderable ſhift in which would have been fatal) continued to hang in the north-weſt quarter; for their only hope was to reach the Portugueſe Weſtern

Weſtern Iſlands, which they eſtimated as lying about 260 leagues to the ſouth-eaſt of the ſhip at the time they quitted her. On the 5th morning, they made the doleful diſcovery, that the ſalt water had ſpoiled almoſt the whole of their bread. From this time they were reduced to the neceſſity of the whole company living upon the miſerable pittance of two biſcuits for the twenty-four hours; one being divided and diſtributed, without favour or reſpect of perſons, in twelve equal portions, at each of their ſorrowful meals. The want of water was ſtill more diſtreſſing; the neck of a bottle, broken off with the cork in it, being the meaſure allotted to the ſupport of each individual during the twenty-four hours.

A moſt fortunate accident, and which could only have originated from perturbation and diſorder of mind during the confuſion which prevailed in the ſhip, afforded the happy means, which could alone have preſerved them from periſhing for want of water. A pair of ſheets were found in the boat, which ſomebody had thrown in without obſervation; and ſome rain coming on, they were enabled, by alternately ſpreading and wringing them, to catch and to ſave a few quarts of water. But this ſupply, happy as it was, could not prevent their being extremely enfeebled through the want of food; nor was the quantity of water taken ſufficient to prevent their being again reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for that article. The Captain, rightly judging how deſtructive gloom and deſpair were to the animal faculties, ſucceſsfully endeavoured to divert the attention of the people from their ſituation and diſtreſſes, by inducing them, during the heavy and penſive hours of the evenings, to amuſe each other, by every one relating a ſtory, or ſinging a ſong, in turn; which was, undoubtedly, an admirable expedient in ſuch circumſtances.

On the 15th day after their departure from the ſhip, they had a melancholy inſtance, that good ſpirits were of much more avail in withſtanding difficulty and diſtreſs, than great bodily ſtrength; for the quarter-maſter, who was by much the ſtouteſt man in the boat, was the only one who ſunk under the extremes of cold and hunger. They were on that evening reduced to the laſt day's bread, and to one bottle of water; and though they were in continual expectation of ſeeing land, yet deſpondency became ſo prevalent, that all Capt. Inglefield's endeavours could not procure a ſtory or a ſong.

On the 16th day, after diſtributing the laſt biſcuit and water, they had the unſpeakable pleaſure of deſcrying land; and after ſome ſtill intervening difficulties, their miſeries were on that night brought to a concluſion, by their happy arrival in the harbour of Fayal.

Such was the fate of the Centaur! Nor was that of others leſs deplorable; although the circumſtances of their diſtreſs can never be ſo perfectly known. The Ville de Paris (the grand trophy of the war, and long the pride of the French navy) commanded by Captain Wilkinſon, with Le Glorieux (one likewiſe of the prizes) of 74 guns, Captain Cadogan, were both equally deſtined to become victims to the rage of this mercileſs hurricane.

hurricane. They did not appear on the following day (particularly the Ville de Paris) to be in any thing near ſo bad a ſtate as the Centaur had been obſerved to be in at the ſame time. They were afterwards fallen in with at different times, within a few of the firſt days, by ſome of the ſcattered veſſels of the fleet; and it augured but badly with regard to their being able to withſtand the bad weather and deep ſea which ſtill continued, that every later account of their condition deſcribed it as being much worſe than the preceding had done. As they were, however, ſteering for the Weſtern Iſlands, a courſe in which the weather was likely to become every day more favourable, and the diſtance being likewiſe moderate, no great apprehenſion was for a long time entertained as to their ſafety.

No intelligence being received of them, the anxiety and ſuſpence became at length painful; and hope itſelf was nearly if not entirely exhauſted, when a certainty of their unhappy fate was obtained, through one of thoſe extraordinary accidents of fortune, to which a ſeafaring life is ſo peculiarly liable. A Daniſh merchant ſhip returning from the Weſt-Indies took up a man who was floating on a piece of wreck, and who ſeems to have been inſenſible when he was taken on board, as well as incapable of motion for ſome time after; he continued ſo infirm, that the Dane, putting in at Havre de Grace, ſent him to the hoſpital, where he was treated with great humanity; and the circumſtances of his ſtory being, on his recovery, communicated to the king, he was tranſmitted in a Ruſſian ſhip to the Engliſh admiralty. This man, whoſe name was Wilſon, had been a ſeaman in the Ville de Paris, and ſaid, that when ſhe was going to pieces, he had clung to a piece of the wreck; but he had been ſo overcome by terror, that he could remember nothing farther, and was in a ſtate of total inſenſibility during the greateſt part of the time that he lay in the water. He, however, perfectly recollected, that the Glorieux had foundered, and that he had ſeen her go down, on the day preceding that in which the Ville de Paris periſhed. Such was the ſingular fortune of this man; who, appearing to be exceedingly deficient, both of the exertion and courage ſo peculiar to ſeamen, yet was deſtined, unconſciouſly, to eſcape that deſtruction, which ſwallowed up two noble ſhips, with their brave and numerous companies.

The fate of Le Hector, of 74 guns, Captain Bourchier, though not attended with ſuch entire deſtruction, was yet more tediouſly and grievouſly calamitous than that of either of the preceding. This ſhip had left Jamaica in much worſe condition, in every reſpect, than any other of the ſquadron. Beſides the defects and bad ſtate of the ſhip, and having on that account only 52 guns mounted, ſhe was ſcarcely more than a third part manned, and was incumbered with a number of French and American priſoners; nor could ſome of our own invalids, who were returning home in her, be conſidered as much otherwiſe than an incumbrance under circumſtances of diſtreſs.

In this wretched ſtate, it was the fortune of the Hector to fall in with

with the Eagle and La Gloire, two of the largeſt and fineſt frigates in the French ſervice, on the night of the 5th of September. Theſe frigates were freſh from France, mounted above 40 guns each, had about 600 ſeamen between them, and, beſides being well commanded, manned, and appointed, had on board ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed land officers, with ſome hundreds of the beſt troops in France, whom they were conveying to the Cheſapeak.

The frigates, ſoon perceiving by her manner of working the weak ſtate of the Hector, bore down upon, and furiouſly attacked her, one upon her beam, and the other upon her quarter; and being ſtill encouraged by the ſlackneſs of her fire, and by the opportunity which the ſlowneſs of her movements afforded of continually raking her, they continued the action cloſely, and with great vigour, between three and four hours. The loſs and damage ſuſtained by the Hector during this time was prodigious. Her originally weak crew had been greatly reduced by ſickneſs; 46 of the remainder were already killed or diſabled; and the nobleſt exertions both of men and officers, ſeemed inſufficient to ſupply the defect of ſtrength and number, under the rapid decreaſe of both which was continually taking place. Captain Bourchier was deſperately wounded; but Captain Drury of the navy, who was a paſſenger on board, bravely ſupplied his place, and fought the ſhip with no leſs intrepidity. He was moſt gallantly ſupported, to the laſt, by all the officers without exception, who animated the crew in ſuch a degree, as rendered them in a great meaſure inſenſible to their weakneſs. The frigates, confiding in the number of their men, and in the bravery of their land officers and troops, who were eager to ſignalize themſelves in ſo new a ſcene of action, attempted to board the Hector; but failing in this attempt, (which could not otherwiſe but have been deciſive in the event) and finding the reſiſtance ſtill to continue, far beyond what they could have expected, they, to the aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh, (who could ſcarcely hope to hold out much longer) abandoned their enterprize; and in full day-light, when they muſt have had a perfect view of the wretched condition of the Hector, they thought proper to ſheer off.

In the account of this action publiſhed at Paris, it was pretended, that the appearance of ſeveral ſhips in the morning, which were ſuppoſed to be an Engliſh ſquadron, had obliged the frigates to relinquiſh their enterprize, and make the beſt of their way to eſcape the ſuppoſed danger. But, to the unſpeakable misfortune and calamity of the Hector, no ſhips whatever, of any nation, came in ſight; for pirates or Algerines would have been ſoon deemed good company by her, and their meeting moſt joyfully hailed. It would have been indeed the greateſt happineſs to the officers and company of that unfortunate ſhip that ſhe had been then taken by the enemy; and it was ſurely a moſt grievous as well as ſingular circumſtance, that their courage and conſtancy in her defence ſhould have operated upon them in its effects as the higheſt puniſhment, and ſubjected them to undeſcribable calamities.

The

The ſhip had ſuffered exceedingly, and in every part, in the engagement; maſts, ſails, and rigging, were nearly ruined, and the hull itſelf deeply wounded. Bad weather came on. Topmaſt followed topmaſt, and the maſts followed the tops; until at length the hull was entirely ſtripped; rudder, and all, gone. Leaks opened in every part; and the laſt ſail was drawn under the bottom, with fothering, in the hope of ſtopping, or of leſſening the effect there. The hold filled with ſea water, which ſoon ſpoiled the freſh, and the proviſions. The men died apace; and a ſmall quantity of ſpirits were nearly exhauſted, which had for ſeveral days kept the remainder from periſhing. The officers, with ſword and piſtol, kept them ſtill to the pumps, where numbers dropped dead at the work. The decks were ſinking faſt; and ſome of the beams of the orlop deck had fallen into the hold.

In this laſt ſad ſtage of the moſt deplorable diſtreſs, when the men, having been four days without water or ſpirits, were quite exhauſted; when hope itſelf failed; and the only alleviation of the preſent miſery ſeemed to be the ſhortneſs of the period to which it was of neceſſity limited; a ſail was deſcried on the 3d of October, and to confirm the bleſſing, was bearing down directly on them. This proved to be the Hawke ſnow, a letter of marque, bound from Liſbon to St. John's in Newfoundland, and commanded by Captain John Hill of Dartmouth; a man whoſe name ſhould long be remembered, and ever marked with diſtinction. This humane and generous commander, without regarding the great riſque to which he was expoſing himſelf, his people, and his veſſel, leaving the future event to Providence, applied himſelf only to the immediate conſideration of diſcharging in the ampleſt and kindeſt manner the duties of humanity. He accordingly lay by them during the night, and in the morning took on board Captain Bourchier, with the remainder of the periſhing company of the Hector; who ſtill amounting to, or exceeding, 200 in number, crowded his ſmall veſſel ſo much, that he was obliged to throw a conſiderable part of the cargo overboard to make room for them. To place the merit of Captain Hill's conduct in its proper light, it is neceſſary to take notice, that although they had a fair and full wind to St. John's, yet the laſt caſk of water had been broached on the day they diſcovered land; ſo that a common ſhift of bad weather would have involved the deliverers and delivered in a fate no leſs deplorable than that from which the latter had, in the firſt inſtance, been ſo generouſly extricated.

Such was the hard fortune to which the fleet from Jamaica was at this time doomed. Of the ſeven ſhips of the line which compoſed the ſquadron, the Canada and Le Caton only eſcaped. The Ramillies, Ville de Paris, Centaur, Le Glorieux, and Hector, all periſhed. We have ſeen no liſt of the merchant ſhips that were loſt; but though their number was conſiderable, it fortunately bore no comparative proportion to that of the ſhips of war.

In conſequence of the reſolutions of the Britiſh parliament for an accom-

accommodation with the American colonies, and the powers granted to the crown for negotiating and concluding a general or particular peace or truce, with the whole, or with any part of that people, and for ſuſpending and ſetting aſide all former laws, whoſe operations were in contravention to that purpoſe, inſtructions had been diſpatched to Sir Guy Carleton (who ſucceeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of the army, and the government of New York) to uſe his endeavours for carrying theſe diſpoſitions into effect.

Upon theſe advices, Sir Guy Carleton, pretty early in the month of May, 1782, diſpatched a letter to General Waſhington, informing him of the proceedings of parliament, of the diſpoſitions prevalent both in that body and the Britiſh government, and of his own conſequent inſtructions; accompanied with ſuch written or printed documents, as were neceſſary to illuſtrate and authenticate what he had ſtated; and requiring, at the ſame time, a paſſport for Mr. Morgan, his ſecretary, who he wanted to diſpatch on the ſame ſubject to congreſs. Waſhington, as uſual, evading to act from himſelf in the buſineſs, referred the matter of the paſſport to congreſs; and that body, on the 14th of the ſame month, iſſued a public reſolution, forbidding the commander in chief to grant the paſſport.

This idea of opening ſeparate negotiations with particular governments or bodies of men, or even of attempting to open a treaty with congreſs without the concurrence of its allies, cauſed no ſmall alarm, and was much reſented by the ſeveral ſtates. They were perhaps equally apprehenſive of its producing a ſchiſm among themſelves, and of its exciting the jealouſy of France. Reſolutions from the general aſſemblies of Maryland, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, and Virginia, were accordingly ſpeedily iſſued, in which they declared, That a propoſition from the enemy, to all or any of the United States, for peace or truce, ſeparate from their allies, was inſidious and inadmiſſible. That a propoſition for treating with any aſſembly or body of men in America, other than the congreſs, was inſidious and inadmiſſible. That they (the reſpective aſſemblies) would not liſten to any propoſition, nor ſuffer any negotiation, inconſiſtent with their national faith and federal union. And, that they would exert the utmoſt power of their reſpective ſtates to carry on the war with vigour and effect, until peace ſhould be obtained in a manner conſiſtent with their national faith and federal union.

The council of Penſylvania went farther than the general aſſemblies in their zeal upon this occaſion. They declared, That all men, or bodies of men, who ſhould preſume to enter into any ſeparate or partial convention or agreement with Great Britain, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the United States of America. That any propoſitions which might be made by the Court of Great Britain, tending, in any manner whatſoever, to violate the treaty between them and their illuſtrious ally, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt. They ſeemed even to entertain ſome jealouſy with reſpect to the integrity of the general

general repreſentative of the States, or at leaſt to manifeſt a diſpoſition to reſtrain its authority, by a reſolution in which they declared, That the congreſs had no power, authority, or right, to do any act, matter, or thing, whatever, that might have a tendency to yield up, or abridge, the ſovereignty and independence of that ſtate, without its conſent previouſly obtained.

The congreſs likewiſe paſſed a reſolution, That the United States could not, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhould, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive and expreſs terms, acknowledge the independence of the ſaid States.

Reſolutions to a ſimilar amount were generally paſſed by the other States. In fact, the Americans were too young a people, and had too much depending upon the eſtabliſhment of a favourable and equitable character with other nations, to venture, at the very threſhold of their emancipation, and juſt entering into the rank and conſideration of a ſovereign ſtate, upon any violation of their public faith; particularly, to abandon thoſe who had juſt ſaved them from the ſubjugation, if not vengeance, of the parent country, would have been a degree of perfidy too flagrant, to be admitted under any laxity of moral ties, or almoſt juſtified by any change of political ſituation.

It was probably ſome jealouſy on this ſubject, expreſſed or apprehended on the ſide of France, that occaſioned congreſs, ſo long after as the month of October, to iſſue a public declaration, in which, after reciting that France and they were equally bound by the conditions of their alliance, that neither ſhould conclude either peace or truce with Great Britain, without the conſent of the other; and obſerving, that their miniſters in Europe were veſted with full power and authority, in their behalf, and in concert with their allies, to negotiate and conclude a general peace; they then proceed to declare in the ſtrongeſt terms (in order, as they ſay, to extinguiſh ill-founded hopes, to fruſtrate inſidious attempts, and to manifeſt to the whole world the purity of their intentions) their fixed and unalterable determination, inviolably to adhere to the treaty of alliance with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and to conclude neither a ſeparate peace nor truce with Great Britain: nor, that they would not enter into the diſcuſſion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

The concluding article of this document ſufficiently ſhews the apprehenſions they entertained of a ſchiſm among themſelves upon the ſubject of peace; that is, that ſome one or more of the ſtates might be ſo lured, by the advantages to be derived from an early and ſeparate accommodation, that neither the bonds of federal union, nor of their foreign alliance, would be able to withſtand the ſtrong temptations of ſelf-intereſt that might be held out to them. It was undoubtedly upon this principle, and perhaps, likewiſe, under an apprehenſion of popular commotions, if the people were to become fully acquainted with the extent of the advantages that might be offered, that they

ſtrongly urged the reſpective ſtates (in order, as they ſaid, to guard againſt the ſecret artifices and machinations of the enemy) to be vigilant and active in detecting and ſeizing all Britiſh emiſſaries and ſpies, that they might be brought to condign puniſhment: that the officers of all departments, who might be charged with perſons coming from the enemy under the protection of flags of truce, ſhould be enjoined to take eſpecial care, that ſuch perſons might not abuſe their privileges, but be reſtrained from all intercourſe with the country and inhabitants, which was not neceſſary for tranſacting the public buſineſs on which they might be ſent: and, that no ſubject of his Britannic Majeſty, coming directly or indirectly from any part of the Britiſh dominions, ſhould be admitted into any of the United States during the war.

While the Americans were thus oſtentatiouſly diſplaying their public fidelity, and endeavouring even to cut off the poſſibility of temptation, by ſhutting out every overture towards a ſeparate accommodation, we are to look to the meaſures that were purſuing in Europe, for the attainment of a general peace between all the parties concerned in the war.

Two of the firſt powers in Europe, the Empreſs of Ruſſia and the Emperor of Germany, were the mediators in this great buſineſs; the difficulties of which ſeemed in no ſmall degree to be done away, by the diſpoſition of granting independence to America which prevailed in England. With reſpect to France, indeed, as the attainment of that point was her only avowed object in the war, its being granted ſeemed at once to remove the very ground of contention; and to leave no farther obſtacles in the way of an accommodation, than thoſe which aroſe merely from the circumſtances of the war itſelf; nor did the adjuſtment of theſe ſeem exceedingly difficult; for though her acquiſitions in the Weſt-Indies were undoubtedly conſiderable and valuable, yet her loſſes in the Eaſt left the means of a reaſonable equivalent in the hands of England; without even conſidering the iſland of St. Lucia, upon the ſpot, which was a poſſeſſion of ſuch importance, with reſpect to its ſize, ſtrength, harbours, ſituation, and capability of unbounded improvement, as could not but weigh heavily in every political ſcale of eſtimation.

As to Spain, if her conduct and motives could at all be clearly comprehended, ſhe entered into the war, rather as an auxiliary, and in conſequence of the family compact, than as a principal, or as acting at all upon national principles. The eſtabliſhment of an independent empire in America was to her the moſt alarming meaſure in point of precedent, and the moſt dangerous in its probable and natural conſequences, that could poſſibly have happened, the emancipation of Mexico and Peru from her own government only excepted. It ſeems probable, that ſhe did not apprehend (though the deſign was avowed) that this event would have taken place, at the time ſhe was led into the war; unleſs indeed it is ſuppoſed, that ſhe was ſo dazzled by the ſplendid objects of Jamaica and Gibraltar, as to be blind to all others. The acquiſition of theſe, as well as of Minorca,

Minorca, however unlikely at that time to be attained, was artfully held out by France, not only as a lure to the ambition of the king, but as impoſing an opinion on the people that they had a national intereſt in view, and that they were not plunged madly into a war, which was not only entirely *Bourbon*, but highly dangerous and deſtructive in its principle and deſign to themſelves. The ill fortune of England in the war, or perhaps it may be ſaid, the defect of wiſdom and ability in the direction and application of the immenſe powers and the exhauſtleſs ſtock of valour which ſhe poſſeſſed, enabled Spain to recover Minorca, and to ſubdue Weſt Florida. As the war afforded no equivalent on the other ſide to propoſe for theſe, it was reaſonably to be expected that they ſhould continue in the hands of Spain, affording in one inſtance a diſtant frontier againſt the enterprize of that future enemy, which ſhe had herſelf taken ſo much pains in creating, and in the other, a conſiderable ſacrifice to royal and national vanity. But neither the embarraſſed ſtate of her finances, the repeated failure of all her deſigns upon Jamaica, her late ſignal defeat at Gibraltar, nor any other circumſtances of her preſent condition, ſeemed to afford any ſolid ground to Spain, upon which ſhe could reaſonably attempt to eſtabliſh further claims. We have laid no ſtreſs in this ſtatement upon the Bahama iſlands, (though they were eſtimated at a high rate in the negotiation) as they could not have been retained by Spain, and they were in fact moſt honourably and gallantly recovered by a handful of private adventurers, before any thing of the peace was known.

The republic of Holland, unfortunately fallen and degraded in a degree which ſhe had never before experienced, from the firſt general acknowledgment of her independency to the preſent æra, was, of courſe and of neceſſity, reduced to depend entirely upon the favour, generoſity and protection of France, as well in the concluſion of a peace, as ſhe had through the progreſs of the war.

With reſpect to the general circumſtances of the contending parties, the moſt ſucceſsful members of the alliance, great and formidable as it was, ſcarcely ſtood much leſs in need of peace than England, notwithſtanding all her loſſes, and expoſed as ſhe had ſo long been, as a common butt, to withſtand ſingly all their attacks in every quarter. For it is probable that France had never been engaged, for the time of its continuance, in a more expenſive war than the preſent. Her extraordinary exertions at ſea, the oppoſite extremes of the globe in which they were made, the great and frequent loſſes ſuſtained in the ſupply, the immenſe current charges to which it was ſubjected, by the greatneſs of the diſtance, along with the conſtant two-fold drain, by loan and otherwiſe, of her treaſure by America, may well be ſuppoſed all together, in point of expence, abundantly to ſupply the place of thoſe vaſt armies which ſhe had heretofore uſually ſupported, and even of the ſubſidies which ſhe had been in the habit of paying, in the courſe of her continental wars. It is to be allowed, that her com-

merce had flouriſhed to a degree, in the preſent war, which ſhe had never before experienced in any conteſt with England; but neither the advantages ariſing from this circumſtance, nor from the admirable financial regulations and reforms adopted during the preſent reign, were equivalent to the ſupply of the continual demands, and of the numberleſs deficiencies produced by the war. Succeeding events have ſhewn, that even a peace was not ſufficient to prevent that nation from ſuffering no ſmall derangement of her monied and financial concerns, and which was accordingly attended with its uſual effect upon public credit.

Under theſe general circumſtances of the contending powers, the independence of America being granted, there did not ſeem to be any mighty impediment remaining in the way to the reſtoration of the public tranquillity.

The new adminiſtration in England ſpeedily adopted this buſineſs upon their coming into power; and Mr. Grenville had been for ſome time in Paris, in order to ſettle the neceſſary preliminaries, and to ſmooth the way for opening a negociation in due form. Theſe matters being ſettled, Mr. Fitz-Herbert, the miniſter at Bruſſels, proceeded to Paris, he being appointed, on the part of England, as plenipotentiary, to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace with the miniſters of France, Spain, and Holland. Mr. Oſwald, a merchant, was likewiſe diſpatched to the ſame place, as commiſſioner from his Britannic majeſty, for treating of peace with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, four of the commiſſioners appointed for the ſame purpoſe on the part of the United States of America.

The differences with America were much ſooner ſettled (ſo far at leaſt as their dependence on the main treaty could at preſent admit) than thoſe with the European powers. On the 30th of November, 1782, proviſional articles were ſigned on both ſides, which were to be inſerted in, and to conſtitute a future treaty of peace, to be finally concluded between the parties, when that between Great Britain and France took place.

By this proviſional treaty, the freedom, ſovereignty, and independence, of the Thirteen United States was, individually by name, and in the fulleſt and moſt expreſs terms, acknowledged, and all claims to their government, propriety, and territorial rights, for ever relinquiſhed by the crown of Great Britain. To prevent all future diſputes about boundaries, ſeveral imaginary lines were drawn, which interſecting immenſe countries, lakes, and rivers, threw vaſt tracts of land and water into the hands of the Americans to which they had no prior claim. Beſides the fertile and extenſive countries on the Ohio and Miſſiſſippi, which came within this deſcription, theſe limits trenched deeply on the boundaries both of Canada and Nova Scotia; and the fur trade was ſaid to be in a great meaſure relinquiſhed, by the forts, paſſes, carrying places, and waters, which were now to be ſurrendered. It was likewiſe ſaid, that four or five-and-twenty Indian nations were by this arrangement given up to

America; among whom, beſides the Cherokees, were the celebrated Five Nations, who, through ſo long a courſe of years, had held ſo ſtrict an alliance with England.

On the ſea coaſts, as the Britiſh forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States, New York, Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, Charleſtown, in South Carolina, and Penobſcot, in the borders of New England and Nova Scotia, with their dependencies, were of courſe to be given up. Savannah, in Georgia, had already been evacuated by the Britiſh troops. An unlimited right of fiſhery on the Banks of Newfoundland, in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and all other places, where both nations had heretofore been accuſtomed to fiſh, was likewiſe granted or confirmed to the Americans. We omit the articles with reſpect to the loyaliſts, as they will appear in the parliamentary diſcuſſions on that ſubject.

The preliminary articles of peace between England and France were ſigned at Verſailles, on the 20th of January, 1783, by Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, on the part of the one, and by the Count de Vergennes, on that of the other; as the preliminary articles between England and Spain were, on the ſame day, by the firſt of theſe gentlemen, and by the Count D'Aranda, on the part of the Catholic king. The preliminary articles with Holland were not yet ſettled.

By the preliminary treaty with France, in the place of the narrow limits to which the latter had been reſtrained by the laſt peace, England now extends her rights of fiſhery at Newfoundland to a long extent of coaſt, reaching from Cape St. John, in about 50 degrees of north latitude, on the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, round by the north, to Cape Raye, on the weſtern coaſt, in 47 degrees and 50 minutes latitude.—England likewiſe ceded the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon in full right to France, and conſequently without any reſtriction in point of fortification.

In the Weſt-Indies, England reſtored to France the iſland of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the iſland of Tobago.—On the other hand, France reſtores to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, with thoſe of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat.

In Africa, England cedes and guarantees, in full right to France, the river of Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendie; and likewiſe reſtores the iſland of Goree.—And, on the other hand, France guarantees to Great Britain the poſſeſſion of Fort James, and of the river Gambia. Certain new regulations with reſpect to the gum trade were likewiſe to take place in this part of the world.

In the Eaſt, England reſtored every thing to France, with conſiderable additions, and without the poſſibility of an equivalent in that quarter, which ſhe had loſt during the war. All her eſtabliſhments in Bengal, and on the coaſt of Orixa, were to be reſtored, and liberty given for ſurrounding Chandenagor with a ditch for draining the waters. Pondicherry and Karical were likewiſe to be reſtored and guaranteed to France; and his Britannic majeſty was bound to pro-

cure, from the princes whose property they were, certain specified neighbouring districts round these places, which were to be annexed to them as dependencies. And to sum up the account under this head, France was to regain possession of Mahé, and of the Comptoir at Surat. For the conditions in favour of her commerce in India, and what relates to the allies on both sides in that quarter, we must refer to the treaty.

In Europe, as if it were to complete in all its parts this unequalled scene of cession, concession, and humiliation on the side of England, she consented to the abrogation and suppression of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclusively to the present time.

By the preliminary treaty with Spain, besides relinquishing all right and claim to Minorca and West Florida, England ceded to his Catholic majesty the province of East Florida; while the Bahama islands were the only restitution or equivalent on the other side. The affairs of the logwood-cutters, which had been shamefully neglected in former treaties, were now left in a state of greater uncertainty and insecurity than ever.

CHAP. VI.

Various conjectures concerning the state and views of the different political parties previous to, and at the meeting of parliament.—Letters from the secretary of state to the lord mayor of London respecting the peace.—King's speech.—Debates in both houses on the address.—Reasons assigned by Mr. Fox for the resignation of his office.—Second debate, on expressions in the speech respecting the treaty with America.—Question put to the first commissioner of the treasury in the House of Peers on the same subject.—Motion for the provisional treaty to be laid before the House of Commons rejected.—Bill brought in for preventing doubts that might arise respecting the legislative and judicial rights of the parliament and courts of justice of Ireland.—Cause of the introduction of the bill, and objections made to it.

THE short space of time that intervened between the death of the Marquis of Rockingham and the prorogation of parliament, afforded no opportunity of discovering in what manner the House of Commons stood affected towards the changes that had taken place in the administration of public affairs, in consequence of the former event. The weight of the new minister in that assembly, either from political connection, from private friendships, or public favour, was known to be very inconsiderable; and the support which he might otherwise have derived from the power of the crown, was likely to be much reduced by the operation of the bill of reform, and by the steady attachment of most of those members who either owed their seats to the influence of government, or were led by a sort of principle to give a general support to administration, under the auspices of a noble lord, one of his predecessors in office. The recess

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of parliament was therefore conſidered as a circumſtance highly favourable to the miniſter, and was doubtleſs employed in endeavouring to form ſuch alliances amongſt the parties out of power as might enſure ſome degree of ſtrength and permanence to his adminiſtration.

A reunion of the whigs was the favourite expectation of the public, and anxiouſly looked for by thoſe who equally dreaded the revival of the old ſyſtem, and the miſchiefs of a weak and unſettled government. It does not, however, appear that any advances were made towards effecting ſuch an accommodation; to which there appear, indeed, to have been inſuperable difficulties, from the induſtry with which the friends of each party laboured to throw the blame both of the ſchiſm and failure on the other.

On the part of thoſe who had retired from the ſervice of government, it was urged, that as the appointment of the noble earl to the higheſt office in adminiſtration was one of the principal cauſes of the diviſion that enſued, ſo it continued to be the chief obſtacle to a reunion. It was indeed abſurd to expect, that his complaiſance to his enemies ſhould carry him ſo far as to enter into a treaty, of which he was himſelf to be the firſt ſacrifice: and it was not more reaſonable, they ſaid, to ſuppoſe, that thoſe who continued to act with him, how much ſoever they might diſapprove of his principles, or cenſure the meaſures he was carrying on, (a conduct which ſome of them did not ſcruple to purſue) would be willing to deſcend from ſituations in which, by the removal of their former friends, they ſtood as principals, in order to act ſubordinate parts again in conjunction with them.

Theſe inſinuations were combated, on the other ſide, by ſtudiouſly repreſenting the cauſe of diſſenſion to have been a mere perſonal conteſt for power; and by charging their opponents with holding opinions of a dangerous nature, trenching on the moſt undoubted prerogative of the crown, that of chooſing its own miniſters, and conſequently having a direct tendency to ſubvert the conſtitution.

But whatever weight may be allowed to theſe charges or ſurmiſes, it was generally agreed, that, though the parties themſelves had been ever ſo well diſpoſed towards an accommodation, yet, the countenance and approbation of the court would hardly have been lent to a meaſure ſo diametrically oppoſite in its principle to that favourite ſyſtem of politics, which had the diſunion of all party connections for its baſis. In oppoſition to this ſyſtem, after a long and arduous ſtruggle, by no mean exertion of abilities, and by the concurrence of many important events, the late adminiſtration had arrived at a kind of adverſe poſſeſſion of power, which being ſubmitted to from neceſſity, it could not be expected would be ſuffered to remain, whenever the means of deſtroying it could be found. Theſe, by an unfortunate event, ſoon after offered themſelves. The appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to ſucceed the Marquis of Rockingham, it was eaſily foreſeen, would diſguſt thoſe individuals of the party, whoſe principles were the moſt inflexible and obnoxious; and the probability of gaining over many

many others, who might wish to make themselves some amends for the long proscription they had undergone, by the advantages of a more accommodating line of conduct, was reckoned on with a confidence that proved not ill-founded. Add to this, that the firmness of the party had hitherto stood the trial of defeats and mortifications only; that power and emolument will sometimes be retained on terms and by means through which they would not have been sought; and lastly, that many of the members, wearied and grown old in opposition, would naturally feel disinclined, from the diminution both of their vigour and prospects, to embark in a fresh contest with the court.

The design appears to have been planned with great political sagacity, and the success went beyond even what the most sanguine hopes could have expected. Not only a change of ministers was effected, and a cabinet formed more agreeable to the views of the court; but several of those whose former conduct had been marked by extraordinary violence were gained over; and these, not satisfied to embrace their new principles with all the zeal and eagerness of converts, seemed to regard with an unusual degree of malignity that inflexibility of their old colleagues, which appeared no less than a tacit reproach to their own conduct. Thus a decisive blow was given to the very existence of the party; and which seemed even to preclude all future attempts to form a systematic opposition.

Such were the obstacles, which, from every quarter, appear to have rendered a reunion of the whigs, under the auspices of the new minister, totally impracticable. A coalition with the noble lord who had formerly been at the head of his majesty's government, seemed more feasible, and was certainly free from the most material objections that lay to the former measure. Overtures accordingly are said to have been made by the minister, and various terms offered him: but whether from a confidence in his own strength, and the hope of rising again, on the divisions of his adversaries, to the possession of undivided power; or from resentment of former indignities; or from some change in his political sentiments, and a conviction of the impossibility of serving the public with fidelity on the terms proposed, the business fell to the ground.

In the mean time the negotiations for a general peace were advancing towards a conclusion. On the 23d of November letters were sent by the secretary of state to the lord mayor of London and the governors of the Bank, acquainting them "for the information of the public, and to prevent the mischiefs arising from speculations in the funds, that the negotiations carrying on at Paris were brought so far to a point, as to promise a decisive conclusion, either for peace or war, before the meeting of parliament, which on that account was to be prorogued to the 5th of December." Nov. 23d.

On that day the session was opened by a speech from the throne of a very unusual length, and comprehending almost every possible topic of political disquisition. It set out with assuring both houses, that since Dec. 5th, 1782.

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the close of the last session, his majesty's whole time had been employed in the care and attention, which the important and critical conjuncture of affairs required.

It next stated, that no time had been lost in putting an end to the prosecution of offensive war in North America; and after informing them that he had offered to declare those colonies free and independent states, and that provisional articles were actually agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally concluded with the court of France, it was made to proceed as follows—"In "thus admitting their separation "from the crown of these king-"doms, I have sacrificed every "consideration of my own to the "wishes and opinion of my peo-"ple. I make it my humble and "earnest prayer to Almighty God, "that Great Britain may not feel "the evils, which might result "from so great a dismemberment "of the empire; and that Ame-"rica may be free from those ca-"lamities which have formerly "proved, in the mother country, "how essential monarchy is to the "enjoyment of constitutional li-"berty."

The defence and relief of Gibraltar, and the subsequent conduct of the fleet, were next mentioned in terms of the highest panegyric, as were also the proofs of public spirit that had been given by the city of London and private individuals.

The negotiations for a general peace were announced to be considerably advanced, and likely to be brought, in a very short time, to an honourable conclusion. At the same time a perfect confidence was expressed, that if these expectations should be frustrated, the most vigorous efforts would be used in the further prosecution of the war.

The members of the House of Commons were next assured of the endeavours that had been used to diminish the burthens of the people; of the better œconomy that was to be introduced into the expenditure of the army; of the reductions made in the civil list expences, as directed by an act of the last session; and of further reforms in other departments. By these means his establishments were said to be so regulated, that the expence should not in future exceed the income. The payment of the debt still remaining on the civil list, and the relief of the American sufferers, were recommended to their consideration.

Their attention was also called to the regulations that had been adopted in the incidental expences, fees, and other emoluments of office; to the landed revenue of the crown, and the management of its woods and forests; to the department of the mint; to the general state of the public receipts and expenditure, and of the public debt; and to such a mode of conducting future loans as to promote the means of its gradual redemption. The practice of payment by navy, ordnance, and victualling bills, was strongly reprobated; and a more correct method of making up the estimates for the service of the year was promised.

The high price of corn was next adverted to; the frequency of theft and robbery were mentioned; and the

the prevention of thoſe crimes, by correcting the prevailing vices of the times, earneſtly recommended.

The liberality with which the rights and commerce of Ireland had been eſtabliſhed was highly extolled; a reviſion of our whole trading ſyſtem upon the ſame comprehenſive principles was recommended; and, laſtly, ſome fundamental regulation of our Aſiatic territories was earneſtly called for.

A general profeſſion of regard to the conſtitution, and a promiſe, on all occaſions to advance and reward merit in every profeſſion, were held forth at the concluſion; at the ſame time, temper, wiſdom, and diſintereſtedneſs in parliament, collectively and individually, were repreſented as neceſſary, to enſure the full advantage of a government conducted on ſuch principles. It ended with telling both houſes, that the people expected theſe qualifications of them, and that his Majeſty called for them.

An addreſs in the uſual ſtyle was moved in both houſes of parliament, and carried, nemine contradicente, after a long and deſultory converſation. It was remarked, that the friends of adminiſtration began thus early to lay the groundwork for the defence of the peace, the merits of which would neceſſarily become the ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion, by expatiating on the miſeries and viciſſitudes of war, by lamenting the hazardous ſtate of public credit, and by depreciating the importance of the late ſucceſſes. Theſe, it was ſaid, though brilliant, were not likely to be followed by any ſolid advantage that could either compenſate the calamities of war, or balance the enormous expence that muſt neceſſarily attend the further proſecution of it.

In the Houſe of Commons, a young member, ſuppoſed on this occaſion to be in the confidence of adminiſtration, made ſome pointed alluſions to the ceſſion of Gibraltar, with a view, as was imagined, of diſcovering in what manner ſuch a meaſure would be received by the houſe. The alarm and diſſatisfaction which this intimation ſpread was very conſiderable; and as it was generally believed that the miniſter was at this time treating with the court of Spain for the exchange of that important fortreſs, it is probable that he was deterred from his purpoſe by the declaration of ſeveral members of great weight in the houſe, that they conſidered it as a poſſeſſion almoſt invaluable to this country.

But though the addreſſes were voted without a diſſentient voice, and even without any amendment being propoſed, yet the ſpeech did not eſcape a moſt ſevere examination. The three firſt paragraphs were objected to, as conveying a falſe and injurious imputation on the members of the late cabinet, that orders for putting an end to offenſive war in North America had not been iſſued till after the receſs of parliament. Mr. Fox took this occaſion to enter into a minute explanation of the cauſe of his retiring from the cabinet. Some time before his reſignation, he ſaid that he had written, by the king's orders, to Mr. Grenville, then at Paris, to authorize him to offer to the American agents, "*to re-*" *cognize the independence of the* "*United States in the firſt inſtance,* *and*

and not to reserve it as a condition of peace." At the same time an official letter, for the same purpose, was sent by the Earl of Shelburne to Sir Guy Carleton in America. Mr. Fox, suspecting that this measure, though consented to in the cabinet, had not the entire approbation of some of his colleagues, had, in order to prevent any misconception, purposely chosen the most forcible expressions that the English language could supply; and he confessed, that his joy was so great, on finding that the Earl of Shelburne, in the letter to Sir Guy Carleton, had repeated his very words, that he carried it immediately to the Marquis of Rockingham, and told him that their distrust and suspicions of that noble lord's intentions had been groundless, and were now done away—"Judge then," said he, "of my grief and astonishment, when, during the illness of my noble friend, another language was heard in the cabinet, and the noble earl and his friends began to consider the above letter as containing offers only of a conditional nature, to be recalled, if not accepted as the price of peace. Finding myself thus ensnared and betrayed, and all confidence destroyed, I quitted a situation in which I found I could not remain either with honour or safety."

The next paragraph of the speech was condemned with great severity, as an insidious and unmanly attempt to throw all the blame of the dismemberment of the empire on parliament. The calamities of the war, it was said, were not taken into the account; the circumstances of the country, and the impossibility of acting otherwise, were all overlooked, in order to charge it upon that house alone. It was, in fact, to make his majesty say, that he did it against wisdom, against good sense, against policy, against necessity, in constrained obedience to the advice of an ill-judging House of Commons. It was asked, what ministers meant by making the king say, that he had considerations of his own, separate from the wishes and opinion of his people? Such language, it was said, was as new, as it was improper and unconstitutional. The prayer which follows was equally condemned, as a piece of unseasonable, unmeaning, and hypocritical cant, played off at the expence of parliament. Much surprise was also expressed, at finding benevolences praised in a speech, the production of a cabinet, in which sat a * learned lord, who, when a commoner, had in that very house moved a resolution that such benevolences were illegal.

The call for wisdom, in the concluding paragraph, was ridiculed with infinite humour: and the call for disinterestedness represented as an audacious insult on parliament. The folly and dangerous tendency of these and other parts of the speech, were exposed with uncommon ability by a right honourable gentleman †, whose speeches in this debate were greatly distinguished by a happy mixture of the most brilliant wit and pointed argument. He concluded with declaring, that he considered the whole as a compound of hypocrisy, self-commendation, duplicity, and absurdity; abounding with principles of a dangerous and unconstitutional

* Lord Ashburton.

† Mr. Burke.

ſtitutional nature, which, if unanimity was not ſo abſolutely neceſſary at the preſent criſis, parliament would have been bound to have reprobated in the moſt exemplary manner.

In the upper houſe, the converſation principally turned on that part of the ſpeech which related to America. The *irrevocable and unconditional* recognition of the independence of the United States, was condemned in the ſevereſt terms by a noble viſcount, who had held a high office in a former adminiſtration *. It was well known, he ſaid, that the French themſelves had at different times declared, that they did not think it poſſible to wreſt all the thirteen provinces from Great Britain; and yet an unqualified ſurrender was made of the whole, without obtaining a truce, or even a ceſſation of hoſtilities, as the price of ſo laviſh a conceſſion. In the moſt abject and unfortunate reign that Spain ever knew (that of Philip III.) the negotiators of that prince retained ten out of ſeventeen of the revolted provinces, and detached the reſt from their alliance with France. An act of indemnity and oblivion in favour of its partizans, was at leaſt what the conceding party was bound by faith and juſtice to procure. But here no ſtipulations whatever had been made, ſo far as could be collected from the king's ſpeech, in favour of thoſe wretched men who had hazarded their lives and ſacrificed their fortunes to their attachment to the mother country.

The legality of the recognition of American independence, was alſo queſtioned; and it was abſolutely denied, that the ſenſe either of parliament or of the people had been collected on that ſubject.

In reply to this attack, the firſt lord of the treaſury denied, that the offer of independence was irrevocable; the words of the ſpeech, he ſaid, clearly proved it was conditional; and if fair and equal terms could not be obtained from France, the ally of America, the offer might be withdrawn, and would ceaſe and determine.

On the following day, when the report from the committee of the Houſe of Commons appointed to draw up the addreſs was read, ſeveral members got up to expreſs their uneaſineſs at the explication given in the other houſe by the miniſter, of that paragraph of the ſpeech which announced the proviſional treaty with America; the unanimity, they ſaid, with which the motion for an addreſs had been ſuffered to paſs, aroſe from a perſuaſion that the independence of the colonies was recognized irrevocably; ſo that, though the treaty negotiating with the court of France ſhould not terminate in a peace, yet the proviſional treaty would remain in full force, to take place whenever the former event ſhould happen. His majeſty's ſervants were therefore called upon to clear up theſe doubts, and ſatisfy the minds of ſuch as were of opinion that the unconditional recognition of independence, by making it the intereſt of America to put an end to the war as ſpeedily as poſſible, would tend eſſentially to accelerate a general peace. In conſequence of this ap- Dec. 6th.

* Lord Stormont.

peal,

peal, the secretary of state, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the commander in chief, severally rose, and declared, that the articles were only so far provisional, that they depended upon the single contingency of peace being concluded with France; but whenever that event took place, the independence of America stood recognized without any reserved condition whatever.

Dec. 13th. This contrariety of opinion amongst the members of the cabinet, occasioned a second debate on the same subject in the House of Lords. On the 13th, the Earl Fitzwilliam remarked, that these contradictions, being public and notorious, might lead to consequences of the utmost importance, and therefore demanded an immediate explanation. During the progress of negotiations with artful and jealous enemies, every appearance of duplicity, or even ambiguity in our councils, ought most anxiously to be avoided. In order therefore to rescue government from the suspicions under which it lay; in order to satisfy the country that the subjugation of America could not, under any possible circumstances, be again attempted; in order to secure confidence to administration both at home and abroad, he begged leave to propose the following question to the noble earl at the head of his majesty's treasury.

"Is it to be understood that the "independence of America is never again to become a subject of "doubt, discussion, or bargain; "but is to take effect absolutely "at any period, near or remote, "whenever a treaty of peace is "concluded with the court of "France, though the present treaty should entirely break off? "Or, on the contrary, is the independence of America merely "contingent; so that if the particular treaty now negotiating "with that court should not terminate in a peace, the offer is "to be considered as revoked, and "the independence left to be determined by circumstances, and "the events of war?"

To the question, thus put, the minister positively refused to give any answer, and was supported by the Dukes of Richmond and Chandos. It was urged in vain, that he had already, on the first day of the session, avowed his sentiments in a full and explicit manner; that the present question was only put on account of doubts that had arisen from the contradictory assertions of others of his majesty's servants; that it was the language of ministers, and not the secrets of the treaty, of which an explanation was desired; that the fact must necessarily be known to all the parties concerned in the subsisting negotiations; that it was a secret to the British parliament alone; and that no possible mischief could arise from his giving the satisfaction required. The noble earl persisted in his refusal; declaring that the whole house should not force an answer from him, which he conceived he could not give without violation of his oath as a privy counsellor. Declaring war and making peace, were, he said, the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and ought to be guarded from all incroachment with the most particular care. If the popular parts of the constitution thought themselves better adapted for carrying on negotiations

gotiations of this ſort, he would adviſe them to go to the king at once, and tell him that they were tired of the monarchical eſtabliſhment, that they meant to do the buſineſs of the crown themſelves, and had no farther occaſion for his ſervices. No man, he added, could be more anxious than himſelf to have the world know what he had done, and to receive the judgment of parliament and of the people of England upon his proceedings; and that for this purpoſe, ſo ſoon as prudence and policy ſhould warrant, he would not loſe a moment in laying the treaty before them. With reſpect to the aſſertion that had ſo frequently been made, that no miſchief would ariſe from giving the anſwer required, he ſaid it was a little extraordinary, that thoſe who knew not what the treaty was, ſhould be ſo poſitive in declaring there could be no ſecrets in it, whilſt thoſe who did know its contents as poſitively aſſerted there were.

Dec. 16th. On the 16th Mr. Fox gave notice of his intention to move, on the firſt convenient day, for the proviſional treaty to be laid before the houſe, or ſuch parts of it as related to the recognition of American independence. At the ſame time, as a proof that he had no deſign to embarraſs government, or throw any impediment in the way of the miniſter's negotiations, he declared that if the ſecretary of ſtate would pledge himſelf to the houſe, that the treaty in queſtion contained particulars, which, if diſcovered earlier than the moment miniſters might chooſe for laying it before parliament, would be attended with miſchievous conſequences, and materially affect the negotiations then carrying on, he would deſiſt from his purpoſe altogether. The miniſter refuſing to pledge himſelf in the manner propoſed, Mr. Fox made the following motion on the 18th.

18th. "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his "majeſty, that he will be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions "that there be laid before this "houſe copies of ſuch parts of the "proviſional articles as relate to "the independency of America."

The motion was oppoſed by the miniſters and their friends, as both unſeaſonable and unneceſſary. The moment of negotiation was ſaid to be of all others that in which parliament ought to place confidence in miniſters, and to abſtain from interfering by its advice in meaſures, with the delicate ſituation of which it muſt neceſſarily be unacquainted. Whatever conſtruction the treaty might bear, whatever contrariety of opinions might be entertained reſpecting it, it was ſigned, and could not be altered; and, what was moſt material, had given perfect ſatisfaction to the party that had accepted it. The miſchiefs that might ariſe from diſcuſſing ſubjects of this nature in the houſe were ſtrongly inſiſted on; and the miniſters were adviſed to keep a total ſilence with reſpect to the matter in debate.

Theſe objections were ſupported by Lord North in a ſpeech full of irony and ſarcaſtic obſervation. He ſaid, he entirely approved of the advice that had been given to miniſters to keep ſilent, but wiſhed the injunction had been laid upon them a little earlier; much trouble would then have been ſaved, much unſea-

unſeaſonable diſcuſſion of characters ſtopped; and, if the new doctrine of a privy counſellor's oath were ſolid, ſomething very like perjury prevented.

The motion before the houſe he underſtood was made for the purpoſe, either of ſatisfying them that the American treaty was irrevocable, or of declaring it to be ſo if it ſhould appear doubtful. Now, as he neither wiſhed nor believed it to be of that nature, he certainly could not vote with the right honourable mover.

It had been pleaſantly remarked, that he ſhould vote that day with the miniſters, not becauſe he agreed with them, but becauſe they diſagreed with each other. This, he ſaid, was in ſome meaſure true; but it was a matter not of choice but of neceſſity; and as he wiſhed to ſtrengthen their government, he ſhould be very happy if he could be inſtructed how he could ſupport them collectively.

Differences, he admitted, undoubtedly exiſted, and of a very eſſential nature, in the cabinet; and thoſe differences might certainly have an effect with foreign powers, but they were not likely to be reconciled within thoſe walls. The cabinet conſiſted of eleven perſons of great genius, long experience, and invariable conſtancy; they had employed almoſt an equal number of commiſſioners at Paris in this important buſineſs; and if all theſe perſonages had not been able to fix a preciſe meaning to a treaty that was declared to be concluded, could it be expected that an unanimous explanation of it ſhould be given in that houſe?

He then proceeded to ſtate the grounds of the meaning he had affixed to the treaty. It was a maxim, he ſaid, with caſuiſts, that the ſupport of one grave doctor was enough to make an opinion probable;—now he had the opinion of two grave doctors, two cabinet miniſters, that the treaty was not irrevocable. He next examined the contradictory explanations that had been given; and after commenting on them for ſome time, argued that if, from ſo many contradictions, any thing certain could be deduced, it muſt be, that the proviſional articles meant nothing fixed. In this opinion he was confirmed by the ſpeech from the throne. To this edition of the treaty, printed on royal paper, he ſhould certainly give the preference over the many that had ſince been publiſhed, and enriched *cum notis variorum*. In that it was ſaid, in the firſt place, that independence had been *offered*; ſecondly, that this article was dependent on another treaty, in which it was *to be inſerted*; and, thirdly, it is there ſtyled only a *proviſional* treaty, which clearly implied that it was conditional, and therefore revocable.

Having ſtated the grounds of his opinion, he added, that it could not be expected he ſhould concur in a motion, the deſign of which was to affix a meaning on the treaty of which he could not approve. If, ſays he, the right honourable gentleman ſhould ſucceed in that attempt, would not the miniſters of France argue thus with our negotiators, "You have told us, that the Engliſh nation would ſubmit with great unwillingneſs to the recognition of American independence, and you demand ſome ſacrifice from us as an equivalent for that conceſſion. You ſee now that

parliament has none of the difficulties you made account of; we therefore muſt alter our terms, there being no reaſon why we ſhould now make the ſacrifice you require."

In ſupport of the motion it was urged, that the production of a treaty, pending the negotiation, was perfectly parliamentary, and not unprecedented; and that none of his Majeſty's ſervants would venture to aſſert, that, in the preſent inſtance, it would be dangerous or unſafe. The difficulties under which our negotiators muſt unavoidably labour, ſo ſoon as the contradictory language of miniſters at home was known abroad, and the neceſſity of relieving them from this embarraſſment, was ſtrongly inſiſted on. It was not from any abſurd idea of reconciling the contradictions of miniſters that the preſent motion was brought forward, but that parliament might put ſuch a clear, diſtinct, and definitive conſtruction on the treaty, as might ſatisfy both foreign powers and the people at home of its true meaning and purpoſe. Miniſters could then no longer fluctuate in their explanations of it, and might recover that confidence abroad which at preſent it was ridiculous for them to expect. They had themſelves confeſſed, that the inſinuations that had been propagated reſpecting the inſincerity of the noble earl at the head of the treaſury had materially impeded their negotiations; and was it likely that theſe ſuſpicions would be removed by what had paſſed in parliament ſince the firſt day of the ſeſſion?

It was not denied that the deſign of the motion was to induce parliament to come to an explicit and unconditional acknowledgment of the independence of America; and this, it was argued, was the beſt policy we could adopt. To grant it as the price of peace, at the requiſition of France, would be baſe and degrading. Should the French miniſter inſult us with an offer, he ſhould be told, "We will not ſell the independence of America to you at any price; we will freely preſent her with that which you ſhall not procure her, offer what bargain you pleaſe."

The motion was at length rejected on a previous queſtion, by a majority of 219 to 46; and both houſes adjourned on the 23d to the 21ſt of the following month.

On the day of meeting after the receſs, a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, for leave to bring in a bill, "for removing "and preventing all doubts which "had ariſen, or might ariſe, con- "cerning the excluſive right of "the parliament and courts of "Ireland in matters of legiſlation "and judicature; and for pre- "venting any writ of error or ap- "peal from any of his majeſty's "courts in that kingdom from be- "ing received, heard, and ad- "judged, in any of his majeſty's "courts in the kingdom of Great "Britain." Jan. 21ſt. 1783.

The cauſe of this bill, which after going through the uſual forms paſſed into a law, was as follows:

When the matter of eſtabliſhing the legiſlative and judicial independence of the kingdom of Ireland was under the conſideration of the late miniſtry, two ways of doing it had occurred. The one, by a renunciation of what this country held to be a right, but

which it was ready to give up. This mode, however, it was foreſeen, might give offence to the people of Ireland, who contended, that England never had any ſuch right. The other mode was by declaring that England, though it had exerciſed, had never been legally poſſeſſed of, ſuch a right: but to this mode of renunciation it was juſtly apprehended that the parliament of Great Britain would not be brought to conſent. The meaſure of a ſimple repeal of the declaratory act of the 6th of Geo. I. was therefore adopted, as moſt conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the people there, and the dignity of government here: and though ſome zealous patriots in Ireland ſeemed to think that an abſolute renunciation was neceſſary; yet, as we have before related *, an addreſs was carried there through both houſes, with only two or three diſſentient voices, expreſſing their perfect ſatisfaction, and declaring that no conſtitutional queſtion between the two countries would any longer exiſt. After this the parliament of Ireland proceeded in the exerciſe of their legiſlative capacity, to enact laws for regulating their judicial proceedings, and for confining the deciſions of property to their own courts of law, with power of appeal to the Houſe of Lords of that country only. Things were going on in this amicable manner, when a cauſe that had been removed by writ of error from Ireland to the court of King's Bench, long before the repeal had been in agitation, and which the judge, by the rules of the court, was bound to determine, was brought to a deciſion. This unlucky accident was eagerly laid hold on by the clamorous in that country; and the jealouſy they attempted to ſpread was not unwillingly improved by the miniſters into an opportunity of ſhewing, that the meaſures of their predeceſſors had failed of giving that complete ſatisfaction which had been boaſted, and of courting the applauſe of Ireland by the additional ſecurity which the preſent bill was ſuppoſed to afford to their rights.

The bill paſſed without any formal oppoſition: it was however remarked, that as the parliament of Ireland had declared that no conſtitutional queſtion did any longer exiſt between the two countries, it was not conſulting the dignity of the legiſlature of Great Britain, nor paying any compliment to the diſcernment of that of Ireland, to declare that doubts might ſtill ariſe; and to paſs an act to prevent them, that was unaſked, and grounded on mere ſurmiſes. The parliament of Ireland, by the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. were virtually inveſted with full powers to regulate every domeſtic inconvenience according to its own diſcretion; and this in the preſent inſtance they had actually done, a bill for the purpoſe having received the royal aſſent. The officious interference now of Great Britain, ſo far from encreaſing the confidence which Ireland was inclined to repoſe in us, was more likely, it was ſaid, to produce the contrary effect, by authorizing groundleſs jealouſy and diſtruſt. Confidence was in its nature voluntary: a profuſion of profeſſions never had, nor ever would, either produce or confirm it. It was madneſs to ſuppoſe that ſpe-

* See Vol. XXV. P. [179.

culating politicians in Ireland, like all other people in similar circumstances, would not find matter to cavil at. It was therefore necessary, for the peace of both countries, and to the dignity of parliament, that the business should have an end somewhere; and ministers were advised to come to a resolution of making a stand, where the best and wisest men of that country had already fixed the landmarks of the constitution.

CHAP. VII.

Preliminary articles of peace signed at Versailles—laid before both houses of parliament.—Address of thanks moved by Mr. Thomas Pitt.—Amendment proposed by Lord John Cavendish.—Second amendment proposed by Lord North—List of the principal speakers for and against the original address.—The peace defended on three grounds.—1st From the deplorable state of the finances—of the navy—of the army.—2dly. On the merits of the articles of the several treaties.—Defence of the French treaty—of the cession of part of the Newfoundland fishery, and of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon—of the restoration of St. Lucia, and of the cession of Tobago—of the cession of Senegal, and the restoration of Goree—of the restoration of the French continental settlements in the East-Indies—of the abrogation of the articles relative to Dunkirk.—Defence of the Spanish treaty—of the cession of East and West Florida and Minorca—Defence of the provisional treaty with the Americans—of the line of boundaries—of the settlement of the fisheries—of the terms procured for the loyalists.—3dly. On the factions and interested motives of those who pretended to disapprove of it.—Arguments urged by the opposite side in support of the amendments.—Arguments used in defence of the peace replied to in the same order.—Both amendments carried in the House of Commons, by a majority of 16.—Amendment to the address in the House of Lords moved by Lord Carlisle, and negatived by a majority of 13.—List of speakers in the debate.—Resolution of censure on the peace moved in the House of Commons by Lord John Cavendish, and carried by a majority of 17.

THE preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain, were signed at Versailles on the 20th of January; and on the 27th copies of the same, and of the provisional treaty with the United States of America, were laid before both houses of parliament, and after a short debate, ordered to be printed. Monday the 17th of February was appointed for taking them into consideration; and in the intermediate time several motions were made for such papers and documents as might assist the house in deciding on their merits.

On the day appointed upwards of four hundred and fifty members were assembled. After the papers were read, a motion was made by Mr. Thomas Pitt, and seconded by Mr. Wilberforce, "that an address of thanks should be presented to the King for his gracious condescension in ordering the

" the preliminary and provisional " articles of the several treaties " which his Majesty had concluded, to be laid before them; and " to assure his Majesty that they " had considered them with that " attention that so important a " subject required. To express " their satisfaction that his Majesty had, in consequence of the " powers entrusted to him, laid the " foundation, by the provisional articles with the States of North " America, for a treaty of peace, " which they trusted would ensure " perfect reconciliation and friendship between both countries. " And that, in this confidence, " they presumed to express their " just expectations, that the several States of North America " would carry into effectual and " satisfactory execution those measures which the congress was so " solemnly bound by the treaty " to recommend, in favour of such " persons as had suffered for the " part they had taken in the war; " and that they should consider " this circumstance as the surest " indication of returning friendship.

" To acknowledge their due " sense of that wise and paternal " regard for the happiness of his " subjects, which induced his Majesty to relieve them from a burthensome and expensive war; and " to assure his Majesty they would " encourage every exertion of his " subjects of Great Britain and " Ireland, in the improvement of " those resources which must tend " to the augmentation of the public strength, and the prosperity " of his dominions."

Of this address an amendment was moved by Lord John Cavendish, to leave out all that part after the words "*to assure his Majesty,*" and to insert instead thereof the following—" His faithful commons will proceed to consider the same with that serious " and full attention which a subject of such importance to the " present and future interests of " his Majesty's dominions deserves. That in the mean time " they entertain the fullest confidence of his Majesty's paternal " care, that he will concert with " his parliament such measures as " may be expedient for extending " the commerce of his subjects.

" That whatever may be the " sentiments of his faithful commons on the investigation of the " terms of pacification, they beg " leave to assure his Majesty of " their firm and unalterable resolution to adhere inviolably to " the several articles for which " the public faith is pledged, and " to maintain the blessings of " peace, so necessary to his Majesty's subjects and the general " happiness of mankind."

A second amendment was afterwards moved by Lord North, to insert after the words "*commerce of his subjects,*" the following—" And his Majesty's faithful commons feel that it would be superfluous to express to his Majesty the regards due from the " nation to every description of " men, who, with the risque of " their lives, and the sacrifice of " their properties, have distinguished their loyalty and fidelity during a long and calamitous war."

In the following account of the important debate which these motions gave rise to we have thought it more adviseable, for the sake of

diſtinctneſs and preciſion, to follow the arrangement of the arguments uſed on both ſides the queſtion, than the order of ſpeakers. With reſpect to the latter therefore it may ſuffice to mention, that the original addreſs was ſupported by the ſecretary of ſtate, the chancellor of the exchequer, the treaſurer of the navy, the ſolicitor-general, and by Mr. Powis, Mr. Banks, and ſome other country gentlemen; the amendments by Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Governor Johnſtone, Lord Mulgrave, Sir Henry Fletcher, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam, and alſo by ſeveral of the country gentlemen.

The defence of the peace was undertaken on three grounds; firſt, on the weak and impoveriſhed ſtate of this country; ſecondly, on the merits of the articles themſelves; and laſtly, on an attempt to diſarm the arguments and objections on the other ſide of their force and effect, by throwing on the oppoſite party the odium of acting entirely, on this occaſion, from intereſted motives; and of having entered into an unnatural coalition, merely for the purpoſe of diſplacing his Majeſty's miniſters by inducing parliament to cenſure the peace.

On the firſt of theſe heads, Mr. Thomas Pitt entered into a circumſtantial detail of the deplorable ſtate of the *finances* of this country, taken from the report of a committee appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the funds, of which he had been chairman. By this he made it appear, that the national debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to upwards of 250 millions. That the annual intereſt on it would fall little ſhort of nine millions and a half. That this enormous intereſt, being added to the civil liſt, and to a moderately calculated peace eſtabliſhment, our annual expences, in ſeaſons of profound peace, would (according to his detailed calculations) amount at leaſt to 14,793,137 l. That the amount of the enormous load of taxes under which the landed intereſt was ſinking, did not exceed all together 12,500,000 l. So that there remained an annual ſum of near 2,300,000 l. to be raiſed by freſh burthens.—From theſe facts it was demanded, whether the continuance of the war could end in any thing leſs than certain ruin?

This ſtate of our finances, it was ſaid, ought to be kept conſtantly in view in diſcuſſing the merits of the peace; and whenever it was argued that conceſſions had been improvidently made, or that greater advantages might have been obtained, members ſhould fairly aſk themſelves, whether ſuch an object, under ſuch circumſtances, was worth the expence and hazard of another compaign?

It would doubtleſs be urged that the other belligerent powers felt an equal degree of diſtreſs; but to what a conſequence would ſuch a mode of reaſoning lead the houſe? What man was ſo deſperate as to adviſe the continuance of a war, which might end in the bankruptcy of public faith, a bankruptcy which would almoſt diſſolve the bands of government, and this merely on a ſurmiſe, that probably one of the adverſe powers might experience an equal diſtreſs.

The *navy*, the ſecond great engine of war, was repreſented to be in a condition ſcarcely adequate

to

to the purpoſes of defence, and (in a competition of ſtrength) greatly inferior to that of the enemy. From the papers on the table it appeared, that the whole Britiſh force, fit for ſervice, ſcarcely amounted to one hundred ſail of the line. Of theſe many were undermanned, ſeveral unclean and in a mouldering ſtate, and the greateſt part had been long and actively employed on foreign ſtations. Our magazines were in an exhauſted condition; and with the moſt diligent exertions not more than ſix ſail could have been added to this catalogue in March. The force of France and Spain amounted to one hundred and forty ſail of the line. Thirteen new ſhips would have been added to the fleet of France in the courſe of the enſuing ſpring. The Dutch fleet would have amounted to twenty-five ſail of the line, and it was uncertain what acceſſion the Spaniſh force would have received at the ſame time.

With ſo glaring an inferiority, what hopes of ſucceſs could we derive, either from the experience of the laſt campaign, or from any new diſtribution of our force in that which would have followed? In the Weſt-Indies we could not have had more than forty-ſix ſail to oppoſe to forty, which on the day that the peace was ſigned lay in the harbour of Cadiz with 16,000 troops on board, ready to ſail for that quarter of the world, where they would have been joined by twelve ſhips of the line from the Havannah, and by ten from St. Domingo, with 25,000 men on board. A defenſive war, it was univerſally acknowledged, muſt terminate in certain ruin; and it was aſked, whether Admiral Pigot, with ſuch an inferiority, could have undertaken any offenſive operations againſt the iſlands of the enemy; thoſe iſlands on which Lord Rodney, flushed with victory, could not attempt to make an impreſſion? Could Admiral Pigot have regained by arms what the miniſters had recovered by treaty? Could he, in the ſight of a ſuperior fleet, have captured Grenada, Dominique, St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montſerrat? Or might we not too reaſonably apprehend, that the campaign in the Weſt-Indies would have cloſed with the loſs of Jamaica itſelf, the avowed object of this immenſe armament?

In the Eaſt our proſpects were not brighter. A mere defenſive reſiſtance had entitled Sir Edward Hughes to the thanks of parliament; but his ſucceſs, if it might be termed a victory, had not prevented the enemy from landing a greater European force than we actually poſſeſs in that country, and which, in conjunction with Hyder Ally, was at that inſtant ſubduing or deſolating the Carnatic. In the enſuing campaign, after the junction with Commodore Bickerton, the French fleet would at leaſt be equal to ours.

If we looked forward to the probable operations in the channel, and in the northern ſeas, in a future campaign, it was ſaid to be clear, from the papers laid before the houſe, that the combined fleets of the houſe of Bourbon and of Holland, would at leaſt have doubled our force in our own ſeas.

With reſpect to the *army*, it was aſſerted, that we were in want of thirty thouſand men to complete its eſtabliſhments, and that levies

could ſcarcely be torn, on any terms, from a depopulated country. That after the moſt careful inveſtigation, it had appeared, that only three thouſand men could have been ſpared, with ſafety to this country, for any offenſive duty. The foreign troops in garriſon at New-York we had no power to embark on any other than American ſervice; beſides, if a new treaty had been entered into with the German princes, no tranſports could have been aſſembled for an early embarkation; and, even when embarked, where could they have directed their courſe, in the face of an enemy's fleet cruizing with undiſputed ſuperiority in every part of the weſtern world?

From this view of our total inability to engage in another campaign, with any proſpect of bringing it to a more favourable concluſion than the laſt, it was argued, that peace on any terms, by breaking the powerful confederacy that was againſt us, and giving us time to recruit our waſted ſtrength, was preferable to a continuance of the war. But it was aſſerted, in the ſecond place, that the peace did not ſtand in need of ſuch a defence, and that the terms obtained were fair and honourable, and adequate to the juſt expectations of the nation.

By the 3d and 4th articles of the treaty with the court of France, we had ceded the excluſive right of fiſhery on a certain part of the coaſt of *Newfoundland*. But at the ſame time we have alſo eſtabliſhed an excluſive right to the moſt valuable banks. The concurrent fiſhery formerly exerciſed was a ſource of endleſs ſtrife. The French were now confined to a certain ſpot: it was almoſt nothing, when compared to the extent we poſſeſs, and beſides is ſituated in the leaſt productive part of the coaſt. In proof of theſe facts, the opinions of Admiral Edwards, of Captain Leveſon Gower, and of Lieutenant Lane, who took an accurate ſurvey of the whole, were confidently appealed to.

By the 5th article the iſlands of *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon* were ceded to the French. Theſe iſlands had formerly belonged to that crown, but were retained, in the pride of our ſuperiority, at the treaty of Paris, in 1762: and ſurely there could be no juſt ground of complaint now, if France, in her aſcendancy, ſhould require the reſtitution of them. If it ſhould be alledged, that theſe places might be fortified ſo as to annoy us in a future war, and even endanger our fiſheries, the anſwer was at hand;—the moſt ſkilful engineers had certified, that neither iſland would admit the conſtruction of a fortreſs which would ſtand the attack of the ſmalleſt of our frigates.

In the *Weſt-Indies*, by the 7th article, the iſland of St. Lucia was reſtored, and Tobago ceded to the French; but in return, by the 8th, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had reſtored to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenadines, of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher, Nevis, and Montſerrat. It was aſſerted, that the iſland of Dominica, conſidered as a place of obſervation and ſtrength, was as valuable to this country, if not more ſo, than St. Lucia. The importance of the latter iſland, it was ſaid, might fairly be eſtimated by the value ſet upon it at the laſt peace. It was then ours by conqueſt;

queſt; and if it had been thought of ſuch ineſtimable conſequence, as was now pretended, why was it not then retained? The iſland of Tobago had alſo been extorted from France at the peace of Paris, and therefore might now be equitably re-demanded. Its importance to our cotton manufactory had been greatly exaggerated. If this manufacture had riſen to a flouriſhing ſtate before we ever poſſeſſed that iſland, why might it not remain ſo now? The fact was, that cotton, whether in the hands of friend or foe, would always find its way to our door, in preference to that of thoſe who cannot meet it with ſuch a purſe.

In *Africa*, by the 9th article, the King of Great Britain cedes the river of Senegal, with its dependencies and forts, and reſtores the iſland of Goree. On the other ſide, Fort James and the river Gambia is guaranteed to Great Britain, by the 10th; and by the 11th and 12th, the gum trade is put on the ſame footing as in the year 1755. By theſe articles, it was ſaid, we ſecure (as much as we ever had ſecured) a ſhare in the gum trade; and were freed from the neceſſity of making that coaſt a grave for our fellow-ſubjects, thouſands of whom were annually ſent there to watch an article of trade which we in vain endeavoured to monopolize.

The four following articles relate to the *Eaſt-Indies*. By theſe, Pondicherry and Karical, with ſuitable dependencies, the poſſeſſion of Mahé, and the Comptoir of Surat, are reſtored, and guaranteed to France, together with all the eſtabliſhments which belonged to that kingdom at the commencement of the war, on the coaſt of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to ſurround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters. Theſe conceſſions were allowed to be very conſiderable, and they were defended by the advocates for the peace on two very different and oppoſite grounds. Some of them aſſerted, that the Company's affairs were in every reſpect in ſo deplorable a ſtate, that the continuance of the war there muſt have brought on their irretrievable deſtruction; whilſt others, in order to remove any apprehenſion that might be entertained from the reeſtabliſhment of the French power in India, contended, that their affairs were in ſo proſperous a train, as would ſpeedily put them out of the reach of injury from any rival whatever.

The abrogation of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, which had been inſerted in any former treaty of peace, formed the 17th article of the preſent. During all the adminiſtrations which have paſſed away ſince the demolition of that harbour was firſt ſtipulated, thoſe articles had never been inforced. This negligence, it was ſaid, was a ſufficient proof of the little account in which that matter was held; and the fact was, that all the art and coſt that France could beſtow on the baſon of Dunkirk, could not render it in any degree formidable to Great Britain. France wiſhed for the ſuppreſſion of thoſe articles, merely as a point of honour; and ſurely no ſober man would continue the war to thwart a fancy ſo little detrimental to us. At former periods England had dictated the terms of peace to ſubmiſſive nations;

tions; but the viſions of her power and pre-eminence were paſſed away, and ſhe was under the mortifying neceſſity of employing a language that correſponds with her true condition.

To the King of Spain, the poſſeſſion of Minorca and Weſt Florida was guaranteed, and Eaſt Florida ceded. With reſpect to the firſt-mentioned place, it was urged, that it was kept at an immenſe and uſeleſs expence in peace, and was never tenable in war; and as to the Floridas, that the poſſeſſion of them was by no means ſo important as might be imagined, and that we had gained an equal advantage by the reſtoration of Providence and the Bahama iſlands. The imports of both the Floridas did not exceed 70,000l. and the exports amount to about 120,000l. It certainly was not deſirable to take ſo much from the commerce of the nation; but it was a favourite object with Spain, and amidſt the millions of our trade, it ſurely was not worth contending for, at the hazard of continuing the war.

The treaty with the United States of America, as far as regarded their independence, had in ſome meaſure been previouſly formed by parliament; the only points therefore that remained for diſcuſſion were the fixing of the boundaries, the ſettlement of the fiſheries, and the terms ſtipulated for the loyaliſts.

By the line of boundaries, all the back ſettlements, and the whole country between the Allegany Mountains and the Miſſiſſippi were ceded to the United States. To have retained the large tract behind them, for the purpoſe of planting it with perſons of different political principles, would have been little better than laying the foundation of new war and new diſturbances. The free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi was however reſerved.

To the northward, the line of diviſion was carried through the centre of the lakes, and by that means a participation of the fur trade was ſecured to both countries, with a ſmall advantage in favour of Great Britain; as it was well known to all men converſant in the nature of that trade, that its beſt reſources lay to the northward. But ſuppoſing the entire fur trade was ſunk in the ſea, what was the detriment to this country? Let this and every other part of the treaties be examined by the fair value of the diſtrict ceded, drawn from the amount of the exports and imports, by which alone we could judge of its importance. The exports of this country to Canada, then, were only 140,000l. and the imports no more than 50,000l. Was this an object for Great Britain to continue a war, of which the people of England had declared their abhorrence? Surely it was not: and much leſs would it appear ſo, when it was recollected that the preſervation of this annual importation of 50,000l. has coſt the country for ſeveral years paſt, on an average, 800,000l. a year. A few intereſted Canadian merchants might complain; for merchants would always love monopoly, without conſidering that monopoly, by deſtroying rivalry, which was the very eſſence of the well-being of trade, was in fact detrimental to it.

The ceſſion of Penobſcot had been objected to, as depriving us of

of a ſupply of maſts, which that place is ſaid to furniſh in wonderful abundance. But in oppoſition to this aſſertion, it was proved, they ſaid, by the certificate of Captain Twiſs, one of the ableſt ſurveyors in the ſervice, that there was not a tree there capable of being made maſt.

By the 3d article of the proviſional treaty, the freedom of fiſhing on all the Banks of Newfoundland, and alſo on all the coaſts of our dominions in America, was given to the ſubjects of the United States. And why?—Becauſe, in the firſt place, they could, from their locality, have exerciſed a fiſhery in that quarter, in the firſt ſeaſon (for there are two) without our conſent, and in ſpite of all our efforts to repel them. The firſt ſeaſon commences in February, and that is entirely at their diſcretion: for our people have never, and can never take their ſtation there ſo ſoon. With regard to the other ſeaſon, the principle on which the fur trade had been regulated was again reverted to; though we had not a monopoly, we poſſeſſed ſuch ſuperior advantages in the article of curing our fiſh for market, from the excluſive command of the contiguous ſhores, that a rivalry would only whet our induſtry, to make the moſt of thoſe benefits which our ſituation put within our power. It might be aſked, why we had not ſtipulated for a reciprocity of fiſhing in the American harbours and creeks? The anſwer was obvious—becauſe we had abundant employment in our own.

The laſt article objected to, was the terms procured for the loyaliſts. On this point but one alternative offered itſelf; either to accept from congreſs their recommendation to the provincial ſtates in favour of thoſe unhappy people, or to continue the war: and who was bold enough to ſtep forward, and ſay that we ought on that account to have broken off the treaty? But the fact was, that they could do no more than recommend. It was neceſſary to be cautious in wording the treaty, leſt they ſhould give offence to the new States. In all their meaſures, ſince their firſt conſtitution, for providing either money or men, they have uſed the word *recommendation* to the provincial aſſemblies; and it had always been paid reſpect to. But to ſuppoſe the worſt, that after all, this eſtimable ſet of men could not be received into the boſom of their own country; was England ſo loſt to gratitude and honour, as not to afford them an aſylum? Without one drop of blood ſpilt, with one fifth of the expence of one campaign, happineſs and eaſe might be given to the loyaliſts in as ample a manner as thoſe bleſſings were ever in their enjoyment.

Such were the arguments urged in favour of the articles of the ſeveral treaties of peace: an indirect defence of it was alſo attempted, by endeavouring to throw odium on the characters of thoſe who, it was ſaid, pretended to diſapprove of it, and were deſirous, from intereſted motives, of inducing parliament to paſs a cenſure upon it. A coincidence in opinion between a noble lord who had formerly been at the head of adminiſtration, and the perſons who moved and ſupported the amendment to the addreſs, was the ground of this accuſation. So unnatural an alliance, between the lofty aſſertors of regal pre-

prerogative, and the humble worſhippers of the majeſty of the people; the determined advocate of the influence of the crown, and the great purifiers of the conſtitution; could not, it was ſaid, originate from any but the moſt baſe and ſordid views. It was not the peace, which, it was aſſerted, was unimpeachable, but the offices of the miniſters, that was the object of their purſuit. On this occaſion every art was uſed to inflame the minds of the public, and to incite their own friends to revolt againſt what was repreſented as a moſt barefaced attempt to abuſe their confidence: all the moſt virulent expreſſions of enmity and abuſe, which during their long and violent conteſts had fallen from either party in the heat of debate were induſtriouſly brought forward; their junction was urged as a proof of a total dereliction of principle, and as an attrocious attempt to overbear the juſt prerogative of the crown, and to ſeize on the adminiſtration of public affairs by force.

On theſe grounds was the defence of the peace undertaken: it now remains that we ſtate thoſe arguments which induced the majority of the houſe to adopt the amendments already recited, and on a following day to vote, "that "the conceſſions granted by the "peace to the enemies of Great "Britain were greater than they "were entitled to, either from "the actual ſituation of their re"ſpective poſſeſſions, or from their "comparative ſtrength."

On the firſt head, viz. the inability of the country, from the ſituation of public credit, and the ſtate of its finances, to continue the war, it was ſaid, that ſpeculative politicians had in all times been fond of circumſcribing the bounds of public credit, and drawing a line, beyond which they imagined it could not be ſtretched; but that repeated experience had ſhewn that ſuch ideas were for the moſt part imaginary and chimerical. But in whatever degree we may ſuppoſe the reſources of this country to be exhauſted, we were well aſſured that thoſe of the enemy were equally ſo, and that their burthens were leſs cheerfully ſupported; witneſs the ſeveral ſpirited memorials from the States of Britanny, and other places, againſt the war; the loud murmurs of the whole Spaniſh nation; and the refuſal of moſt of the provincial ſtates in America to pay the laſt tax ordered to be levied by congreſs. If the apprehenſion of bankruptcy made peace deſirable, or even neceſſary to Great Britain, it made it equally ſo to the other belligerent powers; and where the reaſons for deſiring peace were equal, no argument could be adduced why the terms ſhould not be equal and reciprocal. It was urged, beſides, that this argument, if allowed, would prove too much. The ſtate of our finances, from their public nature, being as well known to our enemies as to ourſelves, it might fairly be aſked, how they came to grant us, knowing we were not able to proſecute the war, even thoſe terms that had been procured? Was it owing to the magnanimity of France that we are allowed to retain our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies? Had the court of Spain at once forgot thoſe objects, on account of which it had engaged in the war, the reſtoration of Gibraltar and Jamaica? Was it from the remains

of a filial regard in the United States, that Canada and Nova Scotia were not claimed, in addition to the reſt of our territories ſurrendered in America?—No; it aroſe from their knowledge that this nation, however diſtreſſed, would not bear the impoſition of ſuch conditions. They ſaw they had a miniſtry to deal with that was conſcious of their own tottering ſituation: though equally deſirous of peace, they perceived it was the happy moment for their demands, and our conceſſion; but at the ſame time their policy would not let them go farther than they have now ventured.

With reſpect to the navy, it was affirmed to be in a flouriſhing and vigorous ſtate, and that we had the happieſt proſpects before us for the next campaign. The noble viſcount *, who had lately retired from his high and reſponſible office at the head of the admiralty becauſe, as he declared, he would not ſubſcribe to the terms of the peace, had aſſerted in the other houſe, that the Britiſh fleet conſiſted of 109 line of battle ſhips, and that the united force of the houſe of Bourbon did not exceed 125. With reſpect to their condition, he declared, that, from the beſt information he could procure, ours was greatly ſuperior. During the courſe of laſt year, when our inferiority was infinitely more apparent, our navy had increaſed (and principally by captures) ſeventeen in its number, whilſt that of France alone had ſuffered a diminution of thirteen ſhips of the line. It was likewiſe affirmed, that Admiral Pigot would, at the time of action, have had 54 ſail of the line in the Weſt Indies; a force abundantly ſufficient for every offenſive or defenſive purpoſe, and which our enemies could not have met with any proſpect of advantage. It was declared by the noble viſcount alluded to above, that he moſt earneſtly wiſhed the fleet that was collected at Cadiz had ſailed, as he had not the ſmalleſt doubt that a deciſive blow would have been given in the enſuing campaign, in the Weſt-Indies, to the marine of the Houſe of Bourbon.

In the Eaſt Indies, it had been allowed, on the other ſide, that our force in point of number of guns was equal to that of the enemy; but in other reſpects, it was now aſſerted to be much ſuperior; and that the poſſeſſion of Trincomale gave us a decided advantage in all our naval operations in that quarter.

For the channel ſervice there remained thirty-four ſail of the line. This force, though allowed to be inferior to that of the enemy, yet was aſſerted to be ſufficient for the ſecurity of our trade, and adequate to all the purpoſes of home-defence.

An appeal had been made to the experience of the late campaign. On this point it was demanded, whether the navy had been inadequate to any ſervice on which it was diſpatched? and whether there had been any one offenſive or defenſive meaſure declined, in conſequence of its being incompetent to the duty?—On the proof of either of theſe propoſitions, Mr. Fox offered to reſt the fate of the queſtion before the houſe.

* Lord Viſcount Keppel.

With

With respect to the army, it was said, that the argument drawn from the depopulated state of the country did not deserve a serious answer. It was asserted that transports might easily have been procured for carrying the German troops to the West-Indies; and above all, it was contended, that the American war, the mill-stone that hung about our necks, being at an end, the nation would have soon emerged from its dejection, and recovered its usual high tone of thinking and acting.

It had been said, that peace on *any terms*, by breaking the alliance confederated against us, and giving us time to breathe, was preferable to the continuance of the war under our present circumstances. In answer to that it was observed, that improvident concessions could never tend to the security of peace; but by weakening the power that made them, rendered it more liable to future insults. It was further urged, that if any inability to prosecute the war really existed, it was not likely we should reap much benefit from the breathing time, which had been procured at so great and certain a loss. It was not probable that the national debt would be speedily reduced; and it was a doubt whether we could build ships faster in time of peace than the courts of France and Spain. On the other hand, a variety of obvious circumstances, and more especially the brilliant successes of the late campaign, served to prove, that the present was the moment for pushing our fortune, if peace could not be obtained on equal and honourable terms. That such terms had not been obtained, was the next point that was undertaken to be proved.

In every negotiation for peace, it is obvious that some point must be fixed for the basis of the treaty. Two principles are usually resorted to for this purpose—either that of leaving each party in the actual state of their possessions at the time of the treaty, which is commonly called that of *uti possidetis*; or that of reciprocal and general restitution. The latter principle directs a negotiation, when the belligerent powers have equal desire and reason for concluding the war. It is then they find it their interest to reinstate each other reciprocally in the possessions they have lost. The *uti possidetis* is the principle of negotiation, when either of the belligerent powers has obtained a superiority in the war over the other. It is then the party worsted is obliged to submit to the loss of its possessions; for, not having the power of enforcing, it assumes not the pretence of demanding restitution.

Allowing we were in a situation to treat on the principle of mutual restitution, to which, from the actual state of our possessions, and our comparative strength, it was contended we had fair pretensions, the articles of restoration on our part could not have exceeded those contained in the present treaty, the settlement on the river Gambia alone excepted, for which we had ceded and given up to France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, and the right of fishery on an extensive part of the coast of Newfoundland, the island of Tobago, the river Senegal, with its dependencies and forts, and the abrogation of all former articles relative

to

to Dunkirk: To Spain, the iſland of Minorca, and the provinces of Eaſt and Weſt Florida.

If it ſhould be thought that the ſcale of fortune had turned in favour of our enemies, and that we were not entitled to inſiſt on a general reſtitution, yet ſtill, on the moſt unfavourable ground (that of *uti poſſidetis*) we ſhould have loſt, to France, only the iſlands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher, Nevis, and Montſerrat, the two latter of little importance, either in point of extent or quality; while, on the other hand, we ſhould have retained the very valuable iſland of St. Lucia, in the Weſt-Indies, all their continental ſettlements in the Eaſt, together with their forts and trade, as well as our own, on the coaſt of Africa.

With theſe poſſeſſions, it was maintained, that we might have ſtood on the ground of *uti poſſidetis*, without any material, or probably any diſadvantage. The iſland of St. Lucia, in how little eſtimation ſoever it might have been held at the peace of Paris, was now found by experience, and univerſally acknowledged to be, of the utmoſt importance; and, together with the other ſettlements mentioned, might be conſidered as a fair and full equivalent for the Weſt-India iſlands reſtored to Great-Britain.

In the treaty with Spain, ſuppoſing it likewiſe to have been conducted on the principle of *uti poſſidetis*, the province of Eaſt Florida had been exchanged for the iſland of Providence and the Bahamas. With reſpect to the merits of this exchange, it was ſaid, that the value of Eaſt Florida, whether in point of ſituation, or of commercial produce, had been either little underſtood, or had been deſignedly under-rated. It poſſeſſed one of the fineſt harbours in the world, called the *Bay of Tampa*, or *Eſpiritu Santo*, ſituated in a healthy climate, and where ſhips were ſafe from the annoyance of worms. Beſides, the coaſt of that province was covered with ſmall iſlands, from whence privateers might run to ſea, and attack our Jamaica trade, as it paſſed the gulf of Florida. And this was the more to be feared in a future, than it would have been in any preceding war, from the loſs of Georgia, whoſe harbours formerly ſerved both to protect our trade and to ſhelter it from tempeſts. As a further proof of the raſhneſs and improvidence of this exchange, an addreſs lately preſented by the provincial aſſembly of that country was read, in which, after ſetting forth their thriving ſituation, and expreſſing their abhorrence both of the rebellion in America, and of the Spaniſh government, they conclude "with profeſſions of the "ſtrongeſt attachment to the Houſe "of Brunſwick, under whoſe pro"tection they remained, convinc"ed that their civil and religious "rights would be ſecure to the "lateſt poſterity."

But granting that theſe exchanges had been equitably and prudently made, there ſtill remained to be accounted for the important conceſſions made to the court of France, of which no defence had been attempted, excepting that the houſe of Bourbon had a right to expect ſome compenſation for the humiliating terms impoſed upon her by the peace of 1762.

The firſt of theſe was an excluſive

ſive right of fiſhery on a conſiderable part of the coaſt of Newfoundland. It had been ſaid, that in return we had eſtabliſhed an excluſive right on the remaining and more advantageous parts. In anſwer to this it was obſerved, that the propoſal having evidently originated from France, it was abſurd to ſuppoſe that ſhe had choſen for herſelf the worſt ſtations. The contrary was aſſerted to be the fact; and that the conceſſion was of a new and important nature, the conſequences of which it was not perhaps eaſy at preſent to foreſee.

The ceſſion of St. Pierre and Miquelon followed, together with the right of fortifying them. Heretofore, as ſoon as ever hoſtilities commenced between Great Britain and France, we were enabled, as had been the caſe in the preceding war, to ſeize upon her fiſheries and her ſeamen, becauſe they were unprotected. Hereafter this important advantage would no longer exiſt: for by fortifying the two ceded iſlands, France would be as capable of carrying on the fiſhery in time of war, as in time of peace, and at the ſame time would have it in her power to annoy and diſtreſs us exceedingly. This article therefore materially affected the whole of the Newfoundland fiſhery, and rendered the ſtipulations in that particular infinitely more important and more advantageous to France, than they had ever been by former treaties. It was farther obſerved, that theſe iſlands, if once fortified, would command the entrance of the river St. Lawrence.

The value and importance of the iſland of Tobago, the ceſſion that followed next in order, was ſtrongly inſiſted on; and, in anſwer to the arguments uſed on the other ſide, the miſchievous conſequences were ſtated, of leaving an article ſo eſſential to our manufactures as cotton, in the hands of a rival power, to be taxed or prohibited at its pleaſure.

The ceſſion of Senegal and Goree, it was ſaid, was not leſs miſchievous and improvident. If miniſters had referred to the negotiation for the laſt peace, they would have ſeen that France explicitly ſtates, that without one of theſe places the gum trade could not exiſt; and on this principle, admitted by us, they were then divided. Now, that they are united, our trade is held at the pleaſure of France. It had been urged, that the trade was an object of trifling importance; but the want of it would deſtroy two great branches of our manufacture, that of printed linens, and that of ſilks and gauzes. If a war ſhould break out, we might be deprived of it entirely, and in peace we ſhould buy it at the French price.

The laſt conceſſion made to France, was the abrogation of all former articles relative to Dunkirk. It was allowed, that much difference of opinion exiſted with reſpect to the importance of this harbour; but what it wanted in other reſpects was abundantly made up by the peculiar advantages of its ſituation. The baſon, when opened and repaired, would be capable of containing twenty or thirty ſhips of a conſiderable ſize and burthen. Theſe, iſſuing out at all ſeaſons, would annoy our trade in its very centre, and counterbalance, in ſome meaſure, the advantages of our

our local ſituation for commerce. At the ſame time, it would be of no uſe to the French, but in a war with England; ſo that it was of all others the greateſt temptation that could be thrown in their way for commencing freſh hoſtilities.

To theſe great and extraordinary conceſſions ought to be added the reſtoration of their ſettlements, and other important advantages ſecured to the French in the Eaſt Indies. The addition of territory to Pondicherry and Karical, might be treated as a trifling matter; but it was not thought ſo in the negotiations for the treaty of Paris. Great art was employed, and preſſing ſolicitations made, to carry that point; but the miniſters then were well informed of the value M. du Pleix put upon that territory; and that he held it to be a firm foundation for the re-eſtabliſhment of the power of France, and for an effectual oppoſition to the Engliſh influence on the coaſt of Coromandel.

The grant of a free and undefined trade, ſuch as the French Eaſt India Company enjoyed, without ſpecifying at what period, might not only raiſe a conteſt about duties, but, taken in its full extent, would make Chandenagore a place of arms. It was well known, that the French Eaſt India Company, prior to our acquiſitions in Bengal, was encouraged to carry arms into that country: but during the laſt peace their veſſels had been viſited, and no arms had been permitted to be brought in. Would France now ſubmit to ſuch examinations? And if that reſtraint was intended to be given up, Chandenagore would ſoon be a moſt powerful poſt in the centre of our government.

On the whole of the treaty with the court of France, it was contended, that at a time when we had the command of the Eaſt Indies, when we had excluded France from the coaſts of India, of Africa, and the banks of Newfoundland; when we were relieved from the preſſure of the American war, and had nothing to apprehend in Europe, after having captured ſo many ſail of their line, and without the diſgrace of having a ſingle ſhip of our line in the poſſeſſion of the enemy; we had reſtored her to all her power, and given her a controul and check upon us in every quarter of the globe.

The American treaty, to which the principles already laid down were not ſtrictly applicable, was reſerved for a ſeparate diſcuſſion. The neceſſity or the policy of acknowledging the independence of the United States being admitted, it followed of courſe, that they were to be conſidered merely in the ſame view as any other power at war with Great Britain. The firſt thing therefore to be looked at, in eſtimating the terms of peace, was the known ſituation of each at the time of the treaty.

At this time Great Britain poſſeſſed the ſtrongeſt poſts on the coaſt of North America; all the back country and the river St. Lawrence; the fur trade and fiſheries were entirely hers; a great party in the country were uneaſy at the continuance of the war, and diſſatisfied with the new government; and many were zealouſly attached to our intereſts. Under theſe favourable circumſtances, it was demanded, whether we were under the neceſſity of

accepting such conditions as the enemy chose to offer? or whether we had not a right to insist on fair and honourable terms?

By the provisional articles we had given up Charlestown, New York, Long Island, Penobscot, and all the back settlements. Twenty-five nations of Indians who had entered into offensive alliances with us against the States, were given up, without any conditions being stipulated for their security. A transaction of itself sufficient to stigmatize the framers of the treaty on our part with indelible disgrace.

By the line of boundaries to the northward, all our settlements, carrying-places, and forts on the lakes, including the principal forts of Niagara, Michilimakinac, and Detroit, the erection of which had cost this country immense sums of money, were gratuitously transferred to the Americans, without even assuming the merit of making so important a cession.

Together with our settlements on the lakes, a considerable part of the peltry trade, perhaps indeed the whole of it, was for ever transferred to the subjects of the United States. An attempt had been made to defend this cession by an absurd invective, against monopoly, and by a long encomium upon open and free trade. How this applied to the point in question, it was not easy to conceive. We had a monopoly of the fur trade, in the same manner that every country has a monopoly of its own produce. The fur trade was ours, because we held the country that supplies it. How was the trade laid open by transferring that country to the Americans.

The Canadian merchants had been at an enormous expence in erecting forts and storehouses on the banks of the lakes. They too are accused of being anxious for their own interests, and not understanding the benefit of sharing, or rather of having their profits transferred to others; and a new æra of trade on new principles is announced. It was well known, to what height the pursuit of the old and plain maxims of trade had raised this country: but it was not so easy to comprehend the benefits that would result from the new system, so magnificently described.

The argument drawn from the amount of exports and imports, would better conclude for the entire cession of Canada. And, indeed, without the interior trade of the country, it was a mockery to keep the two forts of Montreal and Quebec, to be supported from this kingdom with much expence, and a sufficient subject for future war. But the balance had been unfairly stated; for the charge was in a great degree to be placed to the account of the war; and the profit would have been very great in peace, had we not given away the most valuable part of the province.

By the 3d article, the fishery on the shores retained by Great Britain is, again, not ceded, but recognized as a right inherent in the Americans, which they are to continue to enjoy unmolested; whilst, on the other hand, no right is reserved to British subjects to approach their shores, though the treaty professes in its preamble to proceed on principles of mutual advantage and reciprocity.

Again, in the 7th article, all the American artillery we had in our garrisons and fortified places on

on that continent were to be left behind us; whereas no ſuch ſtipulation was to be found in this reciprocal treaty for reſtoring any Britiſh artillery poſſeſſed by the Americans.

Even in the article for the ceſſation of hoſtilities, the period, which in every other treaty that had ever yet been made was always reciprocal, commenced on our part immediately; on the part of the Americans, confiſcation, proſcription, impriſonment, and captures at ſea, were not to determine till after the ratification in America of the definitive treaty.

After ſuch extraordinary and boundleſs conceſſions on one part, it was natural, in a treaty deſigned to exclude "partial advantages," and to be formed on the baſis of "liberal equity and reciprocity," to look for the equivalent benefits granted by the other. Two articles of this deſcription preſented themſelves: that by which free navigation of the Miſſiſſippi for ever was ſtipulated; and that by which congreſs was bound to recommend the caſe of the loyaliſts to the ſeveral provincial ſtates.

With reſpect to the free navigation, it was thus circumſtanced:—The northern boundary excluded us from all acceſs to the courſe of it by that way. The eaſt ſide of the river was poſſeſſed by the Americans. To the weſt all the country had been ceded by the peace of Paris to the French, and ſince by them to Spain; and now each ſhore of the mouth of it, by the preſent peace, came into the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards. So that in what manner we were to avail ourſelves of this free navigation, remained yet to be explained.

The article reſpecting the loyaliſts, met with a more ſevere and with almoſt a general reprobation. Thoſe whom it pretends to favour, could receive, it was ſaid, no benefit from it; for ſince the recent reſolutions of ſome of the provincial aſſemblies *, what was the purport of a recommendation? But to thoſe the moſt entitled to our regard, the brave and unhappy men, who, bound by their oaths of allegiance, called on by the Britiſh parliament, encouraged by the proclamations of our generals, and invited under every national aſſurance of ſecurity, had not only given up their property, but riſked their lives in our cauſe, the diſtinction admitted to their prejudice was cruel in the extremeſt degree.

In defence of this article, it was ſaid, that the commiſſioners, or even congreſs, had no power to undertake further.—Why, then, treat without fuller powers. The firſt queſtion Mr. Oſwald ſhould have put to the American commiſſioners, ought to have been, Are you empowered to treat upon and conclude a general amneſty and reſtitution of goods to all loyaliſts, without exception?

But, admitting the neceſſity of treating with perſons not fully empowered, were no means left to ſecure juſt and honourable terms?

* The province of Virginia, a ſhort time before the peace, had come to an unanimous reſolution, "That all demands or requeſts of the Britiſh court for the "reſtoration of property confiſcated by that ſtate, were wholly inadmiſſible; and "that their delegates ſhould be inſtructed to move congreſs that they ſhould direct the deputies for adjuſting a peace, not to agree to any ſuch reſtitution."

Could not all the ſurrenders we were to make; the ſurrender of Charleſtown, of New York, of Long Iſland, Staten Iſland, Penobſcot, and Savannah, purchaſe ſecurity for thoſe meritorious perſons? or why were they not retained as pledges, till ſuch ſecurity was ratified? The inhabitants of thoſe very places were armed with us in defence of their own eſtates; theſe eſtates by recent act had been confiſcated; and when we evacuate thoſe places we ſhall give up the houſes, goods, and even the perſons, of our friends, to the reſentment of their enemies.

Was it poſſible to ſuppoſe that the States of America, unable to raiſe a farthing to carry on the war which was in the heart of their country, were ſo determined not to allow of any ſtipulation in favour of thoſe unhappy men, that they would rather have continued the war, even with the poſſibility of being in this inſtance deſerted by their allies? If we had implored the aid of France and Spain, there could be no doubt but the generoſity of two great and reſpectable ſtates would have interpoſed in favour of the men we have deſerted. The fidelity of the loyaliſts to their king and country, however obnoxious to their hoſtile purſuits in America while the war laſted, could never have been felt by any honeſt mind as a crime that excluded them from any conditions of peace.

But it was ſaid, that there was even a horrible refinement in the cruelty of this article. They are told that one year is allowed them to ſolicit from the lenity of their perſecutors that mercy, which their friends neglected to ſecure; to beg their bread of thoſe by whom they had been ſtripped of their all; to obtain, if they can, leave to repurchaſe what it was known they had no money to pay for.

The conduct of other ſtates in ſimilar circumſtances was contraſted with that of the miniſters of Great Britain. At the peace of Munſter, a general act of indemnity was paſſed, without exception of place or perſon; and the adherents of the Spaniſh monarch, whoſe effects and eſtates had been confiſcated, had them either reſtored, or were paid intereſt for them at the rate of $6\frac{1}{4}$ *per cent.* on the purchaſe money. When the Catalonians revolted from Spain, and at one time put themſelves under the protection of France, and again when they put themſelves under the protection of England; in both caſes, at the peace of the Pyrenees, and at the peace of Utrecht, not only their lives and properties, but even their privileges, were preſerved. No war was ever more marked by perſonal animoſities and party hatred than that carried on in Ireland, after the abdication of James II.; yet in the articles of Limerick, there was no difficulty of admitting the moſt favourable terms for the catholics engaged againſt King William. In ſhort, it was ſaid, that in ancient or modern hiſtory no inſtance could be found of ſo ſhameful a deſertion of men, who had ſacrificed all to their duty, and to their reliance upon our faith.—No circumſtances of diſtreſs, no degree of neceſſity, could be conceived ſufficient to oblige a ſtate to ſubſcribe to an article, which, unleſs marked by the juſt indignation of parliament, would blaſt for ever the honour of this country.

After

After ſo many demonſtrative proofs of the weak, raſh, and ignorant, of the ruinous and diſgraceful conduct of the framers of the peace, it was aſked whether a coincidence of opinion amongſt members, however diſtinguiſhed by different party connections, in their judgment upon it, deſerved the name of an unnatural alliance? and whether it was not more to be wondered, how there could poſſibly exiſt two opinions in the Houſe concerning it? Was it from the character of the noble lord, who had taken the lead in this buſineſs, that the nation was to be taught to conſider it as a mere conteſt for power—a character, which if it had any blemiſh to foil its eminent virtues, it was that of receding from thoſe places where his abilities and integrity might eſſentially promote the intereſts of his country? Was it not neceſſary, in order to preſerve the reputation and character of the nation from eternal diſgrace, that parliament ſhould expreſs their utter diſapprobation of a treaty, which rather deſerved the name of an ignominious capitulation of the glory and eſſential intereſts of a powerful country?—Was it not their duty to lay before the throne their humble ſenſe of the miſconduct of miniſters, who had ſo ſhamefully abuſed his Majeſty's confidence? Was it not alſo their duty to ſhew thoſe very miniſters that they had forfeited the confidence of parliament by a criminal abuſe of the truſt repoſed in them?

It was not denied, that this coincidence of opinion might poſſibly lead to ſome future permanent connection. If, as it was reaſonable to expect, the diſmiſſion of his Majeſty's preſent miniſters ſhould be the conſequence of the cenſure of that Houſe, it was aſked where another adminiſtration could be formed, ſufficiently poſſeſſed of the confidence of the people and of parliament, to undertake the direction of the affairs of the empire at ſo arduous a conjuncture with vigour and effect, without a coalition of parties? Had not the nation already ſuffered enough of evil from the weakneſs and impotence of government? and was it not a flagitious attempt, to endeavour to rouſe the prejudices and inflame the minds of the people againſt a meaſure, ſo neceſſary to heal its diviſions, and to enſure the advantages of firm and permanent counſels?

Thoſe who were at all converſant in the hiſtory of this iſland, muſt know, that ſuch coalitions had frequently become neceſſary; and that, from the very nature of our conſtitution, which giving riſe to various political parties, they ſometimes became ſo equally balanced as to preclude the poſſibility of a permanent adminiſtration, except by their union. Such had been the caſe in the year 1757, when the country was as much diſtracted by violent parties as it had ever been before or ſince. What was done then? Men of all parties ſaw the neceſſity of uniting. The ſeveral factions forgot their animoſities, and out of different ſets of men an adminiſtration was formed that carried this nation to an unrivalled pitch of glory.

Such coalitions did not imply any inconſiſtency of conduct or deſertion of principle. Perſons differing in opinion on ſpeculative political ſubjects, might yet be honeſtly

and firmly united in the executive conduct of government? Private friendſhip and conformity of ſentiment was undoubtedly the beſt baſis of political connection. But where the nature of the caſe required a deviation from this rule, public characters, ſo far from being culpable, deſerved the higheſt praiſe for ſacrificing private reſentments and perſonal animoſities at the altar of public ſafety.

That the very perſons who had ſo invidiouſly brought forward theſe objections did not give them any credit, was clear, becauſe they themſelves had formed a junction in every reſpect equally liable to the ſame exceptions. The only difference was, that the coalition now cenſured conſiſted of the firſt and principal characters in both parties, and therefore was the moſt likely to anſwer the purpoſe of commanding the confidence of the nation, and putting an end to our diviſions, by forming a firm and effective adminiſtration; whereas the other, being made out of the ſhreds and fragments of all parties, had proved deſtitute of every requiſite that could entitle it to ſupport.

Such were the arguments urged on both ſides the Houſe in ſupport of their reſpective motions. The debate laſted till near eight o'clock in the morning, when on a diviſion there appeared for the amendments 224; againſt them 208; ſo that the miniſters loſt the queſtion in the Houſe of Commons by a majority of ſixteen.

In the Houſe of Lords, the following addreſs was moved by the Earl of Carliſle, in lieu of that which had been originally propoſed by the Earl of Pembroke.—"To "return our thanks to his Majeſty "for the communication of the "preliminary articles of peace, "and for having put a ſtop to the "calamities of war by a peace, "which being concluded, we muſt "conſider as binding, and not to "be infringed without a violation "of the national faith.

"To aſſure his Majeſty, that we "feel in the ſtrongeſt manner the "obligation of affording every re-"lief that can alleviate the diſ-"treſſes of thoſe deſerving ſubjects "who have expoſed their lives "and fortunes for the ſupport of "Great Britain; and at the ſame "time, that we cannot help la-"menting the neceſſity which bids "us ſubſcribe to articles, which, "conſidering the relative ſituation "of the belligerent powers, we "muſt regard as inadequate to our "juſt expectations, and derogatory "to the honour and dignity of "Great Britain."

The original addreſs was ſupported by the Marquis of Carmarthen, Lord Hawke, the Dukes of Chandos and Grafton, Lord Grantham, Lord Howe, the Earl of Shelburne, and the lord chancellor. The ſpeakers on the other ſide were the Lords Walſingham, Dudley, Townſhend, Keppel, King, Stormont, Sackville, and Loughborough, the laſt of whom diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a moſt brilliant diſplay of eloquence. The arguments were nearly the ſame with thoſe made uſe of in the lower houſe, and on the diviſion, the amendment was negatived by 72 againſt 59.

On the 21ſt, the day fixed for taking into Feb. 21ſt.

further

further conſideration the articles of peace, Lord John Cavendiſh moved the four following reſolutions:

1ſt. "To aſſure his Majeſty that "his faithful Commons, in conſi"deration of the public faith ſo"lemnly pledged, would inviola"bly ſuſtain and preſerve the peace "agreed upon by the proviſional "articles and preliminary trea"ties."

2dly. "That the Houſe, deeply "affected by his Majeſty's pater"nal care, at all times diſplayed "to his people, would uſe their "utmoſt endeavours to improve "the bleſſings of peace."

3dly. "That his Majeſty's ac"knowledgment of the indepen"dence of America was in perfect "compliance with the neceſſity of "the times, and in conformity with "the ſenſe of parliament."

4thly. "That the conceſſions "granted to the adverſaries of "Great Britain were greater than "they were entitled to, either "from the actual ſtate of their re"ſpective poſſeſſions, or from their "comparative ſtrength."

The two firſt reſolutions were agreed to without any oppoſition. On the third a ſhort debate took place, occaſioned by doubts having ariſen in the minds of ſeveral members, reſpecting the nature of the power veſted in the King, by which he had acknowledged the independence of the United States. It was demanded, whether it was done by virtue of his royal prerogative, or by powers granted by ſtatute; and, if the latter, by what ſtatute?

In anſwer to theſe queſtions, the gentlemen of the long robe were unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſtatute paſſed laſt year to enable the King to make a peace or truce with the colonies in North America, *any law, ſtatute, matter, or thing to the contrary notwithſtanding*, gave him full power to recognize their independence; though ſuch words had not been inſerted in the act, for reaſons ſufficiently obvious. Other members, who agreed with them in opinion as far as it reſpected the acknowledgment of independence, did not think the ſtatute in queſtion granted him any authority to cede to them any part of the province of Canada and Nova Scotia.

With reſpect to the powers of the prerogative, Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee maintained that the King could not abdicate a part of his ſovereignty, or declare any number of his ſubjects free from obedience to the laws in being. The contrary was aſſerted by the attorney general; and each party pledged himſelf, if the matter ſhould come regularly into diſcuſſion, to make good his opinion. A challenge to the ſame effect had paſſed in the Houſe of Peers between Lord Loughborough and the lord chancellor.

At length it was propoſed to alter the reſolution into the following form; "That his Majeſty, in "acknowledging the independence "of the United States of America, "*by virtue of the powers veſted in "him by an act of the laſt ſeſſion of "parliament, entitled*, An act to "enable his Majeſty to conclude a "peace or truce, &c. *has acted*, &c. "when it paſſed without a diviſion."

The fourth reſolution occaſioned a long and vehement debate, in which the ſame ground was gone over as on the 17th, and on a diviſion it was carried by a majority of 207 to 190.

CHAP. VIII.

Lord Shelburne's resignation, and chancellor of exchequer's declaration on what account he continued to hold his office.—Ministerial interregnum—mischiefs resulting therefrom—conjectures on the causes.—Address to his Majesty for the same restrictions to be observed, previous to the 5th of April, respecting granting pensions, as are directed by an act of last session, subsequent to that time.—Debate thereon.—Account of pensions granted.—Animadversions on them.—Mr. Coke's notice of his intention to move an address on the unsettled state of the ministry—its effects—unsuccessful.—Makes his motion—received with approbation.—Ministers attempt to exculpate themselves—answered.—Coalition abused; and an addition, to its disadvantage, proposed to the address.—This attack repelled, with great dexterity, by Mr. Fox.—Allusions having been made, in the debate, to secret advisers of the crown, a gentleman alluded to avows, and justifies, his conduct.—Reply.—Address presented.—Answer.—Mr. Pitt resigns—questioned respecting any new arrangement being made.—His answer—not satisfactory.—Earl of Surrey's motion on the occasion—objections to it—withdrawn.—He proposes another, which is better approved; it is however postponed.—Report to the disadvantage of the coalition party—disclaimed by Lord North.—Fresh invectives against the coalition.—Heads of justification insisted on by that party.—Negotiation again opened to form an administration—succeeds.—List of the new ministry.—Its first objects.—Difficulties obstructing a commercial intercourse with the States of America.—Steps taken to remove them.—Loan of twelve millions brought forward—objected to—justified.—Mr. Pitt's motion for a reform of the parliamentary representation—debate thereon—division—lost by a majority of 144.—Earl Shelburne condemns the loan.—Resolutions proposed for the conduct of future loans.—The loan justified, and former ministry blamed.—Proposed resolutions discussed, and rejected.—Duke of Richmond's motion, respecting danger to be apprehended from putting the great seal in commission to the judges.—Heads of his speech, which embraces further objects.—Motion objected to—withdrawn.—Another proposed—debated—negatived.—Animadversions on the original motion.—Message recommending a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales—50,000 l. settled on him—and 60,000 l. voted as a temporary aid.—Heads of the bill for regulating certain offices in the exchequer.—Clause offered to exempt Lord Thurlow from its operation—debated—agreed to—rejected on the report by a majority of 8.—Close of the session.—Speech.—East India affairs left unsettled.

IN consequence of the censure passed on the peace by the resolutions of the House of Commons on the 21st of February, the Earl of Shelburne quitted his office of first commissioner of the treasury, and the chancellor of the exchequer declared publicly in the House, that he only held his place till a successor should be appointed to fill it. A ministerial interregnum ensued, which lasted till the beginning of April; during which time the kingdom remained in a state of great disorder; without any responsible government at home,

the finances neglected, the military eſtabliſhments unreduced, and the negotiations with foreign powers, which the critical conjuncture of affairs rendered peculiarly important, entirely at a ſtand.

Various cauſes were aſſigned for the extraordinary delay in the appointment of a new adminiſtration. Thoſe who wiſhed to ſhift all blame from the court, alledged, that the chief obſtacle aroſe from the mutual jealouſy, which ſtill ſubſiſted between the newly-allied parties, and the difficulties they found in adjuſting their ſeveral pretenſions. Others have ſuppoſed, that the interval was employed in private intrigues with the individuals of different parties, and in an attempt to form an adminiſtration independent of the great leading connections. Others again did not heſitate to aſſert, that on the failure of this attempt the influence poſſeſſed by the lord high chancellor, whoſe diſmiſſion was a point inſiſted on by the coalition, was the principal cauſe that retarded the new arrangement.—Whether any, or which of theſe cauſes, really operated, we cannot venture to pronounce: we give them as topics of public converſation at the time, and as matters frequently alluded to in the debates in parliament.

On the ſixth of March, an addreſs was ordered to be preſented to his Majeſty, to beſeech his Majeſty, "that the ſame reſtrictions "might be obſerved in reſpect to "any penſion he might be adviſed "to grant antecedent to the fifth "day of April following, as, by "an act of the laſt ſeſſion, are "thenceforth ſtrictly and abſolutely preſcribed."

In the converſation that took place on this motion, it was ſtrenuouſly urged on one ſide, that though, for reaſons which were deemed ſufficient at the time, the operation of the act had been poſtponed till the 5th April 1783, yet it was generally underſtood, that the ſpirit of the act was binding on the King's miniſters from the day on which it was brought into the houſe; and that the noble marquis, under whoſe adminiſtration it paſſed, had declared this to have been his opinion. The chancellor of the exchequer was therefore called on to inform the Houſe whether there was any foundation for the rumour which prevailed, and on which the motion had been grounded, that a great variety of penſions had been lately granted to a very conſiderable amount.

In anſwer to this queſtion, the miniſter firſt obſerved, that he could not ſubſcribe to the doctrine he had juſt heard, that the ſpirit of the act was binding on him before the time fixed by the expreſs letter of the law. The object of the act was to take away a power, which the crown had otherwiſe an undoubted legal right to exerciſe; but by limiting its reſtrictive operation to a future fixed period, the ſpirit of the law rather tended to ſanction the intermediate exerciſe of that power. He then entered into a detail and vindication of the different penſions that had been lately, or were then in the courſe of being granted.

The firſt, he ſaid, was a penſion of 3,000 l. to the lord chancellor, to whom a grant in reverſion had alſo been given of a tellerſhip of the exchequer, in conſequence of a former promiſe given him by the King. The propriety of making a permanent proviſion for this great law officer had been at all times ſo univer-

univerſally acknowledged, that he did not think it neceſſary to trouble the Houſe with a particular juſtification of this penſion.

The ſecond was a penſion of 2,000l. a year to Lord Grantham. This, he ſaid, had been granted at the particular inſtance of his Majeſty, and was to ceaſe whenever he was in poſſeſſion of any place of greater or equal emolument. That noble lord, at the end of an eight years embaſſy, had refuſed to receive the emoluments uſually continued to thoſe offices; and when called to take on him the poſt of a ſecretary of ſtate, his Majeſty had been pleaſed to promiſe him a penſion of 2,000l. whenever he ſhould quit that ſituation.

The third was another penſion of 2,000l. to Sir Joſeph Yorke, granted him as a reward for thirty years ſervices in foreign embaſſy. Both theſe penſions, he ſaid, were ſtrictly within the ſpirit as well as letter of the act.

The fourth was a penſion of 700l. and the fifth, another of 500l. a year, granted to two clerks of the treaſury, whom, for the ſake of ſome official arrangements, they had found it neceſſary to ſuperannuate.

The ſixth was a penſion of 200l. a year granted to a gentleman on his leaving the tax-office to undertake the office of one of the ſecretaries to the treaſury, as a compenſation, in caſe, by a change of miniſtry, he ſhould be thrown out of employment.

The laſt was a penſion of 350l. a year promiſed by the laſt adminiſtration to the ſecretary of Sir Guy Carleton.

Though no attempt was made to diſturb the progreſs of theſe penſions, yet the manner in which ſome of them were vindicated appeared to give great offence to the Houſe. The frequent uſe of his Majeſty's name was ſeverely reprobated, as tending to taking away the reſponſibility of miniſters, and rendering it a very difficult and delicate taſk for members of that houſe to do their duty to the public.

With reſpect to the proviſion made for the lord chancellor, no one, it was ſaid, could reaſonably object to it; but it was wiſhed that it had not been made to reſt on any promiſe made by his Majeſty. The putting it on that ground barred all comment and diſcuſſion, ſince whatever promiſes the royal Perſonage choſe to make ought to be held ſacred, and fulfilled at all hazards. But it was proteſted againſt, as an unfair argument for miniſters to uſe in that Houſe, when a public act of government was under diſcuſſion.

The penſion granted to Lord Grantham was alſo allowed to be unobjectionable in itſelf; but the time and manner of granting it were ſaid to be ſuch as might juſtly cauſe a very ſerious alarm. For what had the miniſter told the Houſe, but that the King had induced the noble lord to accept the office of ſecretary of ſtate by a promiſe of a penſion of 2,000l. a year? If ſuch a practice obtained, it might lead to the moſt dangerous exerciſe of the influence of the crown. If the crown was enabled to bribe perſons by penſions to take on them reſponſible offices, which they had no inclination to accept, it might always obtain an adminiſtration without the ſmalleſt regard to the ſenſe of parliament, or the confidence of the people.

On the 19th of March, Mr. Coke, member for the county of Norfolk, gave notice to the Houſe,

that if an adminiſtration ſhould not be formed on or before the Friday following, he would on that day move an addreſs to his Majeſty on the ſubject. This notice was ſuppoſed to have produced the deſired effect; and it being generally underſtood the day following, that the King had commanded the Duke of Portland and Lord North to lay an arrangement for a new adminiſtration before him, Mr. Coke, on the day fixed, declined making his intended motion.

On Monday the 24th, the ſame gentleman brought the ſubject again before the Houſe; and after premiſing that the negotiation, which had lately been carrying on, was underſtood to have been broken off abruptly, without coming to any effective concluſion, he moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into his ſerious conſideration the very diſtracted and unſettled ſtate of the empire after a long and exhauſting war. And that his Majeſty would therefore condeſcend to a compliance with the wiſhes of the Houſe, by forming an adminiſtration entitled to the confidence of his people, and ſuch as may have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate diviſions and diſtractions of the country."

The diſgraceful ſtate in which the government of the country had ſo long been ſuffered to remain, and the miſchievous conſequences that were daily ariſing from it, ſeemed to have excited a general indignation in the Houſe; ſo that the motion was received with an almoſt univerſal approbation. An attempt, indeed, was made to ſhift the blame on thoſe who were the candidates for power, by inſinuating that the delay had been occaſioned by private differences amongſt themſelves in the diſtribution of offices and emoluments. But this charge was immediately met; and the principal perſons of the party alluded to declared upon their honour, in their places, that though ſome difficulties had occurred (as might naturally be expected in ſettling an entirely new arrangement) yet that they were ſoon amicably ſettled, and that no obſtacle remained with them, when the negotiation was put an end to, which could have delayed the formation of a miniſtry a ſingle day.

Much abuſe was alſo thrown out againſt the coalition, and a member, whoſe ſpeeches ſeldom fail of exciting the laughter of the Houſe, mentioned a deſign he had of propoſing the following addition to the addreſs, "And that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed not to nominate or appoint any perſon or perſons to fill up the vacant departments, * *who by their miſmanagement of public affairs and want of foreſight and abilities*, when they were in office, *had loſt the confidence of the people.*"

This attack was returned with great dexterity by Mr. Fox, who ſaid, that if the honourable baronet had carried his intended amendment, he ſhould alſo have propoſed to have added the following to it, "and alſo that he would be graciouſly pleaſed not to employ, as miniſters, any of thoſe whom that Houſe had declared † *to have made a peace, in which the conceſſions to the enemies of Great Britain*

* Words taken from a motion made by Mr. Fox, in March 1782.

† Words taken from the reſolution of cenſure on the peace, February 1783.

"were

" were greater than they were en-
" titled to." If the Houſe had adopted both the amendments (and the latter ſtood at leaſt as fair for their approbation as the former) his Majeſty would indeed have found no ſmall difficulty how to act. But he ſaid it would have been a matter of great pride to him, to find that the only ſet of men to whom no objections could be made was that ſmall party with whom he had the honour to be, in a more particular manner, connected. This very circumſtance, however, was a ſufficient and convincing proof how neceſſary it was, for the ſafety of the country, that parties ſhould forget their antient animoſities, and join in cordial endeavours to reſcue it out of a ſtate which led directly to anarchy and confuſion.

Amongſt the remarkable circumſtances of this day's debate, it muſt not be omitted, that ſome pointed alluſions having been made to the ſecret adviſers of the crown, a gentleman on whom public ſuſpicion had long reſted, thought proper to come forward and avow himſelf in that character. That he had been with his Majeſty within the courſe of the paſt five weeks more than once was, he ſaid, undoubtedly true, but he could aſſure the Houſe, that he had never gone, but when the King had ſent for him. As a privy counſellor, he was bound to give advice to his ſovereign when called upon; but he had never obtruded his advice, and had merely given an anſwer to ſuch queſtions as his Majeſty had put to him. On the other ſide it was ſtrongly contended, that though any privy counſellor was bound, when called on, to give his advice to the King, yet that it was contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, ſubverſive of good government, and a juſt ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion, when ſuch advice was given in ſecret, and not in open council, and in concert with the reſponſible miniſters of the crown.

The addreſs was ordered to be preſented by ſuch members as were of his Majeſty's privy council, and on Wedneſday the comptroller of the houſehold reported his Majeſty's anſwer, " That it was his earneſt deſire to do every thing in " his power to comply with the " wiſhes of his faithful com- " mons."

On the Monday following, Mr. Pitt March 31ſt, acquainted the Houſe, that he had that day reſigned his office of chancellor of his Majeſty's exchequer; and being aſked, whether he underſtood that any new arrangement was likely ſoon to take place? he ſaid, he knew of none; but that he concluded, from his Majeſty's moſt gracious meſſage, that ſuch a meaſure would not unneceſſarily be delayed.

This anſwer did not appear to give any ſatisfaction to the Houſe; and eſpecially as it now appeared that the care of the public money was left without any reſponſible miniſter whatever. Much difference of opinion prevailed as to the ſteps it might be proper for the Houſe to take in ſo alarming a conjuncture. The Earl of Surrey propoſed, as the groundwork of their future proceedings, that they ſhould come to the following reſolution:— " That a conſiderable time having " now elapſed without an admi- " niſtration reſponſible for the con- " duct of public affairs, the inter- " poſition of this Houſe on the pre- " ſent

" ſent alarming criſis is become " neceſſary."

Several objections were made to this propoſition. It was ſaid to be worded in a manner much ſtronger than the occaſion juſtified; and that, to declare their *interpoſition neceſſary* in a caſe, acknowledged on all hands to belong conſtitutionally to the crown, was little ſhort of declaring that the government of the country was at an end. It was further objected, that ſuch a proceeding was not conſonant to the practice and forms of the Houſe; and laſtly, it was objected to, as implying, that for ſome time paſt there had been no reſponſible miniſters, whereas every miniſter was reſponſible for every part of his conduct till the day he reſigned.

This motion being withdrawn, the noble earl propoſed the following: " That an humble ad- " dreſs be preſented to his Majeſty " to expreſs the dutiful and grateful " ſenſe this Houſe entertains of the " gracious intentions expreſſed in " his meſſage of the 26th inſtant.

" To aſſure his Majeſty it is " with a perfect reliance on his " paternal goodneſs, and with an " entire deference to his royal " wiſdom, that this Houſe again " ſubmits to his conſideration the " urgency, as well as the impor- " tance, of the affairs, which re- " quire the immediate appoint- " ment of ſuch an adminiſtration " as his Majeſty, in compliance " with the wiſhes of his faithful " Commons, has given them rea- " ſon to expect: To aſſure his " Majeſty that all delays in a " mattter of this moment have an " inevitable tendency to weaken " the authority of his govern- " ment, to which this Houſe is " not more bound by duty than " led by inclination to give an " effectual and conſtitutional ſup- " port.

" To repreſent to his Majeſty, " that the confidence of foreign " powers may be weakened by a " failure of the ordinary means of " a conſtant communication with " them.—That the final execu- " tion of treaties, with the impor- " tant and deciſive arrangements " of a commercial and political " nature in conſequence of a late " revolution;—that a proviſion " for the heavy expences and the " important ſervices voted;—that " the orderly reduction of the for- " ces, and the expences of a new " eſtabliſhment;—that the ſettle- " ment of national credit, ſeriouſ- " ly affected by the critical ſtate " of the Eaſt India Company;— " *that theſe*, with other impor- " tant concerns, do ſeverally, and " much more collectively, require " an efficient and reſponſible ad- " miniſtration, formed upon prin- " ciples of ſtrength and ſtability, " ſuited to the ſtate of his Ma- " jeſty's affairs both at home and " abroad.

" And that this Houſe moſt " humbly repeats its application " to his Majeſty, that he will " take ſuch meaſures towards this " object, as may become his moſt " gracious diſpoſition, and quiet " the anxiety and apprehenſions " of his faithful ſubjects."

The decency and propriety of this addreſs were very generally acknowledged, but ſome doubts were expreſſed whether ſufficient time had been allowed ſince the anſwer that had been returned to the

the former; and this idea prevailing, it was at length agreed to poſtpone it for three days longer.

In the courſe of the debate, the negotiation that had broken off eight days before was again adverted to. After the ſatisfactory anſwer given in a former debate, that no obſtacle or impediment had ariſen from any diſagreement amongſt the perſons with whom that negotiation was carried on, a report had been induſtriouſly circulated, that it had been broken off on account of the harſh and unreaſonable demands of that party—and that theſe demands went to the abſolute diſpoſition of all the private and domeſtic ſervants of the crown. On the ground of this report, a reſpectable country gentleman having called on Lord North to avow its truth or falſhood, his lordſhip ſolemnly proteſted, that no ſuch cauſe either did or could have exiſted—That the noble duke and himſelf had never, even in converſation, deſcended to the mention of any arrangements ſo minute as to reach the offices alluded to. That he believed there was no ſet of men in the country, who could be ſo indecent and ſo reprehenſible as to preſume to dictate ſo harſh a meaſure. He did not ſcruple, he ſaid, to declare that ſo diſgraceful an attempt would juſtly have called for the abhorrence and deteſtation of that Houſe; but that he was convinced his noble and honourable friends would be as much hurt, as he confeſſed he was at that moment, to have inſinuated that ſuch a proof of unworthineſs to fill any office whatever themſelves had been given by them.

Much invective was alſo thrown out during theſe debates againſt the coalition: and the abſurdity of expecting that a ſtable and permanent adminiſtration could be formed by perſons ſo oppoſite in their principles and opinions, was inſiſted on with unceaſing virulence. On the other hand, the preſent ſtate of the country was adduced as a complete juſtification of that meaſure; and it was aſked where, or from what deſcription of men, without the coalition of ſome parties or other, an efficient cabinet could be formed. It was aſked, whether there were four perſons of any diſtinguiſhed note on the political ſtage, who had not widely differed on great and important points. If the violence, with which their former oppoſition to each other had, perhaps ſometimes, been even indecently carried on, was the principal objection brought againſt their preſent union, ſurely they deſerved the more merit for conſenting to forget thoſe animoſities, which long and violent conteſts muſt naturally have excited.—To argue, that it was impoſſible for men who differed in opinion upon certain points, to act together cordially for the public good, was to argue againſt experience. For it was aſked, whether the parties in the preſent coalition diſagreed in their political opinions more than the preſent lord chancellor differed from his colleague in the cabinet, the Duke of Richmond—than the ſecretary of ſtate for the home and the ſecretary for the foreign department—than the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and his able and learned friend the Lord Advocate for Scotland?—If ſuch an union was condemned as diſhonourable, the diſgrace would equally cover both parties; for that, to ſay the leaſt,

leaſt, a coalition, which included the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons of each party, could not be more diſgraceful than a coalition made of the ſhreds and remnants of both.

The day after this debate, a negotiation was again opened with the Duke of Portland, and on the 2d of April a new adminiſtration was announced, of which the following perſons formed the cabinet council. The Duke of Portland, firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury; Lord North, ſecretary of ſtate for the home department; Mr. Fox, ſecretary for the foreign; Lord J. Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Viſcount Keppel, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; Lord Viſcount Stormont, preſident of the council; the Earl of Carliſle, privy ſeal; the great ſeal was put into commiſſion; the Earl of Hertford was appointed chamberlain, and the Earl of Dartmouth ſteward, of the houſehold; Lord Viſcount Townſhend was made maſter-general of the ordnance; Mr. Burke, paymaſter-general; Mr. Charles Townſhend, treaſurer of the navy; Mr. Fitzpatrick, ſecretary at war; Mr. Wallace and Mr. Lee had the offices of attorney and ſolicitor general; and the Earl of Northington was appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. The reſt of the new arrangements will be found in the liſt of promotions.

The firſt object of importance that engaged the attention of parliament after the change of adminiſtration was the opening a commercial intercourſe with the States of North America. By the prohibitory acts which had paſſed during the rebellion, all communication with that country, in the way of trade, had been entirely cut off; and though it was the prevailing opinion in parliament, that thoſe acts were virtually repealed by the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, yet in their new character they became ſubject to other reſtrictions, which it was neceſſary to relax and modify: a bill for this purpoſe had been brought into the Houſe of Commons by the late miniſtry; but during the great variety of diſcuſſions which it underwent, difficulties of ſo complicated and important a nature had ariſen, that it never got through the committee.

In the mean time, no regulations whatever having been ſtipulated by the treaty of peace, the commercial intereſts of the country were ſuffering very materially; for not only a number of veſſels, richly freighted for America, were detained in harbour, but there was great danger of having the market pre-occupied by our rivals. In this emergency the new miniſters thought it moſt adviſeable to drop the old bill for the preſent, and to paſs two ſhort bills, one to repeal all the prohibitory acts; the other to remove the neceſſity of requiring manifeſts or other documents, and to lodge in the King and council, for a limited time, a power to make ſuch other regulations as might be expedient.

April 16th. On the 16th, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the loan for the ſervices of the current year. The ſum borrowed amounted to twelve millions. Eleven bankers, with whom the terms of the loan were allotted, had 700,000l. each; the remainder was divided amongſt the reſt of the bankers, the great trading companies, and the clerks of the publick offices. The premium, according to the value

lue of the ſtocks on the day on which the bargain was concluded, was 3l. 10s. per cent. but riſing conſiderably within a few days after, much blame was imputed to the miniſter for having made ſo diſadvantageous a bargain for the public. In vindication of himſelf, he allowed that the premium was certainly much greater than ought to have been given in time of peace, but he begged the Houſe to recollect the circumſtances under which he had been obliged to negotiate the loan. He had only been ten days in office: the late miniſters had left the treaſury without a ſhilling; and the public ſervice admitted of no delay. Theſe circumſtances were well known to the money lenders, and they had doubtleſs taken advantage of it. And as the neceſſity of coming to a concluſion on any terms would by every day's delay have been the more urgent, they would certainly have been raiſed upon him, the nearer that period approached.

On the ſeventh of May, the day after the call of the Houſe, Mr. William Pitt made his promiſed motion reſpecting the reform of parliamentary repreſentation. As the mode of proceeding by a committee, propoſed laſt year, had formed one of the principal objections againſt the reform itſelf, he thought it more adviſeable to bring forward ſome ſpecific propoſitions: theſe were,

1. "That it was the opinion "of the Houſe, that meaſures were "highly neceſſary to be taken for "the future prevention of bribery "and expence at elections."

2. "That for the future when "the majority of votes for any bo-"rough ſhall be convicted of groſs "and notorious corruption before "a ſelect committee of that Houſe, "appointed to try the merits of "any election, ſuch borough "ſhould be diſfranchiſed, and the "minority of voters, not ſo con-"victed, ſhould be entitled to vote "for the county in which ſuch "borough ſhould be ſituated."

3. "That an addition of knights "of the ſhire, and of repreſenta-"tives of the metropolis, ſhould be "added to the ſtate of the repre-"ſentation." He left the number for future diſcuſſion, but ſaid he ſhould propoſe one hundred.

The debate continued till near two o'clock, without any novelty of reaſoning or diverſification of argument. The number of petitioners this year had decreaſed. Only fourteen counties appeared, and moſt of the petitions had a very inconſiderable number of names ſubſcribed. The whole amount was ſaid not to reach 20,000. Amongſt the converts to the queſtion, appeared Mr. Thomas Pitt and the lord advocate of Scotland. The former of theſe gentlemen made the Houſe an offer of the voluntary ſurrender of his borough of Old Sarum. The Houſe divided on the order of the day, ayes 293—noes 149.

Previous to the third reading of the loan bill in the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Shelburne, after condemning in the ſtrongeſt manner the terms on which it had been concluded, brought forward two reſolutions, which he wiſhed the Houſe to adopt as principles for the conduct of every future loan. He aſſerted that they poſſeſſed an undoubted right of intermeddling in, controuling, and directing the management of the public purſe; and if,

if, through inattention or timidity, their privileges had been ſhaken or encroached on, he called on them, as they tendered the exiſtence of the conſtitution, to re-eſtabliſh them on the firmeſt foundation. The reſolutions were as follow:

1. "That it is the opinion of this "Houſe, that all future loans ſhould "be conducted in a manner which "may beſt conduce to the reduc- "tion of the national debt; or "which may at leaſt not obſtruct "ſuch a reduction, but rather ma- "nifeſt the intention of govern- "ment to proceed in due time to "ſuch a meaſure."

"2. That it is the opinion of "this Houſe, that whenever it ſhall "be thought expedient, in nego- "tiating a public loan, to deal with "individuals, and not on the foot "of an open ſubſcription, the "whole ſum to be raiſed ſhall be "borrowed of, or taken from ſuch "individuals, without reſerve of "any part for the diſpoſal of any "miniſter."

The loan was defended on the ſame ground as in the lower houſe; and the late miniſters were charged with groſs and criminal neglect of duty in not making the loan, as ſoon as the preliminary articles were ſigned, when the 3 per cent. ſtock was up at 70l.—The firſt reſolution was objected to as unneceſſary, and as obſcure, if not abſurd in the mode of expreſſion; the ſecond was oppoſed as deſigned to caſt a reflection on the negotiators of the preſent loan.—They were both rejected without a diviſion.

On the third of June, the Duke of Richmond called the attention of the lords to an object, which he conceived might materially affect the adminiſtration of public juſtice, namely, the cuſtody of the great ſeal, and particularly the practice of committing it to the cuſtody of judges, of which an inſtance was at that time before them.

The motion was as follows, "That putting the ſeals in com- "miſſion *durante bene placeto*, and "appointing judges commiſſioners, "with large ſalaries and perqui- "ſites, to be received by them "during the exiſtence of a com- "miſſion originating in, and ſole- "ly dependent on, the will and "pleaſure of the crown, tended to "invalidate the act of the 13th Will. "III. for ſecuring the indepen- "dency of the judges."

After declaring, that he meant nothing perſonal to the preſent commiſſioners, he entered at large into the nature of the independency of the judges. In order to ſecure this great object, two things, he ſaid, were abſolutely neceſſary, firſt, that the tenure of their offices ſhould be independent of the will of the crown; and ſecondly, that their ſalaries ſhould be aſcertained. By the former their fears were effectually removed, and by the latter all temptation from hope could only be done away. The act of the 13th William III. he contended, was deſigned to ſecure both theſe objects; and conſequently, that to give three judges, ſelected by favour, the great emoluments accruing to the holders of the great ſeal, in addition to their ſalaries as judges, was in direct oppoſition to the ſpirit of that act, placed them immediately within the influence of the crown, and conſequently tended to diminiſh their independence.

But the miſchief, he ſaid, had not ſtopped here: another inconvenience of the ſame ſort had ariſen

out of it; he meant the commiſſion by which the chief juſtice of the King's Bench ſat as Speaker of the Houſe of Lords. He knew that this commiſſion was not a new one, but of long date; but ſtill it appeared to him to be a mode of reward dependent on the will and pleaſure of the crown, and therefore in oppoſition to the deſign of having the ſalaries of judges fixed and aſcertained.

As he was on this ſubject, he begged leave to mention another matter, which, though not immediately connected with the motion he ſhould then propoſe, would at ſome other opportunity well deſerve their conſideration: he meant the impropriety of judges ſitting at all in that Houſe. He did not wiſh that the higheſt honours of the kingdom ſhould not be open to that profeſſion, but that whilſt peers ſat on the bench as judges, they ſhould abſtain from exerciſing their privileges of voting in that houſe. So long as they ſat there they were neceſſarily legiſlators, and almoſt unavoidably became politicians; characters, which, in the opinion of the beſt writers on civil government, were utterly inconſiſtent with that of a judge.

Another reaſon why he thought the lord chancellor, lords commiſſioners, and lords chief juſtices, ought not to vote in that Houſe, was, that by this means, they were obliged to ſit on their judgments and decrees, and as it were to try themſelves. He ſaid, he had often heard it boaſted, that Lord Hardwicke never had one of his decrees reverſed, whilſt he ſat on the woolſack. This he had always conſidered as no compliment to that learned peer, and as a fact that proved too much. Did their lordſhips think Lord Hardwicke ſo infallible, that during the great length of time he preſided in the Court of Chancery he had never given an erroneous judgment? Or muſt they not rather concur in opinion with him, that the true reaſon why none of his decrees were reverſed was, the great influence a lord chancellor of Lord Hardwicke's abilities muſt always poſſeſs in that houſe?

In ſupport of this opinion he deſired their lordſhips to remember, that when Mr. Henley ſat there as lord keeper, he had the misfortune to have ſeveral of his decrees reverſed; but when he became Lord Northington, and was created a peer, having an opportunity of talking a little to their lordſhips about his decrees, no more reverſals were heard of. In all caſes of appeal, their lordſhips well knew, it was for the moſt part cuſtomary to leave the judgment to the law lords; the impropriety therefore of their trying over again the cauſes themſelves had adjudged, needed, he thought, no farther argument.

The motion being objected to as throwing a direct cenſure on the late appointment of commiſſioners, it was withdrawn, and the following ſubſtituted inſtead, "That a "committee be appointed to take "into conſideration the indepen-"dency of the judges, and ſuch "farther regulations as may be "proper for ſecuring the ſame."

After ſome debate, in which Lord Loughborough replied to the Duke of Richmond, in a ſpeech, ſaid to have been one of the moſt eloquent ever delivered in parliament, the previous queſtion was moved,

moved, and carried without a diviſion.

The original motion was principally oppoſed on the ground of its having no baſis or foundation; on no grievance being alledged, for which the pretended remedy was ſought. An ideal grievance was indeed ſuppoſed, but no attempt had been made to prove it exiſted in fact and experience; on the contrary, the practice alluded to had long obtained whenever the crown, in its diſcretion, had thought proper, with the approbation of all times, uncenſured and uncomplained of; in which it was not pretended that there had been any thing grievous to the ſubject, and from which experience, the infallible teſt of political truth, had not ſhewn any one inconvenience to have reſulted. Vague and general obſervations on the effects of hope and fear, could not be admitted when oppoſed to fact and experience. Such diſquiſitions belonged to the ſchools, legiſlators having rarely or never adopted them, but contented themſelves with the application of law to any ill habit of the mind, as it became predominant and inconvenient to the juſt and rational ends of government. A theory profeſſing to have for its object a practical corrective and improvement, ſhould ſhew what is amiſs, and point out the manner in which it is to be reformed.

The motion was therefore objected to, not only as inadmiſſible, becauſe it was founded on nothing theoretical or practical, and becauſe nothing had been offered to ſhew the neceſſity or expedience of their interpoſition; but alſo as hurtful and dangerous, becauſe it tended to an indirect imputation upon the characters of the guardians and interpreters of the law, and to diminiſh that high and diſtinguiſhed public eſtimation, which they now enjoyed, and which it was on all ſides agreed their conduct had ſo amply and honourably earned.

On the 23d, the chancellor of the exchequer delivered a meſſage from his Majeſty, recommending to the Houſe the conſideration of a ſeparate eſtabliſhment for the Prince of Wales. The ſaid meſſage being afterwards taken into conſideration, the Houſe was informed, that his Majeſty had graciouſly reſolved to take on himſelf the annual charge of his ſon's eſtabliſhment, without laying any additional burden on his ſubjects; that 50,000 l. was to be ſettled on the prince, to be paid out of the civil liſt; and that all that was demanded was 60,000 l. as a temporary aid to equip him at his outſet in life. This ſum was accordingly voted, and an addreſs of thanks preſented to his Majeſty. June 23d,

In the committee on the bill for regulating certain offices in the exchequer, the chancellor propoſed, that after the intereſt of the preſent auditors and tellers of the exchequer, and of the clerk of the pells, in their reſpective places, ſhould ceaſe and determine, the ſalaries of thoſe officers in future ſhould be fixed and certain, and as follow: the place of auditor 4,000l. a year; each tellerſhip 2,700l.; clerkſhip of the pells 3,000l.; the place of deputy to each of the four tellers 1,000l.; the deputy to the clerk of the pells 800 l.; and the receiver under him 200 l. Theſe regulations, after ſome debate, were ſeverally adopted; by which it was ſuppoſed, that on an average computation

putation of peace and war, the reſpective ſalaries would be reduced about one half.

A clauſe was afterwards brought up, "to exempt the caſe of Edward "Lord Thurlow from the opera- "tion of the bill; his Majeſty hav- "ing, in the year 1778, promiſed "to the ſaid Lord Thurlow, on "his accepting the office of lord "high chancellor, a reverſion of a "tellerſhip of the exchequer, in as "large and beneficial a manner as "tellerſhips were then enjoyed." This clauſe cauſed ſome debate. The proviſion made for that noble lord was contraſted with the caſe of Lord Camden, who had retired on a penſion of only 1,500l. a year, with the ſame promiſe of a tellerſhip. The extraordinary penſion of 2,680l. granted to the former, ought therefore to be conſidered as a compenſation for the curtailed ſtate in which he was to receive the tellerſhip. It was alſo remarked, that the late chancellor of the exchequer, when defending that penſion in the Houſe, had urged, as his principal argument, the generous conduct of Lord Thurlow, in having, unlike his predeceſſors, made no ſtipulation whatever on his accepting the ſeals. To record, therefore, the whole ground of the propoſed exemption, the clauſe, it was ſaid, ought to have run thus, "whereas Edward Lord Thurlow has a penſion of 2,680l. a year, becauſe he nobly diſdained to make any ſtipulation on his becoming chancellor; and whereas it is fit he ſhould have the reverſion of a tellerſhip of the exchequer in as beneficial a manner as it had heretofore been enjoyed, becauſe he bargained for the ſame before he would take the ſeals; therefore be it enacted, &c." At length the clauſe, as firſt moved, was agreed to without a diviſion; but on the report, three days afterwards, it was rejected by a majority of 57 to 49.

On the 16th, the ſeſſion was cloſed with the uſual formalities, by a ſpeech from the throne, in which, beſides the common topics, both Houſes were acquainted that the exigencies of the public ſervice might require their being called together again at an early period. July 16th, 1783.

Before we conclude this part of our work, it may be neceſſary to add, that the ſtate of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company continued during the whole ſeſſion to be the object of unremitted inveſtigation in the two committees appointed for that purpoſe; but that the unſettled ſtate of government prevented any effectual meaſures from being taken in conſequence of their reports. The celebrated bill which was brought in by the new miniſters at the beginning of the enſuing ſeſſion will afford us an opportunity of giving a retroſpective view of the whole of the parliamentary proceedings relative to thoſe vaſt and important objects.

CHRO-

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

Utrecht, Dec. 27, 1782.

THE ſtates general of Holland publiſhed a placart, in which they offered a reward of 1000 golden ryders (about 12000 guineas) to any one, even an accomplice, who would diſcover the author or authors of a libel, intituled, The true Cauſe of the Decline of that Republic, in a letter, found between Utrecht and Amersfort, in which the Princeſs of Orange in particular was very much vilified; the ſame placart forbad the reprinting of the ſaid libel on pain of paying a fine of 6000 florins (about 540l.)

January 8th, 1783. A chapter of the Bath was held at St. James's, when General Grey was inveſted with the inſignia of that order.

10th. The bank of Scotland offered 4000l. for twelve months, free of intereſt, to the magiſtrates of Aberdeen, to purchaſe corn for the relief of the poor; and 1000l. for the charity workhouſe at Stirling.

St. James's, 11th. The king ſignified his pleaſure to the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that the uniform clothing worn by the flag officers of his majeſty's fleet, ſhould be altered in the manner mentioned at the foot hereof; and that commodores having captains under them, the firſt captain to the admiral of the fleet, and firſt captains to admirals commanding in chief ſquadrons of 20 ſail of the line or more, ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by wearing the ſame ſtock uniform as rear-admirals.

Such flag officers, however, as were provided with the uniforms were permitted to wear the ſame till the end of the preſent year.

UNIFORMS of the Flag-Officers of his Majeſty's Fleet to be hereafter as follows:

FULL DRESS.

Admiral's.—A blue cloth coat, with white cuffs, white waiſtcoat and breeches; the coat and waiſtcoat to be embroidered with gold, in pattern and deſcription the ſame as that worn by the generals of his majeſty's army; three rows of embroidery upon the cuff.

Vice-Admiral's.—Ditto, with embroidery the ſame as that worn by lieutenant-generals; two rows of embroidery on the cuff.

Rear-Admiral's.—Ditto, with embroidery the ſame as that worn by

by major-generals; one row of embroidery on the cuff.

Buttons the same pattern as are now in use.

UNDRESS.

Admiral's.—A blue cloth frock, with blue cuff and blue lappels; embroidered button-holes like those now in use, from the top to the bottom of the lappel, at equal distance, and three on the cuff.

Vice-Admiral's.—Ditto, with button-holes three and three.

Rear-Admiral's.—Ditto, with button-holes two and two.

Plain white waistcoats and breeches.

Buttons the same pattern as before worn.

Edinburgh, Jan. 13th. The directors of the Royal Bank made offer to the magistrates of 5000l. sterling, free of interest for 12 months, for the purpose of purchasing corn for the relief of the poor.

Hague, Jan. 15th. The three regiments, known by the name of the Scotch brigade, were actually under the command of the national troops of Utrecht. The officers had six weeks given them to consider of a new oath, but the colonels commandant demanded longer time. About fifty officers retired from that service, viz. six or eight field officers, twelve captains, and thirty subalterns. These gallant veterans did not think it consistent with their honour as British subjects, to take the new oath lately ordered to be imposed, which was virtually to make them abjure their native country. Several of them arrived in Bristol, fully trusting to the resolution of the British cabinet council, who resolved, that they should be taken under his majesty's protection.

The commanders of the three Scots regiments in the Dutch service, generals Houston, Stewart, and Dundas, were to enjoy their pay during life, without being obliged to subscribe the oath, or do any duty, on account of their long and meritorious services.

15th. The sessions began at the Old-Bailey.

17th. Daniel M'Ginnis was tried for the wilful murder of John Hardy, hatter, in Newgate-street, where Mr. M'Ginnis lodged, by stabbing him in the left breast, with a short tuck, or bayonet, which entered his heart. This unhappy accident was occasioned by some water thrown out of Mr. M'Ginnis's window, on Mr. Hardy's sky-light, who going up stairs to remonstrate with Mr. M'Ginnis, words arose, which proceeded to this fatal extremity. Mr. M'Ginnis had a most excellent character given him as a quiet, harmless, inoffensive, and humane person, by gentlemen of great rank.

18th. The session ended on the Middlesex side, when 10 convicts received judgement of death; eight sentenced to be transported to America; 20 to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction; two to be imprisoned in Newgate; and 21 discharged by proclamation.

This being her majesty's birth-day, the same was observed as usual.

21st. The parliament met according to adjournment.

Deal, Jan. 23d. Twenty thousand pounds in specie was brought on shore, taken out of the Oaste Emes,

Emes, Capt. Laud, a Dutch ſhip, from the Texel, bound to Batavia, under Ruſſian colours, which run on the Goodwin Sands.

The following letter was received on Thurſday night, by the Right Hon. Nathaniel Newnham, Eſq. Lord Mayor, from Lord Grantham, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

St. James's, Jan. 23, 1783.
Half paſt ſeven o'clock.

"My Lord,

"I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint your lordſhip, that a meſſenger is juſt arrived from Paris, with the preliminary articles between Great-Britain and France, and between Great-Britain and Spain, which were ſigned at Verſailles on the 20th inſt. by Mr. Fitzherbert, his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary, and the miniſters plenipotentiaries of the aforeſaid courts.

"The preliminaries with Holland are not yet ſigned; but a ceſſation of hoſtilities with that republic is agreed upon.

"I ſend your lordſhip immediate notice of this important event, in order that it may be made public in the city, without loſs of time.

"I have the honour to be,
"My lord,
"Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
"and humble ſervant,
"GRANTHAM."

29th. A cauſe was decided in the court of King's Bench, of the utmoſt conſequence to traders, as it decided a matter much queſtioned. An eminent tradeſman brought an action againſt Lady Lanſ———, for goods had and delivered. She pleaded her being a femme coverte; the caſe was, that her huſband, Lord Lanſ———, had parted from her, allowed her a ſeparate maintenance, and was now ſettled on his eſtate in Ireland. The queſtion therefore was, whether, under theſe circumſtances, the plea of coverture was to protect the lady from arreſt and judgement? Lord Mansfield mentioned the caſes where the plea of coverture was and was not valid. It was not valid where the huſband was exiled by the laws of his country, becauſe the creditors could not purſue him for the debt of his wife. It was not valid where, by a diſcovery of infidelity to his bed, they had been ſeparated by the laws of their country. But the preſent was a new caſe. They were parted by conſent. The huſband was in Ireland, and the lady reſided in England on a ſeparate maintenance. It was impoſſible for the creditor in England, by the laws of that land, to recover his debt from the huſband in Ireland, and therefore, in equity, the wife was conſidered as a femme ſole. The cauſe was decided againſt Lady Lanſ———, with coſts of ſuit.

Died, lately, at Litchfield, the Rev. Mr. Bond, and his wife, who had lived together upwards of forty years: they were both interred in one grave, at the cathedral church.

In the Netherlands, one Martens, aged 100 years and 11 months. His father lived to the age of 104, and his mother to the age of 108 years.

At Wamphray, Agnes Carmichael, in the 113th year of her age.

FEBRUARY.

Hague, Feb. 1ſt. The following ſingular anecdote is reported of the Ruſſian ambaſſador: — That miniſter, in conference with the Greffier Fagel, expreſſed his ſurpriſe to him, that as the republic was not only in friendſhip, but even in alliance with his court, he ſhould not have been made acquainted with the inſtructions which the ſtates-general had given to their ambaſſadours at Paris: to which Mr. Fagel made anſwer, that he had no inſtructions in that reſpect, but that if he pleaſed, he would ſpeak to their High Mightineſſes on the ſubject; but the Ruſſian miniſter deſired he would not, till he ſhould explain himſelf further on that head. The next morning he ſent a note to the Greffier, telling him, it was not neceſſary to give him any further trouble upon the affair in queſtion, as he had ſeen the inſtructions he meant in the public papers.

Whitehall, Feb. 5th. The king ordered letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a ſociety or brotherhood, to be called knights of the illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, of which his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall perpetually be ſovereigns, and his majeſty's lieutenant-general and general governor of Ireland, &c. for the time being, ſhall officiate as grand-maſters: and alſo for appointing the following knights companions of the ſaid illuſtrious order.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Edward,
His Grace William Robert Duke of Leinſter.
Henry Smyth Earl of Clanrickarde,
Randal William Earl of Antrim,
Thomas Earl of Weſtmeath,
Morrough Earl of Inchiquin,
Charles Earl of Drogheda,
George de la Poer Earl of Tyrron.
Richard Earl of Shannon,
James Earl of Clanbraſſen,
Richard Earl of Mornington,
James Earl of Courtown,
James Earl of Charlemont,
Thomas Earl of Bective,
Henry Earl of Ely.
Chancellor, Archbiſhop of Dublin.
Regiſter, Dean of St. Patrick's.
Secretary, Lord Delvin.
Ulſter, Wm. Hawkins, Eſq.
Uſher, Jn. Freemantle, Eſq.

10th. The Hon. Charles James Fox preſented to the Houſe of Commons, a petition ſigned by ſeveral hundred inhabitants of Weſtminſter, ſtating that they were aggrieved by the circulation of counterfeit halfpence. That they had endeavoured as far as lay in their power to put a ſtop to the ſame, but found their inability in ſo doing—and therefore prayed the houſe to give them ſuch relief as they in their wiſdom ſhould deem meet.

12th. The lord chancellor, in the name of the Houſe of Peers, addreſſed Lord Viſcount Howe, and thanked him for the important ſervices he had done his king and country in the relieving Gibraltar.

17th. Mr. Biſhop, common cryer of this city, attended by proper officers, read at the Royal Exchange gate, and Cheapſide conduit, the king's proclamation, declaring a ceſſation of arms by ſea and land.

An

19th. An order of council was iſſued, laying an embargo on all ſhips which were taking in cargoes for America.

The men convicts lying under ſentence of tranſportation in Newgate, were removed to the veſſel lying at Woolwich for their reception.

22d. The bank of England gained a cauſe in refuſing to pay a bill ſtolen from them, and loſt at a gaming table.

24th. The two members of parliament, Mr. Cook and Mr. Wilmot, who were appointed to reviſe the liſt of penſions granted to the American refugees, made their report to the lords of the Treaſury, by which it appeared that a ſaving of upwards of 20,000l. per ann. will accrue to the nation, by the reduction of ſuch of the above penſions as they deemed unneceſſary and unmerited. Thoſe gentlemen who held employments under government in arrears, were to be paid their ſalaries up to the 10th of October laſt, and then to be conſidered no longer as ſervants of the crown.

25th. A petition from the county of York, and alſo a petition from the city of York, relative to a more equal repreſentation, were preſented to the Houſe of Commons. Before it was ſent from York to be preſented to parliament, it had 10,124 names ſubſcribed to it, excluſive of thoſe ſigned to a duplicate in London.

Letters from Bohemia adviſe, that on Thurſday the 26th of February a dreadful fire broke out in the town of Budin.

26th. The lord-mayor, attended by ſeveral aldermen, ſheriffs, and city officers, and a great number of the common-council, went from Guildhall to St. James's, and preſented their addreſs to his majeſty on the peace.

28th. The county of Middleſex preſented an addreſs on the peace to his majeſty.

DIED, Margaret Melvill, wife of Robert Forbes, brewer, at Kettle, in Fifeſhire, on the 24th, aged 117. She was married at 35, and had one ſon and five daughters; the eldeſt is now aged 77 years. She had 17 grand children, and 37 great grand children; ſhe renewed her teeth about the 100th year of her age, never had a head-ach or pain in her life, and walked, ſaw, and heard till the day before her death.

MARCH.

1ſt. Being St. David's day, the honourable ſociety of ancient Britons met at the Welſh charity-ſchool in Gray's Inn Road, and proceeded from thence to St. George's church, Hanover-ſquare, where an excellent ſermon, ſuitable to the occaſion, was preached by the right Rev. the Lord Biſhop of Briſtol. The whole collection at church, and at the different tables, added to the donation of his royal highneſs the Prince of Wales, and of the noblemen and gentlemen, contributors to the ſaid charity, amounted in the whole to 469l. which is 7l. more than laſt year.

The ſeſſions ended at the Old-Bailey, when ſix convicts received judgment of death, eighteen were ſentenced to be tranſported to America, eighteen to be kept to hard labour in the houſe of cor-

rection, seven of whom were ordered to be whipped, seven to be imprisoned in Newgate, four to be privately whipped, and 24 discharged by proclamation.

Dublin, March 1st.

In the Assembly of the Delegates of thirty-four different Corps of Volunteers of the Province of Leinster, at the Exchange,

Resolved unanimously,

That the virtuous citizens of Geneva, who wish for an asylum in this kingdom from the hand of tyranny and oppression, deserve our utmost approbation, and such of them as establish themselves amongst us shall upon every occasion receive our utmost attention and support.

The commissioners appointed for receiving subscriptions for the bank of Ireland, received the sum of 600,000l. in government securities, and lodged the same in his majesty's treasury, being the original stock or capital of this bank.

3d. A general order was sent to the lord lieutenants of the counties in England for disbanding the militia.

Came on a second time to be tried before the Earl of Mansfield and a special jury of merchants, a cause wherein Mr. John Carvick, of Bank-street, was plaintiff, and Mr. Abraham Vickery, of the bank of England, defendant. The action was brought to recover the amount of a bill of exchange, drawn by Mr. John Maydwell the elder, and Mr. John Maydwell the younger, payable to their own order, directed to, and accepted of, by the said Mr. Vickery, which bill had originally been obtained by one Nixon, without a valuable consideration, and only indorsed by John Maydwell the younger, one of the drawers: the question therefore to be determined was, whether the bill in that state was negociable? when the jury were clearly of opinion the plaintiff ought not to recover, the bill, with only one indorsement, not being negociable; which opinion the judge immediately entered in his book and read to the jury. By this important decision it is settled, that where two persons not in partnership draw a bill of exchange, they must both indorse it before they can negociate the same.

4th. A petition was presented from the electors of the ancient town and borough of Southwark, which set forth the present disproportioned and inadequate representation of the commons, and the unconstitutional duration of parliaments.

5th. Passed the great seal a grant to the Right Hon. Lord Thurlow, of an annuity of 2680l. per annum.

Was decided at Guildhall, before Lord Mansfield and a special jury, a cause wherein merchants and underwriters are materially interested. The case was, several ships were left behind at Jamaica, through a mistake, by the unfortunate convoy which suffered so severely in September last; the Glorieux, of 74 guns, was also left behind, and the ships at the island took the opportunity of the Glorieux's sailing, to follow the fleet, which they joined, before they got through the Gulf of Mexico, where the masters of the merchant vessels went immediately on board the admiral's ship, to get sailing orders, which they had not before received.

received. In the ſtorm which afterwards happened many of theſe ſhips were loſt, and others taken, which the underwriters refuſed to pay for, the policies being warranted to ſail from Jamaica with convoy, which they alledged was not done, as the Glorieux was a chance ſhip, and not regularly appointed for that purpoſe by the admiral on that ſtation; and though this ſhip, when joined, conſtituted part of the convoy, yet the jury gave a verdict in favour of the underwriters, agreeing, that joining a fleet at ſea, and then receiving ſailing inſtructions, was a deviation from the policy warranted with convoy, let the junction be made under any circumſtances whatever.

8th. The ports of Dover and Calais were opened for paſſengers to and from Great-Britain and France.

10th. A petition from the freeholders of the county of Surry; alſo

A petition from the inhabitants of Scarborough; and alſo

A petition from the freeholders of the county of Nottingham, were ſeverally preſented to the Houſe of Commons, complaining of the preſent inadequate repreſentation of the people in parliament.

12th. A court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, when James Sanderſon, Eſq. was elected alderman of the ward of Bridge Within, in the room of Thomas Woolridge.

Two petitions from the gentlemen of the county of Flint were preſented to the Houſe of Commons on the unequal repreſentation.

13th. An expreſs arrived in town from Portſmouth, with an account of the crews of the Speedy and Marquis de Seignally ſloops of war (which were appointed to convoy the outward-bound fleets to the Weſt-Indies) having mutinied, and refuſed to proceed on that voyage.

A letter from Liverpool, dated March 13, after mentioning the loſs of the Count Belgioioſo Eaſt Indiaman off Dublin Bay, adds, all on board periſhed (147 perſons.) She was one of the richeſt ſhips ever ſailed from Liverpool, not leſs in value than 130,000 dollars on board, beſides a great value in ginſeng, bale goods, and 300 tons of lead; and as a great part of the cargo was very weighty, little was expected to be ſiſhed up.

14th. Lord Howe ſet off for Portſmouth, in conſequence of an expreſs received from Sir Thomas Pye, with an account of freſh irregularities having broke out among the ſeamen. The crews in many of the ſhips, it was ſaid, paraded about the ſtreets with bludgeons, in a tumultuous manner, to the great dread of the inhabitants, who were under the neceſſity of continuing confined to their houſes, to avoid danger. His lordſhip and Capt. Leveſon Gower have been ſucceſsful in appeaſing the ſailors, every thing remaining quiet on board and on ſhore on the 16th inſtant, when his lordſhip left Portſmouth.

By late general returns of muſters from New-York, the number of men killed in the Britiſh ſervice amounts to 43,633 men rank and file, excluſive of the officers which fell in the field, or loſt

their lives either naturally or accidentally.

18th. Was a total and visible eclipse of the moon. It began at 31 minutes past seven o'clock, and ended at 14 minutes past 11 o'clock.

27th. This evening the late archbishop of Canterbury was buried at Lambeth, when a coffin found in the grave where he is interred proves, by the inscription, to be one of the bishops of Ely, who lived in the reign of Queen Mary, and died in that of Queen Elizabeth. The date of the coffin plate is 1570, which makes it 213 years since his interment; the body and cloaths were perfectly sound; the corpse had a hat under one arm, and a cap on the head.

DIED.—The Hon. Miss Isabella Courtenay, third daughter of Lord Viscount Courtenay. This young lady, who was most elegantly accomplished, and had almost completed her 18th year, was standing before the fire at his lordship's house in Grosvenor-square, about six o'clock on the preceding evening, when a spark flying from the grate, set her cloaths on fire, she was so miserably burnt before any assistance could be procured, that she died at two o'clock next morning in the greatest agonies. No person was in the room when the melancholy accident happened except her sister, Lady Honywood, and her child, who were not capable of affording any assistance, the former falling into fits. The young lady, when her cloaths caught fire, ran out of the room, and from room to room, without meeting with any one to give her the least aid, until it was too late to overcome the flames. It is generally thought her immediate death, however, was owing to the fright. In such cases, the first thought should be to avoid running about; to fall down and roll one's self up in the carpet, or in the bed-quilt, as the safest and most certain expedient; but the horror and trepidation are generally such as to prevent the mind from taking the necessary steps for deliverance.

Aged 73, that well-known and ingenious mechanic, Mr. Christopher Pinchbeck.

At Shrewsbury, Mr. R. Yeomans, painter and undertaker. He was supposed to be one of the largest men in England, weighing near 40 stone. His coffin measured six feet and a half in length, three feet three inches over, and two feet four inches in depth. Mr. Yeomans was in the 39th year of his age, and till very lately was as active as most men.

APRIL.

Plymouth, Apr. 1st. On the 1st inst. 300 of the Medway's crew landed at North Corner with bludgeons, paraded up Fore-street dock, and went into Liberty-field, and there waited for the crew of the Crown. About an hour after, the crews of the Crown and Vengeance, near 800 men, landed to fight the Medway's people: but the crew of the Medway, finding they should be overpowered, dispersed and went on board their ship, which prevented a great deal of bloodshed. The quarrel originated from some of the Medway's people insulting the boatswain's wife of the Crown.

Nothing

Nothing here but fighting, and rioting among the crews paid off.

On the 5th, the crew of the Artois, Capt. M'Bride, mutinied, and threatened to unrig the ship, but the captain, on proper application, found means to quiet them: and on promising them redress, they returned to their duty.

Portsmouth. A very elegant monument has lately been erected in the church-yard of Portsea, to the memory of the brave, though unfortunate, Admiral Kempenfelt, and his fellow-sufferers, who perished in the Royal George.

The monument is lofty, in a pyramidal form, ornamented with marine trophies, arms, sculptured urns, &c. and in an oval compartment upon the upper part of the pyramid, in black marble and gold letters, is this inscription;

" Reader,
With solemn thought
Survey this grave,
And reflect
On the untimely death
Of thy fellow mortals;
And whilst,
As a man, a Briton, and a patriot,
Thou read'st
The melancholy narrative,
Drop a tear
For thy country's
Loss."

And underneath the following inscription:

" On the twenty-ninth day of
August, 1782,
his Majesty's ship the ROYAL
GEORGE,
being on the heel at Spithead,
overset and sunk;
by which fatal accident
about nine hundred persons
were instantly launched into eternity,
among whom was that brave and
experienced officer
Rear-Admiral KEMPENFELT.
Nine days after
many bodies of the unfortunate
floated,
thirty-five of whom were interred
in one grave
near this monument,
which is erected by the parish of
PORTSEA,
as a grateful tribute
to the memory
of that great commander
and his fellow-sufferers."

And upon a pedestal, in gold letters, is this Epitaph:

" 'Tis not this stone, regretted chief, thy name,
Thy worth and merit shall extend thy fame;
Brilliant atchievements have thy name impreſt
In lasting characters on ALBION's breast."

A forgery was discovered to be committed on the East-India Company; and next day an advertisement appeared in all the papers, in which William Wynne Ryland stands charged on suspicion of counterfeiting an acceptance to two bills of exchange, for payment of 7114l. and for publishing the same as true, knowing them to be false, with intent to defraud and cheat the united East-India Company; and offering a reward of 300l. for apprehending and delivering him up to justice. He has since been apprehended, as will appear in its place. 1st.

An account was received from Tulles in the Limosin, in France, that a most dreadful and astonishing accident happened to the castle of Montaignac, about three leagues

leagues from that town. At 11 in the morning of the 17th of March, there fell a violent rain, accompanied by a moſt impetuous wind, and followed by a ſingle but moſt terrible clap of thunder, which ſtruck the caſtle, which is of conſiderable extent, in almoſt every part. The walls of this ancient edifice, remarkable for their ſolidity, and for being from eight to nine feet thick, were in ſome places thrown down, and lean in others. In ſhort, the whole caſtle appears a heap of ruins.

By another account we learn that part of a very high mountain tumbled down, and ſtopped up the river Ardes, till five o'clock the next day, ſo as not to ſuffer the leaſt drop to paſs through. On the part fallen unfortunately ſtood a mill compoſed of two buildings, which was ſwallowed up.

An account of the receipt and diſburſements of Black Friars Bridge, from Lady-day, 1782, to Lady-day, 1783, as delivered in on Friday at Guildhall.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Caſh paid at Guild-hall -	6053	1	6
Bad copper -	889	3	6
Bad ſilver - -	45	10	6
Wages -	823	18	0
Gratuities -	262	17	6
Nett receipt	8074	11	0

Some letters arrived in town, give the following account of the loſs of the Groſvenor Eaſt-Indiaman, viz. that the ſhip was driven on ſhore near the river St. Chriſtopher's, on the African coaſt, about 40 leagues to the eaſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, on or about the 10th of October; and on the 11th of December laſt, four of her crew arrived at Moſſelle Bay, and gave an account to the council of the Dutch Eaſt-India company, that the Caffres had come down upon the people, carried off the female paſſengers, and had killed ſeveral of the men who attempted to protect them.

This day there was a general change of the miniſtry. 2d.

Venice. In the night of April 11th, by the moſt violent hurricane in the memory of the oldeſt man living, the ſea roſe ſo very high, as to overflow the whole city. Several boats moored in ſight of St. Mark's-ſquare, were driven by the force of the wind on the quay called the Eſclavons. It is hitherto impoſſible to aſcertain the damage occaſioned by the hurricane in the neighbouring iſlands; but if we may judge from what we have ſuffered here, it muſt have been very conſiderable.

Charleſtown, via St. Auguſtine.

On the 14th of April, this town was evacuated by the Britiſh, and poſſeſſed by the Americans.

By letters from Kingſton in Jamaica we find the fleet left Charleſtown Bar on the 18th of April, conſiſting of more than 130 ſail, great and ſmall, part of which having on board loyaliſts and their negroes, was conducted to St. Auguſtine by the convoy which arrived at Kingſton; part went to New-York with his majeſty's ſhips Aſſurance, of 44 guns, Belliſarius 20, and Carolina 16, having on board troops and inhabitants; many families of the firſt diſtinction in Carolina went to England in a ſmall diviſion of the fleet, under the protection of his majeſty's ſhip Adamant of 50 guns; and the remainder of the fleet ſepa-

rated

rated for St. Lucia, having on board the troops and loyaliſts, conducted by his majeſty's ſhip Narciſſus of 20 guns.

About 1600 veteran troops, under the command of brigadier general Stewart, upwards of 400 white families, many of them of conſiderable property, and about 4500 ſlaves, arrived in the fleet.

Dublin, April 13th. The Privy-council ſat upon the eſtabliſhment of the Geneveſe emigrants, whoſe names and numbers being given in, the ſettlement of their aſylum was then determined upon to be at Paſſage, next the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suir, in the county of Waterford. A very conſiderable tract of land in that diſtrict ſhortly retracts to government, which it is intended ſhould be appropriated and granted in fee to the Geneveſe.

18th. About 2000 ſeamen aſſembled on Tower-hill, and proceeded in a detached body to the Admiralty, to inſiſt on an explicit anſwer from the board, when their arrears of wages and prize-money ſhould be cleared off. No proper anſwer being given, they proceeded to St. James's palace, to harangue the king on the occaſion; but the leading avenues to the palace being either guarded or ſhut, prevented the tumult which might have enſued, and they peaceably diſperſed.

Report of the State of the City Hoſpitals was read before the Governors, April 20.

Chriſt's Hoſpital.

Children put forth apprentices, and diſcharged out of this hoſpital laſt year, 10 whereof were inſtructed in the mathematics and navigation	183
Buried the laſt year	4
Remaining in this hoſpital	1207

St. Bartholomew's.

Cured and diſcharged from this hoſpital	5829
Out-patients relieved with advice and medicines	6098
Buried this year	140
Remaining under cure, in-patients	421
Out-patients	121
In all, including out-patients	12609

St. Thomas's Hoſpital.

Cured and diſcharged from this hoſpital	3241
Out-patients relieved	4610
Buried this year	292
Remaining under cure, in-patients	461
Out-patients	233
Total, including out-patients	8837

Bridewell Hoſpital.

Admitted into this hoſpital	659
Maintained in ſeveral trades, &c.	42

Bethlem Hoſpital.

Admitted into this hoſpital	207
Cured	178
Buried	15
Remaining under cure	264

DIED.—In the pariſh of Alva, near Bamff, in Scotland, James Smith, a farmer at that place, aged 106; he has left four children, 17 grand-children, and 16 great-grand-children.

At Newcaſtle, Mrs. M. Tate, aged 116.

MAY.

The Duke of Bridgewater's canal broke the banks 2d. near

near Warrington, and carried two coal-boats and a flat into a meadow at a conſiderable diſtance; a great number of hands were immediately employed, and the breach was repaired in a few days.

The Engliſh frigate the Brilliant arrived at Tangier, having on board Sir Roger Curtis, as envoy from his Britannic majeſty to the court of Morocco. He took with him, as preſents to that African monarch, three 26 pounders, and one of 18, with 400 balls, beſides ſeveral other things not aſcertained. The emperor appointed a commiſſary to conduct Sir Roger either to Mequinez or Sallee, where his majeſty was expected to arrive.

3d. The ſeſſions at the Old-Bailey ended on the Middleſex ſide, on account of the eſſoign day of Term, when 12 convicts received ſentence of death, one of whom, viz. Thomas Littlepage, for ſtealing naval ſtores, was reſpited, and ordered to be tranſported for ſeven years; fifteen others were likewiſe ordered to be tranſported for ſeven years, and one for 14 years; eleven to be impriſoned and kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction, and likewiſe to be whipped; four whipt and diſcharged, and eighteen delivered on proclamation.

5th. A petition from the county of Suffolk was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, praying the houſe to take into their moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent inadequate repreſentation of the people in parliament, &c.

The petitions relative to a more equal repreſentation, preſented to the Houſe of Commons this ſeſſion, are from the following places, viz. Suſſex, Launceſton, Poole, Tiverton, Yarmouth, Wincheſter, Cambridge town, Lynn Regis, north-weſt diviſion of Devon, Derby county, St. Edmund's Bury, Derby borough, York city, Carmarthen county, Glouceſter city, Somerſet, Southwark, Penryn, Cornwall, Rocheſter, Lymington, Scarborough, Surry, Nottingham, Flint county, Denbigh, Droitwich, Southampton county, Portſmouth, Chicheſter, Montroſe, London, Middleſex, Dumbarton, Kent, Weſtminſter, freeholders of London, burghs of Irvene, Tower hamlets.

7th. At Pontefract ſeſſions, John Seaton, Eſq. the treaſurer for the Weſt Riding of York, delivered to the juſtices of the peace there aſſembled, an account of the number of pieces of woollen cloths made in that Riding from the 25th of March, 1782, to the 25th of March, 1783; when it appeared there had been manufactured 131,092 pieces of broad woollens, meaſuring 4,563,376 yards; and 108,641 pieces of narrow cloths, meaſuring 3,292,003 yards. Increaſed this year 18,622 pieces of broad, and 11,892 pieces of narrow woollens.

12th. As his royal highneſs the prince of Wales was returning to town on horſeback this evening, and Mr. Thomſon, ſurgeon, of Kenſington, was returning from Knightſbridge, they rode violently againſt each other, and were both thrown a conſiderable diſtance from their horſes. His royal highneſs eſcaped unhurt, and Mr. Thomſon was but ſlightly bruiſed.

About

15th. About noon a meſſage from the Bank was formally delivered at the Stock-exchange, purporting, that the Bank directors had that day reſolved not to advance any money upon the new ſubſcription, as they had invariably done during Lord North's adminiſtration, after the depoſit or firſt payment had been made by the reſpective ſubſcribers. The ſcrip, on this notice, fell 2 per cent.

18th. The following nobility from Paris arrived here, Monſigneur le Duke de Cognies, Monſigneur le Duke de Pollinack, le Marquis de Cognies, Mr. le Compte de Cognies, Mr. le Compte de Danlow, Mr. le Compte Straizes, Mad. la Marqueſſe de Cognies, Mad. la Conteſſe de Chalons, and Mad. la Conteſſe D'Anloic. Many others are ſoon expected.

23d. A cauſe of the utmoſt importance in the hoſiery branch was tried at Guildhall before the Right Honourable Lord Loughborough, Lord Chief Juſtice, and a moſt reſpectable jury of merchants, reſpecting an excluſive right to an invention, for which a patent was granted for a machine to be added to a ſtocking-frame, for making knotted and double looped work, which invention is the property of Meſſrs. Horton, March, Wright, and Kemp. Theſe ingenious manufacturers had to contend with a moſt formidable combination, entered into by ſome opulent Nottingham hoſiers, for working the plaintiffs machine, which they formerly announced under their hands. During the courſe of the trial, ſeveral artful manœuvres were ſet up by the defendants, notwithſtanding which, a few of the plaintiffs' witneſſes, out of a great number which were employed in the frameſmiths and hoſiery branches, as well as ſuch of the defendants' witneſſes, who were equally culpable for working the plaintiffs' machine, and were indulged by the court to give their evidence, fully proved the plaintiffs' invention to be new and complete, and their ſpecification to be ſimple and clear, after a conflict of four hours, without any reply, or ſumming up of evidence, the jury, without going out, found a verdict for the plaintiffs, to the entire ſatisfaction of the chief juſtice and the court.

Vienna, May 31. Our laſt accounts from Hungary report, that on the 13th of this month there happened a moſt violent ſtorm, which has been attended with great damage in ſeveral parts of the kingdom. The city of Cremnitz was entirely deſtroyed. The lightning fell in nine different places, and the city was ſet on fire and reduced to aſhes in ſpite of the endeavours of the inhabitants; 70 perſons loſt their lives.

DIED.—Henry Howarth, Eſq. a gentleman of high reputation at the bar, about 36 years of age, one of the king's counſel, and member of parliament for Abingdon, Berks, was drowned near Mortlake, within ſight of his own houſe. He and Mr. Chippendale, a near relation, were ſailing in a boat of Mr. Howarth's, and had made faſt the ſheet, when, by a ſudden ſquall, the boat was unfortunately overſet. Mr. Howarth, who was an excellent ſwimmer, cried, "Chip, never fear,

fear, we shall do very well!" At this instant, the mast struck Mr. Howarth on the head, who immediately sunk, and was not found until about three quarters of an hour afterwards. Mr. Chippendale, by clinging to the side of the boat, happily saved himself. Mr. Howarth was universally beloved, and is greatly regretted by all who had the honour of his acquaintance.

In Golden-square, Count Haslang, envoy from his serene highness the Elector Palatine Duke of Bavaria, privy-counsellor and chamberlain at both courts; likewise knight of the illustrious order of St. George. His excellency died in the 83d year of his age, after an embassy of 42 years.

JUNE.

1st. The ingenious Mr. Spalding, accompanied by one of his young men, went down twice in his diving-bell at the Kish bank, Ireland, where the Imperial East-Indiaman was some time since wrecked, for the purpose of recovering some of her materials. He did nothing more, however, than examine her situation, &c. determining to go to work next morning. Accordingly, Monday morning, about six o'clock, he and his young man went down, and continued under water about an hour, in which two barrels of air had been sent down for the supply of the bell; but a good deal of time having elapsed without any signal from below, the people on deck, apprehensive that all was not right, drew up the bell, and Mr. Spalding and his young man were both discovered to be dead.

4th. This being the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day, the same was observed at court.

The first stone of the new bridge across the river Thames at Kew was laid by Michael Decker Saunders, Esq. proprietor of Walton-bridge.

The long contested cause between the free cornfactors and the corporation of the city of London, under the name of Cocksedge and Fanshaw, was finally determined in the House of Lords, upon the unanimous opinion of all the judges, delivered by Mr. Justice Gould, by which the right of the freemen cornfactors to the toll or duty of one farthing a quarter, upon all corn consigned to them for sale and imported coastwise eastward of London-bridge (except from the Cinque Ports or the county of Kent) is for ever established.

5th. The Grand Jury found a true bill against William Wynne Ryland, for forgery on the East-India company. His trial, however, at his own request, was put off.

6th. Their majesties, his royal highness the prince of Wales, and their royal highnesses the princes and princesses, removed to Windsor and Kew, to remain there during the summer.

Admiralty-Office. Extract of a letter from Rear-admiral Rowley to Mr. Stevens, dated Port-Royal, Jamaica, April 4.—"I have to desire you will acquaint their lordships, that on the 13th ult. his majesty's ship Resistance arrived

rived here from a cruiſe. Capt. King brought in with him La Coquette, a French frigate of 28 guns, commanded by the Marquis De Graſs: ſhe was taken off Turk's Iſland after firing her guns.

Came on to be tried, before Judge Heath, in the court of Common Pleas, the long-conteſted cauſe between ſeveral French ſeamen, who were taken priſoners in the ſquadron under the command of Count de Graſſe, and the owners of the ſhip Keppel, Capt. Gooch, to receive wages for the time they were compelled to work on board that ſhip; when the cauſes were finally determined in favour of the French ſeamen, who were ordered to be paid 20 guineas each for their ſervices during the voyage.

7th. This day an expreſs arrived to one Edward Whitmore, a private ſoldier in the 9th regiment of foot, quartered in Norwich, informing him of the death of his father, by which event he came into immediate poſſeſſion of a fortune of more than 50,000l.—The above expreſs was brought to Norwich by his lady, who arrived in her own carriage and four.

10th. The ſeſſion ended at the Old-Bailey, when ſentence of death was pronounced on 22 capital convicts; 11 were ſentenced to be tranſported; 19 to be impriſoned and kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction for different terms, ſeveral of whom are alſo to be whipped; 18 were ſentenced to be whipped and diſcharged; four to be impriſoned in Newgate; and 25 diſcharged by proclamation; 13 detained for trial at the enſuing aſſizes for the counties of Devon, Suffolk, Eſſex, Surry, and Kent.

Dublin, June 19th. A poor woman at Dungannon went to a houſe where oatmeal was ſold, and took her petticoat to pledge for ſome meal for herſelf and her children (of which ſhe had four, one of them ſucking): the man to whom ſhe went happened not to be at home, but late in the evening he returned and went to bed; when in bed his wife told him that a woman (naming her) had been with her to get meal, and had brought a petticoat to pledge for the ſame, but that ſhe gave her none; ſhe feared, however, the woman was in a very bad ſituation; upon this the huſband got out of bed inſtantly, and took a bowl full of meal to the houſe of the poor woman; when he came near it he heard the children crying bitterly, and on entering the cabin found the woman dead with hunger, the infant ſucking the corpſe, and the others crying round her.

18th. A petition from the merchants, bankers, and traders of London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark, were preſented to the Houſe of Peers, againſt the ſtamp duty on receipts.

23d. The Duke of Portland preſented to the Houſe of Peers the following meſſage from his majeſty, which was read by Lord Mansfield, as ſpeaker of the houſe:

George R.

His majeſty having taken into conſideration the propriety of making an immediate and ſeparate eſtabliſhment for his dearly beloved ſon the Prince of Wales,

relies

relies on the experienced zeal and affection of the Houſe of Lords, for the concurrence and ſupport of ſuch meaſures as ſhall be moſt proper to aſſiſt his majeſty in this deſign.

The Duke of Portland, after a ſhort introductory ſpeech, moved,

That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to return the thanks of this houſe to his majeſty for his moſt gracious meſſage; and to aſſure his majeſty in the moſt dutiful manner of the hearty zeal of this houſe, to teſtify their earneſt deſire to concur in ſuch meaſures as ſhall be moſt proper to aſſiſt his majeſty in fulfilling his deſire of making an immediate and ſeparate eſtabliſhment for his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

The ſame upon the queſtion put was agreed to, and ordered *nemine diſſentiente*, and was preſented to his majeſty by the lords with white ſtaves.

The like meſſage was delivered to the commons, who voted that the ſum of a hundred thouſand pounds be granted, towards enabling his majeſty to make a ſeparate eſtabliſhment for his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

24th. The bill laying a ſtamp duty on bills of exchange and receipts—the mutiny bill—the bill for regulating the office of paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces, together with thirty other public and private bills, received the royal aſſent, by virtue of a commiſſion under the great-ſeal for that purpoſe.

25th. The judges of the different courts, met in the King's Bench chamber, and appointed the circuits for the ſummer aſſizes as follows:

Home. Lord Mansfield, Mr. Juſtice Gould.

Oxford. Lord Loughborough, Mr. Juſtice Nares.

Midland. Lord Chief Baron, Skinner, Mr. Juſtice Willes.

Norfolk. Mr. Juſtice Aſhhurſt, Mr. Baron Hotham.

Northern. Mr. Baron Eyre, Mr. Juſtice Buller.

Weſtern. Mr. Baron Perryn, Mr. Juſtice Heath.

The Dublin bank opened for tranſaction of buſineſs; when the king's orders, communicated thro' the lord-lieutenant, that all public money in that kingdom, payable on his account, by taxes, aids, duties, &c. ſhould be from thenceforward depoſited in that bank, were made public.

This morning, about 11 o'clock, Thomas Davenport, Eſq. was conducted to the Court of Chancery, between Edward Bearcroft and Richard Jackſon, Eſqrs. two of his majeſty's counſel, when Lord Loughborough, as firſt lord commiſſioner, acquainted him that his majeſty had been pleaſed to call him to the dignity of a ſerjeant at law; his writ was then delivered in, and the uſual oaths adminiſtered. 26th.

His Royal Highneſs Prince William Henry arrived from the Weſt-Indies about two o'clock at Windſor. 27th.

Mr. Recorder made his report to his majeſty, of the convicts under ſentence of death in Newgate, who were tried in April ſeſſion, viz. Collin Reculeſt, Sarah Leech, John Brown, Thomas Richards, John Wharton, Alexander

ander Smith; Robert Forreſter, Richard M'Dade, Anne Lovell, John Higginſon, William Ruthey Pratt, William Harcourt, John Haſleworth, Thomas Davis, Robert Cullum, George Wood, and John Miles; when John Higginſon, Alexander Smith, John Mills, William Ruthey Pratt, William Harcourt, John Haſleworth, and Robert Cullum, were ordered for execution.

30th. The court of Exchequer gave a final decree in the important cauſe between the leſſees of the vicarial tithes of Fulham, and a pariſhioner, occupier of a common garden, in favour of the leſſees, with full coſts. The particulars of this long conteſted cauſe cannot be unintereſting to ſuch of our readers as are concerned in vicarage tithes, and may ſerve as a caution againſt haſty references, as by a curious deciſion of one, the greateſt injury has been done to the leſſees, and may, if not guarded againſt, be done to others. For inſtance: the ſame leſſees, in 1776, requeſted a compoſition of 4l. a year for the lands in queſtion, about 10 acres, which reaſonable demand was refuſed by the occupier, and when the caſe came before a ſpecial jury, it was referred to a neighbour, who gave it as his opinion, that 3l. 11s. was a full compoſition, and condemned the leſſees in all coſts, amounting to about 100l. The leſſees, greatly alarmed, and conceiving themſelves greatly injured and oppreſſed by ſuch an extraordinary deciſion, in 1776 they, for the ſake of public juſtice, renewed their action for the ſucceeding tithes, exactly upon the ſame grounds as the former, and on Monday, 30th of June, the defendant made an offer in court of 15l. a year for the tithes of thoſe very grounds for which the arbitrator lately awarded only 3l. 11s. The 4l. firſt required ſhews the moderation of the leſſees, and the 15l. afterwards offered, ſhews the injuſtice of the award againſt which they were determined to appeal.

DIED.—At Marſeilles, aged 112, Alexander Mackintoſh. For the laſt ten years he lived entirely on vegetables, and enjoyed a good ſtate of health till within a few days of his death. He was born at Dunkeld, in Scotland; but being in the rebellion in the year 1715, was obliged to leave his country, and reſided at Marſeilles ever ſince, on a ſmall penſion allowed him by ſome of the Pretender's family.

In Cockſpur-ſtreet, Charing-croſs, aged only 22, Mr. Charles Byrne, the famous Iriſh giant, whoſe death is ſaid to have been precipitated by exceſſive drinking, to which he was always addicted, but more particularly ſince his late loſs of almoſt all his property, which he had ſimply inveſted in a ſingle bank note of 700l.—In his laſt moments (it has been ſaid) he requeſted that his ponderous remains might be thrown into the ſea, in order that his bones might be placed far out of the reach of the chirurgical fraternity; in conſequence of which, the body was ſhipped on board a veſſel to be conveyed to the Downs, to be ſunk in 20 fathom water. We have reaſon, however, to believe, that this report is merely *a tub* thrown out to *the whale*.—Our

philoſophical readers may not be diſpleaſed to know, on the credit of an ingenious correſpondent who had opportunity of informing himſelf, that Mr. Byrne, in Auguſt 1780 meaſured eight feet; that in 1782 he had gained two inches; and after he was dead he meaſured eight feet four inches. Neither his father, mother, brother, nor any other perſon of the family, was of an extraordinary ſize.

JULY.

Cambridge, July 2d. The four annual prizes, of 15 guineas each, given by the Hon. John Townſhend, and James Mansfield, Eſq. members for this univerſity, were yeſterday determined in favour of Dr. Dampier, of King's college, and Dr. Catton, of St. John's-college, ſenior batchelors; Dr. Reine, of Trinity college, and Dr. Sparke, of Pembroke-hall; one prize of a former year being left undetermined, is this year given to Dr. Michell, of King's college, junior bachelor.

Subjects for the ſenior bachelors was—"Utrum plus boni an mali Europæis gentibus attulerit Trans-Atlantici orbis patefactio?"

For the junior bachelors—"Ex quibus præcipuè cauſis in tantam magnitudinem creverit res Romana?"

Two gold medals left by Sir William Browne, M. D. to be annually given, were on Monday laſt determined in favour of Meſſrs. Ramſden and Raine, of Trinity-college.

The chancellor's prize at Oxford for this year are adjudged as follow: to Mr. Barker, of Chriſt-church, bachelor of arts, for an Engliſh eſſay on the ſtudy of hiſtory; and to Mr. Bowles, of Trinity-college, for Latin verſes on *Calpe obſeſſa*, or the ſiege of Gibraltar.

This day was a thunder ſtorm the moſt general throughout England that has been remembered for a long time, particularly in Wiltſhire, and moſt of the northern counties; which killed a great number of ſheep and black cattle, as well as doing other conſiderable damage.

3d. This day was executed before St. Andrew's church, Holborn, John Mills, on the Coventry act, for unlawfully laying in wait and wounding John Brazier in ſeveral parts of his body.

The following were executed at Tyburn, purſuant to their ſentence, John Wharton, William Rutley Pratt, Robert Cullum, John Hazelworth, and William Harcourt.

9th. This morning Lieutenant Charles Bourne received the judgment of the court of King's Bench for an aſſault on Sir James Wallace, and alſo for a libel; for the firſt offence to be impriſoned in the King's Bench priſon two years, and to give ſecurity for his good behaviour for ſeven years, himſelf in 1000l. and two ſureties in 500l. each, and for the libel 50l. fine. He then addreſſed the Court, and told them, that the applauſe of his brother officers in the whole affair would enable him to bear the ſevere ſentence of that court with reſignation.

10th. The lords of the Admiralty appointed twenty-four maſters from the half-pay liſt,

liſt, for the ſole purpoſe of looking after the ſhips in ordinary, who are to make a report of their condition every three months to the board: eight of them are to reſide at Portſmouth, ſix at Plymouth, eight at Chatham and Sheerneſs, and two at Woolwich.

The projector began his operations on the wreck of the Royal George at Spithead, which ended without ſucceſs.

11th. The Beer ſloop, which was ſunk with the Royal George, and lay cloſe along ſide her, was raiſed ſix fathom from the ground, and towed to a conſiderable diſtance.

13th. Lieutenant Elliot, of the Baracoota cutter, arrived with diſpatches from his excellency Sir Roger Curtis, knight, his majeſty's ambaſſador to the emperor of Morocco, dated Gibraltar, June 13, in which he gave an account that the former treaties of friendſhip and commerce had been renewed and confirmed, and that additional articles for the better regulation of commerce between the two nations, were concluded and ſigned at Sallee on the 24th of May laſt.

A terrible fire, like that in 1742, almoſt entirely reduced to aſhes the town of Attendarn, in the duchy of Weſtphalia; only 20 houſes were ſaved out of 300. The convent of Franciſcans and the pariſh church became a prey to the flames.

Extract of a Letter from Lochgailhead, near Dunbarton, July 16.

"The following melancholy accident has juſt happened in this place, as we were finiſhing the arch of a bridge. There were a number of people on the arch, curious to ſee it finiſhed, when the wood gave way, and all went down in an inſtant. Several were much hurt, but none mortally, except one man, James Chriſtie, who had one leg broke, and was otherwiſe ſo ſeverely bruiſed, that he died within ſix hours after, notwithſtanding every effort was uſed that medical ſkill could afford."

17th. Came on the election of a profeſſor of anatomy to the Royal Academy, vacant by the death of Dr. Hunter, when Mr. Sheldon, of Great Queen-ſtreet, was choſen. Mr. Cruikſhank, late partner with Dr. Hunter, was the other candidate.

19th. The trial of Mr. Atkinſon, on an indictment for perjury, came on in the court of King's Bench, before the Earl of Mansfield and a ſpecial jury. The indictment conſiſted of many different counts; and, after a trial of ſeveral hours continuance, Mr. Atkinſon was found guilty of all but three. The jury were out about ten minutes.

25th. The Iriſh parliament was diſſolved, and the new parliament to meet on the 6th of September.

This day the ſeſſions began at the Old Bailey.

26th. His royal highneſs prince William Henry, attended by General Budat, his preceptor, ſet off from Windſor on his way to Germany.

This morning came on at the Old Bailey the trial of Mr. Ryland for forgery, which continued till three o'clock, when the jury, after a ſhort conference, returned their verdict guilty.

DIED.—At Longford in Ire-

land, Alexander Kilpatrick, Esq. aged 116 years and some months; he was formerly a colonel of an Irish regiment of foot, and served under the Duke of Marlborough.

At St. Lucar de Barrameda, Donna Anna Keyna, aged 100 years and 25 days: she had eleven children, 59 grand-children, and 25 great-grand-children. She enjoyed, through her whole life, perfect health, and preserved her strength until within two years of her death, when she suffered by the consequences of a fall from a horse. Her hair, which was black, turned white at the age of forty. At ninety she cut it off, and when it grew again, it was of the original colour, which never afterwards changed. She died without having known infirmities, and with the tranquil use of her reason, declaring that she felt no pain.

AUGUST.

Edinburgh, Aug. 1st. There was presented to the Right Honourable the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, a memorial from a number of gentlemen and merchants residing in that city and Leith, setting forth in substance, "That the order of council in the Gazette for a quarantine of forty days being observed by all vessels from Dantzick, Royal and Ducal Prussia, and Pomerania, while it evinced the attention of government to prevent the dreadful consequences of pestilence, at the same time would be productive of direful effects, relative to cargoes of foreign grain; that such was the situation of the city of Edinburgh and neighbourhood, that there was not a sufficient supply of corn in granaries to serve three weeks; that all dependence was laid on the expected arrivals, the utility of which would be defeated, if the quarantine was rigidly enforced." These facts were submitted, and left with his lordship.

The Lord Provost, the Lord Advocate, and a numerous and respectable meeting, convened at the Goldsmith's-hall. Dr. Cullen and Dr. Black attended, and gave it as their opinion, that there was very little danger of the pestilence being conveyed in grain. A very ample opinion was afterwards subscribed by these physicians. A letter was immediately prepared, to be signed by the Lord Provost, stating the facts already mentioned, and accompanying the memorial from the merchants, and opinion of the professors, to be transmitted by express to the Right Hon. Lord North, Secretary of State for the home department, to be by him presented to his Majesty and Privy Council, praying that such relaxation might be allowed in the discharge of all cargoes of foreign grain, as the distressed situation of the country so loudly called for. 4th.

Petersburgh, August 7th. The court received dispatches from prince Potemkin, general in chief, dated from Karas-Bassar, in Crimea. He published in that peninsula, as also in Taman and Cuban, a manifesto, in which the empress discloses her intention of annexing these countries to her dominions. Every where the oaths were taken to the empress; and that

that her ſovereignty was eſtabliſhing there in a manner ſo ſolid, that it would be a very difficult matter for the Turks to break through theſe new engagements.

Hanover, Aug. 8th. His royal highneſs prince William Henry, third ſon of the king of England, arrived here from London on Sunday laſt.

Naples, Aug. 9th. On the 29th paſt, at one in the morning, a violent ſhock of an earthquake happened again at Calabria, which threw the whole country into an alarm. At ſix the ſame morning, they had another more violent and longer than any that had happened before, inſomuch that the barracks now ſeemed not ſafe, and every body fled into the fields. Four villages, which had been ſpared before, were overturned. Cotona alſo ſuffered conſiderably, and the new buildings begun at Cozenza are ſo ſhattered, that they muſt be pulled down. It is not ſaid whether any perſons have periſhed, but the commotion was felt ſo ſtrongly at Meſſina, that it again did conſiderable damage there.

Frankfort on the Maine, Aug. 11th. A fire broke out at Querfurt, which reduced 80 houſes to aſhes, and almoſt as many granaries filled with the produce of the laſt harveſt.

Sheerneſs. This morning four of the ſeamen who belonged to his majeſty's ſhip Raiſonable, and who were condemned to die, by the ſentence of a court-martial held on them at Chatham in the month of July laſt, were diſpoſed of in the following manner, in order for execution: the Scipio, Dictator, Carnatic, and Thetis, were the ſhips appointed for this ſolemn ſcene; one being ordered to be executed on board of each. But the man who was to receive his puniſhment on board the Thetis, was reprieved juſt before the ſignal was given. The other three were hanged, by being drawn up by the yard-arm at the firing of a gun; a yellow flag was flying from each ſhip during the execution.

This being the birth-day of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, who enters into the 22d year of his age, their majeſties and the heir apparent received the congratulations of the nobility, &c. at Windſor. 12th.

York. An action was tried, brought by *qui tam*, on the ſtatute of uſury, for diſcounting bills, and receiving a larger rate of intereſt than the law allows. The witneſs, upon whoſe ſingle teſtimony this action was ſupported, was a young tradeſman of family and character, but went through a long and ſevere croſs-examination by the counſel for the defendant. The rate of intereſt was near ſixteen per cent. and as bills were commonly diſcounted here about that premium, it was become a cauſe of great expectation. The jury gave a verdict for treble of the whole diſcounted, viz. 3600l. When the jury delivered this judgment, the judge ſaid, he applauded the ſpirit of the witneſs for bringing the cauſe into court; at the ſame time he thought the verdict too ſevere, for it might be the entire ruin of the defendant and his family. He therefore ſubmitted to the jury, whether it would not be right to

reconſider their verdict, which they did, and gave 390l.

16th. This being the birth-day of his Royal Highneſs Prince Frederick, Biſhop of Oſnabrug, who now enters the 21ſt year of his age, their majeſties received the compliments of the nobility on the occaſion at Windſor.

17th. One of the king's meſſengers arrived with the ratification of the proviſional articles, which was exchanged on the 13th inſt. at Paris, between his majeſty's plenipotentiary and the plenipotentiaries of the United States of America.

18th. At 11 minutes after nine in the evening, a very ſingular phenomenon was ſeen at Greenwith. It being rather dark, a ſudden and uncommon light appeared, without any cauſe then viſible, for full two minutes; then appeared this phenomenon, coming from the N. N. W. perfectly horizontal in its courſe, and without any vibration, continued to the S.S.E. It paſſed over Greenwich, and near the Royal Obſervatory, till the elevated trees in the park took it from the ſight. Though it was tranſitory, the motion was not rapid, for you could diſtinctly diſcover its form, colour, &c. Its duration was near two minutes, during which there was no variation in its luſtre. Its magnitude and animated effect, made it appear near our earth. Two bright balls parallel to each other, led the way, the apparent diameter of which appeared to be about two feet, and were followed by an expulſion of eight others, not elliptical, ſeeming gradually to mutilate, for the laſt was ſmall. Between each ball, a luminous ſerrated body extended, and at the laſt a blaze iſſued, and terminated in a point. Minute particles dilated from the whole. While this luminary was paſſing, the atmoſphere was exceedingly bright; but immediately after it became dark, though the moon was up. The phenomenon which appeared in 1716, and continued from eight in the evening till three in the morning, was, like the preſent, not local; for it has been ſeen in moſt parts of the kingdom, notwithſtanding it was not ſubject to the great vibrations of the former. The balls were partially bright, as imagination can ſuggeſt; the intermediate ſpaces, not ſo exquiſite in their colourings. The balls were tinted firſt by a pure bright light, then followed a tender yellow, mixed with azure, red, green, &c. which, with a coalition of bolder tints, and a reflection from the other balls, gave the moſt beautiful rotundity and variation of colours, that the human eye could be charmed with. The ſudden illumination of the atmoſphere, the form, and ſingular tranſition of this bright luminary, rendered much to make it awful; nevertheleſs the amazing vivid appearance of the different balls, and other rich, connective parts, not very eaſy to delineate, gave an effect equal to the rainbow, in the full zenith of its glory. It appeared alſo almoſt all over the iſland of Great Britain nearly at the ſame time, as well as in France, Flanders, &c.

21ſt. This being the birth day of his Royal Highneſs Prince William Henry, his majeſty's third ſon, who now enters the

19th

19th year of his age, there being no levee nor court at St. James's, their majeſties received the compliments of the nobility on the occaſion at Windſor.

27th. The firſt air ballon was let up at Paris by M. Mongolfier.

30th. An action was brought againſt the corporation of Carliſle, for having a ſtell acroſs the river Eden at Ringarth, by the proprietors of the water above the ſtell. After a ſhort hearing, Judge Buller obſerved, it was unneceſſary to proceed, as there was an expreſs act of parliament to prevent any river in Great Britain having ſtells acroſs, and the jury gave their verdict accordingly. The corporation let the fiſhery the laſt three years for 845l. per annum.

DIED, aged 55, widow Keepus, of the pariſh of St. Mary, Norwich, who, ſince the year 1757, has been tapped for the dropſy 80 times, and 6553 pints of water taken from her, amounting very nearly to 82 pints each tapping. One hundred and eight pints have been drawn off at one operation.

SEPTEMBER.

1ſt. Three of the conſtables belonging to the office in Bow-ſtreet having been ſent in ſearch of the tranſports who lately eſcaped on the coaſt of Suſſex, to a houſe in Onſlow-ſtreet, Saffron-hill, where five of them were aſſembled, a terrible engagement took place. Two of the villains ran up ſtairs, and eſcaped at a back window. The three that were left armed themſelves, one with a poker, another with a ſhovel, and the third with a claſp-knife, and the word was with one voice, "Cut away, we ſhall be hanged if taken, and we will die on the ſpot rather than ſubmit." On which, a bloody conteſt commenced. One of the conſtables had the fore-part of his head laid open, and received three deep wounds from the right eye down to the cheek; another of the conſtables received a terrible wound a little above the temple from a large poker, after which he cloſed with the villain, and got him down; the third conſtable had better ſucceſs with the villain he encountered, for, by ſtriking him on the right hand with his cutlaſs, he dropped his weapon, and then they all ſaid they would ſubmit.

2d. The above priſoners, named Middleton, Godby, and Bird, were examined before William Blackborow, Eſq. when Lee and Townſend, ſervants to Mr. Akerman, depoſed, that they, with many other priſoners, were on the 14th of laſt month taken from Newgate, and put on board of a veſſel, in order for tranſportation to America. Being aſked by the magiſtrate, by what means they had procured their liberty, they acknowledged that they had run the ſhip aground, having confined the captain and the crew, and got on ſhore in the two long-boats; that no cruelty was exerciſed, nor any property ſtolen, except that ſome of the convicts obliged part of the ſailors to change cloaths with them; that they concealed themſelves in hedges and ditches till night, and then

took different routs; that they (the prisoners), and a few others, collected half a crown among themselves, which they gave to a countryman, for conducting them to Rye, whence they walked to London, where they had arrived but a very short time when they were apprehended and committed to Newgate.

Konigsberg, Sep. 3d. The wife of a merchant in this city exhibits an uncommon example of fecundity. She was brought to bed of five children, three sons and two daughters, all likely to do well, and the mother suffered no more than is natural to expect in such a labour.

4th. At six this morning the honourable Colonel Cosmo Gordon and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas met at the ring at Hyde-Park, to fight a duel. It was agreed upon by their seconds, that after receiving their pistols they should advance, and fire when they pleased. On arriving within about eight yards of each other they presented, and drew their triggers nearly at the same time, when only the colonel's pistol went off. The lieutenant-colonel having adjusted his pistol, fired at the colonel, who received a severe contusion on his thigh. Their second pistols were fired without effect, and their friends called to reload them; after which they again advanced to nearly the same distance, and fired, when the lieutenant-colonel fell, having received a ball in his body. He received immediate assistance from a surgeon, who attended the colonel in case of need, and who extracted the ball on the field, which notwithstanding proved mortal.

5th. It was this day ordered by his majesty in council, that the embargo at present subsisting upon ships and vessels laden, and to be laden, in the ports of Great Britain and Ireland with provisions, be taken off.

An order of council was likewise issued, for regulating the trade to America, in pursuance of an act of last session of parliament.

8th. Letters from Liverpool, give an account of a violent hurricane there, which lasted four hours, during which, nothing was able to withstand its fury; the largest trees were torn up by the roots, many houses unroofed, and almost all the ships driven from their moorings, but none, except one from Newfoundland, lost. Fortunately the storm happened in the night, or many persons must have been killed by the falling of chimnies, tiles, &c.

9th. As some men were emptying the lead mills, at Temple Mills, Hackney, which were repairing, they found an urn full of Roman coins, some of them in high preservation, with the impression of Julius Cæsar and Constantine the Great, together with several medals; likewise a stone coffin, with the skeleton entire, measuring seven feet nine inches long; the inscription on the coffin is unintelligible: in removing the old foundation a vault was discovered, in which were several urns, but quite imperfect: what is very remarkable, the vaults, for centuries past, are supposed to have been sixteen feet under water.

Edin-

Edinburgh, Sept. 9th. An order arrived from the lords of the Treasury for 5000 l. in addition to the 10,000l. formerly given, for the relief of the poor in the northern counties in Scotland. This laſt donation is to be diſpoſed of in a different manner from the former. The grain purchaſed with the 10,000l. was diſtributed among the poor without any price being exacted from it. The oat-meal bought with the 5000l. to be ſold at 6d. per peck.

10th. The corporation of London went in proceſſion, and preſented to his majeſty an addreſs on the birth of a princeſs, and the ſafe delivery of the queen; and, at the ſame time, congratulated his majeſty upon the Prince of Wales having attained his age of twenty-one years.

There was this evening a remarkable total eclipſe of the moon, viſible, not only to Europe and Africa, but alſo to great part of Aſia and America. The following is its calculation:

Sep. 10, 1783, at night.	H.	M.
Beginning of the eclipſe,	9	38
Beginning of total darkneſs	10	38
Middle,	11	29
Ecliptical oppoſition,	11	36
End of total darkneſs,	12	22
End of the eclipſe,	1	19
Duration of total darkneſs,	1	42
Total duration,	3	41

During the eclipſe a body of light, equal and ſimular to what is called Saturn's Ring, was ſeen round the moon, at firſt only with glaſſes, but afterwards with the naked eye; a phænomenon equally curious and uncommon.

13th. A remarkable inſtance of fertility aroſe from a grain of red Lammas wheat, which grew at Upper Areley, in Staffordſhire. It produced 68 ears, and, upon an average, each ear contained 75 grains, amounting to 5100 in the whole.

This day eight new peers were created.

15th. Orders were ſent from the War-office to the Heralds-office, Doctors Commons, for the heralds to be at the War-office this day at 12 o'clock, to proceed in form to the different places, and proclaim the peace; on which occaſion a party of the Horſe Guards were on duty to attend the heralds.

16th. Advices have been received over land from Fort William, Bengal, dated the 10th of March laſt, which confirm the accounts of the treaty with the Mahratta ſtate being concluded on the 17th of May, 1782, and ratified at Fort William on the 6th of June following; that it was completely ratified by the paiſhwa, and miniſters at Poona, on the 20th of December; and that the original counterparts of the treaty were finally interchanged, with every public formality, between Mr. Anderſon and Madajee Sindia, on the 24th of February laſt.

His majeſty, to ſhew the teſtimony of his approbation towards thoſe of his Hanoverian ſubjects who were employed in the defence of Gibraltar, ordered a donation to be preſented every ſoldier belonging to the ſeveral corps. It conſiſted of a ſcarf to be worn on their arms, with a motto,

motto, descriptive of the glorious service for which it was bestowed. His majesty farther ordered, that all the men concerned in the above occasion, when they shall come to the situation of pensioners, shall receive double the allowance permitted to ordinary soldiers. The grenadiers belonging to the same body are to bear upon their caps a silver plate, given by his majesty, with the word GIBRALTAR inscribed upon it in large letters.

22d. The session ended, when 58 convicts received sentence of death; 97 were sentenced to be transported, 73 of whom were capital convicts who had received his majesty's mercy on that condition; three ordered to hard labour on the river Thames; two to be kept to hard labour in the house of correction, and three on the Thames; 12 to be publicly whipped, seven ordered to be privately whipped; 6 to be imprisoned in Newgate; and 32 were discharged by proclamation.

This sessions exhibited a far more melancholy spectacle than ever was recited in the annals of the Old Bailey.

Died, in her 78th year, at the house of Dr. Samuel Johnson, in Bolt-court, Fleet-street, where she had lived by the bounty of that truly benevolent gentleman near twenty years, Mrs. Anna Williams, who had long been deprived of her sight. She published in 1745 the "Life of Julian," from the French of M. de la Bleterie; and in 1766 a volume of "Miscellanies in prose and verse," 4to. by the kind assistance of Dr. Johnson, who wrote several pieces contained in that volume.

At Windsor, Mrs. Vigor, aged 84. This lady was married, first, to Thomas Ward, Esq. consul-general of Russia, in 1731; second, to Claudius Rondeau, Esq. resident at that court; where she wrote those truly original *Russian Letters*, published by Dodsley (without her name) in 1775.

OCTOBER.

2d. The Bank of Paris, denominated Caisse d'Escompte, stopped payment.

3d. Letters from Gibraltar, contained an account of the communication having been opened between the garrison and the Spanish continent on this day, when a mail was dispatched for England, &c. in the usual manner.

Paris, Oct. 10th. We have had occasion to observe, that storms have been mostly general on the 3d of August last, but no part of the kingdom seems to have suffered so much as the countries adjacent to Orleans. On the above day a storm arose, which taking its direction from S. W. to N. E. over-ran, in less than half an hour, a space of 20 leagues by one. By its dreadful and rapid effects, 20 parishes have lost every hope of a crop, which was the most promising ever known. The hamlet of Saint Bohaire suffered most; all the trees were torn up by the roots, the chimnies beat down, and every house, mill, and barn unroofed. The timber-work of the church, 56 feet in length, 24 in breadth, and 19 in height, which, though built in the year 1355, was as good as new, gave way during the evening service. Luckily

Luckily only one life was loſt, and about forty were wounded; the reſt owed their lives to the ſtrong cieling that ſupported the timber frame.

By letters from Grenoble we receive the melancholy information, that the heavy rains which fell for two months ſucceſſively, in too great an abundance to flow through the ordinary channels, ſoon formed the moſt rapid torrent, which have cauſed very conſiderable damages, having entirely ſtopped up ſome roads, and damaged or rendered impaſſable ſome others, the waters carrying off houſes, mills, &c. and filling the plains with ſtones, ſome of which are of an enormous ſize. The village called Vaulnavey, ſituate within three leagues of Grenoble, ſuffered the moſt, its unfortunate inhabitants having loſt their all, even to the utenſils of huſbandry; whilſt, reduced to general want, moſt of them fell a prey to an epidemic diſtemper, which had began its ravages ſome time before the dreadful cataſtrophe.

15th. At a common council holden in the Council-Chamber of London, Reſolved that the thanks of the court be given to the Right Honourable Nathaniel Newnham, lord mayor, for his ſteady and impartial conduct in Common-hall on Michaelmas-day laſt, when he teſtified an equal attention to the rights of the corporation, and the real intereſts of the livery at large, by ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to preſerve that harmony between them upon which the honour and happineſs of both ſo eſſentially depend. And for the reſpect ſhewn this court, by the communication of a late requiſition ſigned T. Tomlins, &c. for the calling a common-hall and deſiring the opinion of this court, &c.

17th. This morning about ſeven o'clock Mr. Munro, of the 16th. regiment of dragoons, and Mr. Green, with their ſeconds, met in a field near Batterſea-bridge, for the purpoſe of ſettling a diſpute which took place a few evenings ſince; they took their ground at the diſtance of about ſix yards; they then fired three piſtols each, the laſt of which wounded Mr. Green in the ſide; the ſeconds interfered, and aſked Mr. Green if he was ſatisfied; he ſaid not, unleſs Mr. Munro made him a public apology;—*that*, Mr. Munro ſaid, he *now* would not do. Mr. Green, replied, "then one of them muſt fall." They again took their ground, and fired each two piſtols more; one ball entered Mr. Munro's knee, and Mr. Green received a ſhot which has ſince proved fatal, the ball entering a little above the groin.

Philadelphia, Oct. 18th. The people called Quakers, in America, having been long impreſſed with a ſenſe of the iniquity of the ſlave trade, at length enjoined the members of their ſociety to liberate all ſuch as they held in bondage, but finding a diſpoſition in ſome ſtill to continue and carry on this unrighteous traffic, they believed it to be their religious duty, at their late anniverſary meetings, to preſent an addreſs to the United States in congreſs, which was favourably received, and a committee thereupon appointed by congreſs to take the ſame into conſideration.

The

29th. The Ruſſians took poſſeſſion of Crimea, and prince Heraclius, ſovereign of Georgia, yielded up his ſceptre to the immortal Catharine.

Canterbury, Oct. 24th. Some few days ago 46 lambs in keep at a farmer's in this neighbourhood dying very ſuddenly, the grazier they belonged to had ſeveral of them opened, when the cauſe of their death was diſcovered to be owing to their having eaten mint roots, quantities of which were found undigeſted in their ſtomach.

25th. This day being the anniverſary of the king's acceſſion to the throne, when his majeſty entered into the twenty-fourth year of his reign, it was obſerved with the uſual demonſtrations.

27th. Seaton's prize at Cambridge, the ſubject of which was HOPE, was this year adjudged to the Reverend Mr. Hayes of Trinity-college, and one of the uſhers of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

DIED lately at Leiceſter, in her 100th year, Mrs. Bancart, who could read without ſpectacles till within a fortnight of her death. She buried her huſband in 1765, aged 104 years.

At Navarre in France, Monſ. James le Meſſurier, aged 118 years.

NOVEMBER.

4th. More than half of Beefdorf, a very large country town in Pruſſia, was reduced by fire to a heap of ruins.

The ſeſſions ended, when ſix more convicts received judgment of death; ſix were ſentenced to be tranſported; five to be kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction; one to be impriſoned in Newgate; three whipt and diſcharged; and ten delivered on proclamation.

5th. This morning, about a quarter before two o'clock, a fire broke out in the workſhops behind the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Seddon, in Alderſgate-ſtreet, which entirely conſumed above thirty houſes, and damaged many others. At day-break ſeveral families were ſitting round what few effects they had ſaved in Smithfield, ſome half dreſſed, and others without clothes, wrapped in carpets and blankets. Several fellows were taken into cuſtody, for purloining the property of the unfortunate ſufferers. Fortunately no lives were loſt.

11th. The Prince of Wales firſt took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, as Duke of Cornwall.

Chriſtopher Atkinſon, Eſq. was called upon, according to the recogniſance entered into by him and his bail for his appearance in the court of King's-Bench, to abide the judgment of that court, on his conviction of the crime of perjury, when not appearing, his default was recorded, and the recogniſances eſtreated in the Exchequer, on the motion of the ſolicitor-general.

14th. Mr. Secretary Fox preſented to the Houſe of Commons, copies of the definitive treaties of France, Spain, and the United States of America.

The

17th. The Duke of Portland presented to the House of Peers the definitive treaties between France, Spain, and the United States of America.

His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales took his seat for the first time at the council board.

22d. Mr. Bembridge, late accomptant to the Pay-Office, was brought before the judges in the court of King's Bench, agreeable to the intimation given to his counsel to that effect by Lord Mansfield in the course of last week, when Mr. Bearcroft, on the part of Mr. Bembridge, addressed himself to the court in a long and able speech, praying for a new trial. This application, however, though supported with very powerful arguments, the court did not think proper to comply with, and Mr. Bembridge being then in the custody and presence of the court, their lordships declared their intention of taking that opportunity to proceed to judgment. Accordingly Mr. Justice Willes, as the middle judge, proceeded to a full and elaborate revision of the circumstances that had transpired in the evidence adduced against Mr. B. in his trial; and after commenting upon some of them, with no inconsiderable share of point and severity, concluded with pronouncing the judgment of the court, which was to this effect:—that he should be fined in the sum of two thousand six hundred pounds, and be confined in his majesty's court of King's Bench for six months. Mr. B. was accordingly consigned to the custody of the marshal, and conveyed to that prison. He bore this very heavy judgment with great fortitude and composure.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with his duchess and retinue, set out for Dover, to embark for Calais in their way to Paris. 23d.

W. Vaughan, the messenger, seized in the King's Bench prison, in the apartments of a bankrupt, the sum of 2225l. in bank notes, concealed in the window-case or frames of the windows, from his creditors. 25th.

A melancholy account was received, that the city of Thessalonica, capital of Macedonia, a great magazine for the Levant trade, has been totally overthrown by an earthquake; in the lower part many French, English, and Italians are buried in the ruins. This disaster is more destructive than that of Messina. Warehouses of all kinds of commodities, belonging to the merchants of Marseilles and London, are swallowed up. 26th.

The Dolphin man of war, of 44 guns, Capt. Sutton, arrived from New-York with several transports, &c. under convoy. The final evacuation of that city took place on the 26th of this month, when it was delivered up to the American governor, George Clinton, Esq. who took possession of it in due form with some companies of New-York militia, amounting to about 550 men, which are to continue there as the garrison, till further arrangements are made by the American government.

Was tried, before the Earl of Mansfield, at Guildhall, two actions of infinite concern to inn-keepers: two travellers sued for the recovery of their 30th.

losses

losses during one night's stay at an inn. The facts were these: when they were conducted to bed by the chamberlain, they desired to have a key to lock the chamber door; it was a two-bedded room, but the travellers chusing to lie together, there was one bed remained empty. In the morning one of the plaintiffs missed three guineas, the other thirteen and a half. For the recovery of this money the actions were brought. Mr. Bearcroft laboured hard for the defendant, upon the danger of giving a verdict against his client, on the evidence of one plaintiff in favour of another, by which mankind might be tempted to conspire together, and fabricate losses which they never suffered. He said, in the present case, it looked as if one man robbed the other.—The attorney-general proved the reputation of the plaintiffs to be above that suspicion. Lord Mansfield said, the law was clear, that an inn-keeper was bound to keep his guests in security. The circumstances for the consideration of the jury were, whether the defendant was negligent, and the evidence of the plaintiffs to support each other's cause material as to their credibility. The jury gave the travellers a verdict to repair their losses.

Paris, Nov. 30th. A cure for cancers has been lately found out by chance; it is nothing more than pitch, which a shepherd in one of our provinces applied with great success, and it has been found to be a radical cure for that complaint.

Died, suddenly, in Dublin, Miss Clancy, daughter of the late William Clancy, formerly one of the most considerable merchants in Dublin. The circumstances of this lady's death are very extraordinary: on the morning of her decease she told the family she had passed a most disagreeable night, having dreamed that her eldest sister (a widow lady who resides in France) was dead, and that her ghost had appeared to her, to warn her of an immediate dissolution: at first she refused to credit the ghost, declaring her health to be very good; but the apparation persevered in asserting, she had but a few hours to live. This dream affected her much, but she was rallied out of her fears. She paid some morning visits, and then retired to her devotion. At dinner she was very cheerful, but suddenly dropped her knife and fork, complained of a violent pain in her head, and instantly expired.

DECEMBER.

Christopher Atkinson was expelled the House of Commons for perjury. 4th.

A cause of very great importance to the proprietors of the sugar estates in our islands, came on to be heard before the barons of the Exchequer, on a seizure of a very large quantity of sugar imported from the island of Tortola, with a certificate that the sugar was of British produce; when after a long examination of witnesses on both sides, and pleadings of the most eminent counsel, it clearly appearing to the satisfaction of a special jury to be of foreign 5th.

foreign produce, and not Britiſh, a verdict for condemnation was accordingly given.

6th. Trial came on before Lord Loughborough at Guildhall, on an action brought againſt the Eaſt-India Company, for not providing for and ſending home the foreign ſailors (commonly called Laſcars) hired abroad to aſſiſt in navigating the company's ſhips to England, and ſince which for their ſupport they have been obliged to beg about the ſtreets; when after a hearing of two hours a verdict was given againſt the company, that they ſhould allow each man (as they were acknowledged to be good ſailors) 36s. a month during their ſtay in England, to be cloathed, and to be ſent home at the company's expence.

10th. Being the anniverſary of the inſtitution of the Royal Academy, a general aſſembly of the academicians was held at the Royal Academy, Somerſet-place, when Edmund Garvey, Eſq. was admitted an academician, and received his diploma, ſigned by his majeſty.

Three ſilver medals were given, viz. one to Mr. William Artaud, for the beſt drawing of an academy figure; one to Mr. Thomas Proctor, for the beſt model of an academy figure; one to Mr. Thomas Johnſon, for the beſt drawing of architecture, being the elevation towards the principal court of one of the pavillions of Greenwich hoſpital, neareſt the river, done from actual meaſurement.

The aſſembly then proceeded to elect the officers for the year enſuing, when Sir Joſhua Reynolds was re-elected preſident.

Council.

James Barry,
George Dance,
Jeremiah Meyer,
John Richards,
J. Bap. Cipriani,
J. Singleton Copley,
Rev. Mr. W. Peters,
Benj. Weſt, Eſqrs.

Viſitors.

Agoſtino Carlini,
Richard Coſway,
Joſeph Nollekens,
Joſeph Wilton,
John Bacon,
Edward Burch,
Charles Catton,
J. Singleton Copley,
Benj. Weſt, Eſqrs.

The ſeſſions began at the Old-Bailey.

17th. The ſeſſions ended, when 24 convicts received judgment of death, 30 were ſentenced to be tranſported to America, 13 to be impriſoned ſhort terms in Newgate, 25 kept to hard labour in the houſe of correction, of whom ſeveral were whipped, 21 to be whipped and diſcharged, and 22 diſcharged by proclamation. Beſides the twenty-four unhappy objects who were capitally convicted this ſeſſions, there were no fewer than 90 offenders caſt for ſimple felonies! A circumſtance, we are aſſured, never before known in the annals of the above court.

19th. This morning, at one o'clock, a ſpecial meſſenger delivered to Lord North and Mr. Fox, the two ſecretaries of ſtate, a meſſage from his majeſty, importing, that it was his majeſty's will and pleaſure, that they ſhould deliver to him the ſeals

ſeals of their reſpective offices. On this meſſage the ſeals were ſent to Buckingham-houſe by Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, the two under ſecretaries. A ſimilar meſſage was about the ſame time ſent to the commiſſioners of the great ſeal.

Late the evening before the Duke of Portland and Mr. Fox communicated to his majeſty diſpatches from Holland.

24th. His majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the royal aſſent to the following bills: the malt bill—land-tax bill—Eaſt-India payment bill—American trade bill—Iriſh poſtage bill—Splitnerberg's naturalization bill—Tournay's naturalization bill—Borrowſtowneſs canal bill—and ſome road bills.

DIED.—At Newmarket, Mrs. Moore, wife of Mr. Moore, church-clerk, who had been many years miſtreſs of the free-ſchool. Her death was occaſioned by a bite from a cat. She had a day or two preceding her death all the ſymptoms of feline madneſs.

BIRTHS for the year 1783.

Jan. 2. Lady of W. Drake, jun. Eſq. M. P. for Amerſham, of a daughter.

6. At ſeven in the morning, the Counteſs of Artois was happily brought to bed of a princeſs, whom the king has named Mademoiſelle d'Angouleme.

10. The Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Cavendiſh was ſafely delivered of a ſon and heir.

The lady of Lord Algernon Percy, of a daughter.

15. The lady of Sir Henry Hunlock, of a daughter.

18. Lady of C. A. Pelham, Eſq. of a daughter.

29. The lady of the Right Hon. Lord Macdonald, of a ſon.

30. On Monday laſt, at his houſe in Arlington-ſtreet, the Counteſs of Carliſle, of a daughter.

Feb. 13. The lady of the Hon. Mr. Forteſcue, of a ſon and heir.

17. The lady of the Hon. Keith Stewart, of a ſon. Her ſerene highneſs the Princeſs Frederica of Wirtemberg was ſafely delivered of a daughter.

24. The lady of John Wilmot, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of the Right Hon. Sir Eardley Wilmot, of a ſon.

27. Mrs. Stuart, daughter of Lord Camden, was brought to bed at his lordſhip's houſe in New Burlington-ſtreet, of a daughter.

The lady of the Hon. Mr. Nevill, of a daughter.

March 4. The lady of Sir Robert Hutchinſon, of twins, at their houſe in Portman-ſquare.

10. The lady of Sir John Thorold, Bart. was ſafely delivered of a daughter.

13. Of a daughter, the lady of the Right Hon. Lord Hawke.

15. Of a ſon and heir, the lady of Sir John Shaw, Bart.

Bart. at his houſe in George-ſtreet, Hanover-ſquare.

16. The lady of Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart. was ſafely delivered of a ſon.

23. Archduchess Maria Amelia, ſiſter of the grand duke, and wife of the Prince of Parma, of a prince.

24. Counteſs of Tankerville, of a daughter.

Counteſs of Cavan, of a ſon.

April 10. The lady of Lord Paget, of a daughter.

12. Lady Elizabeth Yorke, of a daughter, at the houſe of Philip Yorke, Eſq. in Park-ſtreet.

14. Lady of Sir Thomas Miller, Bart. of a ſon.

16. The lady of Sir Rowland Hill, of a ſon.

May 6. The Counteſs of Percy was ſafely delivered of a daughter.

7. Lady Cadogan, of a ſon.

Counteſs of Balcarras, of a ſon.

June 1. Ducheſs of Rutland, of a ſon.

8. The lady of Sir Alexander Purves, Bart. of a daughter.

Right Hon. Lady Rodney, of a ſon.

12. Counteſs Dowager of Granord, of a ſon.

Lady Walpole, of a daughter.

Lady of Baron Nolken, of a ſon.

14. Lady of the Hon. Mr. Walpole, of a ſon and heir.

Her grace the Ducheſs of Leinſter was ſafely delivered of a ſon.

25. Her Serene Highneſs the Ducheſs of Courland, of a princeſs.

Sir Cecil Biſhop's lady, of a ſon and heir.

July 3. Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs Royal of Pruſſia, of a prince.

The Right Hon. the Counteſs Mexborough, of a ſon.

6. Lady of Viſcount Duncannon, of a ſon.

10. The lady of the Hon. Henry Erſkine, of a ſon.

12. Her grace the Dutcheſs of Devonſhire was brought to bed of a daughter.

14. The lady of the Right Hon. Lord Chewton, of a daughter.

18. The Queen of Naples, of a dead princeſs.

30. The Counteſs of Lincoln, of a daughter.

Aug. 4. The lady of the Biſhop of Glouceſter, of a daughter.

5. The lady of Sir James Grant, Bart. of Cannongate, Edinburgh, of a ſon.

7. Her Majeſty was ſafely delivered of a princeſs, at her lodge at Windſor.

27. The Right Hon. Lady Boſton, of a ſon.

28. The Right Hon. Lady Caſtleſtewart, of a daughter.
Lady Harrington, of a daughter.

Sept. 6. The Right Hon. Lady Viſcounteſs Lewiſham was ſafely delivered of a daughter.
9. Her Imperial Highneſs the grand Dutcheſs of Ruſſia, of a princeſs, named Alexandria-Paulina.
11. Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Athol, of a ſon.
18. Lady Perrot, of a ſon.
21. The Counteſs of Rothes, lady of Dr. Lucas Pepys, was ſafely delivered of a ſon.
27. The lady of Rich. Aldworth Neville, Eſq. M. P. for Reading, of a ſon and heir.
29. The grand Dutcheſs of Tuſcany, of a prince.

Oct. 1. The lady of Sir George Cockburn, of a daughter.
10. Lady of the Biſhop of Lincoln, of a daughter.
14. Counteſs of Roſeberry, of a ſon.
15. Lady of Sir John Taylor, of a ſon.
18. Lady Grantham, of a ſon.
22. The Counteſs of Galloway, of a ſon, being her fifteenth child.

Nov. 13. Lady of G. Noel Edwards, Eſq. of a ſon.
22. The lady of George Drummond, Eſq. of a ſon and heir.

Dec. 8. The Hon. Mrs. Fane, of Berners-ſtreet, of a ſon.

MARRIAGES in the Year 1783.

Dec. 16, 1782. At New-York, Sir Jacob Wheate, Bart. commander of his majeſty's ſhip Cerberus, to Miſs Maria Shaw, of that city.
26. Capt. Macleod, of the royal artillery, to the Right Hon. Lady Amelia Kerr.

Jan. 3, 1783. Lord Viſcount Palmerſton, member of parliament for Haſtings, to Miſs Mea.
10. Rev. Auriol Drummond, ſon of the late Archbiſhop of York, and nephew to the Earl of Kinnoul, to Miſs De Viſme, daughter of the late William De Viſme, Eſq.
14. Lord Viſcount Deerhurſt, to Miſs Pitches, daughter to Sir Abraham Pitches.
John William Egerton, lieutenant-colonel of the 23d dragoons, M. P. for Brackley, and ſon of the Biſhop of Durham, to Miſs Haynes, only daughter of Samuel Haynes, Eſq.
30. Hon. Mr. Grimſton, brother to Lord Viſcount Grimſton, to Miſs Sophia Hoare, coheireſs of the late Richard Hoare, Eſq. of Boſham, Eſſex.

Sir

Sir John Freke, Bart. at Saunder's Court, in Ireland, to the Hon. Lady Catherine Gore.

Feb. 15. Hon. Thomas Onſlow, to Mrs. Duncombe, relict of the late Thomas Duncombe, Eſq.

Lady Arabella Croſbie, ſiſter to the Earl of Glandore, to——Ward, Eſq. of the kingdom of Ireland, brother to Lord Ward.

Sir Nathaniel Dukenfield, Bart. of Cheſhire, to Miſs Ward, ſiſter to John Ward, Eſq. of Kent.

20. P. C. Creſpigny, Eſq. M. P. for Aldborough, in the county of Suffolk, to Miſs Scott, only daughter of the late R. Scott, Eſq. of Betton, near Shrewſbury.

March 5. By ſpecial licence, the the Hon. George Richard St. John, to Miſs Char. Collins, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Collins, of Wincheſter.

13. By ſpecial licence, William Manners, Eſq. ſon of the Rev. Mr. Manners, to Miſs Whichcott, the only daughter of Sir Richard Whichcott, Bart. of Aſwardby.

20. Richard Bagot, Eſq. brother of Lord Bagot, to the Hon. Miſs Frances Howard, daughter of Lady Andover.

April 8. By a ſpecial licence, Sir William Jones, to Miſs Shipley, eldeſt daughter of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph.

21. By a ſpecial licence, the Right Hon. John-Richard, Earl Delawarr, to Miſs Lyell, only daughter of Henry Lyell, Eſq.

28. Sir David Carnegie, Bart. of Southeſk, to Miſs Elliot, daughter of Andrew Elliot, Eſq. late lieutenant-governor of New-York.

May 1. Sir Henry Gough, Bart. to Miſs Carpenter, daughter of General Carpenter.

William Walter Yea, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir William Yea, Bart. to Miſs Newman, daughter of Francis Newman, Eſq. of Cadbury-houſe, Somerſetſhire.

6. By ſpecial licence, William Beckford, Eſq. to Lady Margaret Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Aboine.

12. Lady Frances Scott, ſiſter to the Duke of Buccleugh, to —— Douglas, Eſq. of Douglas-caſtle Scotland.

16. Sir Hugh Dalrymple, lieutenant-colonel of the 68th regiment, to Miſs Frances Leighton, youngeſt daughter of the late General Leighton.

20. James King, Eſq. youngeſt ſon of Gilbert King, Eſq. of Charles-Town, in the county of Roſcommon, to the Hon. Miſs Creighton, eldeſt

daughter to Lord Viſcount Erne.

25. John Aubrey, Eſq. of Dorton, Bucks, to Miſs Carter, of Chilton, in the ſame county.

June 5. Sir John Jervis, knight of the Bath, to Miſs Parker, daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Parker.

22. The Right Hon. Sir Joſeph Yorke, knight of the Bath, to the Dowager Baroneſs de Boetzelaer, relict of the late Baron de Boetzelaer, formerly firſt noble of the province of Holland.

24. Sir George Allanſon Winn, Bart. to Miſs Blennerhaſſet.

29. Captain Sir William Chaloner Burnaby, of the navy, and of Broughton, in Oxfordſhire, Bart. to Miſs Elizabeth Molineux, ſecond daughter of Criſp Molineux, of Garboldiſham, Norfolk, Eſq.

July 10. The Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham, to the Hon. Miſs Townſhend, daughter of Lord Sidney.

20. By a ſpecial licence, the Earl of Denbigh, to Lady Halfard, widow of the late Sir Charles Halfard, Bart.

29. Hon. Grenville Anſon Chetwynd, third ſon of Lord Viſcount Chetwynd, to Miſs Stapylton.

30. Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. to Miſs Maria Fergus.

Aug. 7. Morton Eden, Eſq. his majeſty's envoy extraordinary at the court of Saxony, to Miſs Elizabeth Henley, youngeſt ſiſter to the Earl of Northington.

9. The Right Hon. the Earl of Eglintown, to Miſs Twiſden, daughter of the late Sir William Twiſden, Bart.

12. Sir George Armytage, Bart. of Kirklees, Yorkſhire, to Miſs Harboard, eldeſt daughter of Sir Harboard Harboard, Bart. of Gunton, in Norfolk.

18. Richard Colt Hoare, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Richard Hoare, Eſq. of Barn Elms, to the Hon. Miſs Lyttelton, eldeſt daughter of Lord Weſtcote, of Hagley Park, in Worceſterſhire.

The Rev. Edward Beckingham Benſon, to the Right Hon. Lady Frances Alicia Sandys, ſiſter of the Earl of Tankerville.

Sept. 16. The Hon. George Dalrymple, brother to the Earl of Stair, to Miſs Harland, eldeſt ſurviving daughter of Admiral Sir Robert Harland.

24. Sir Robert Wilmot, Bart. of Oſmaſton, in the county of Derby, to the Hon. Mrs. Byron, daughter of the Hon. Admiral Byron.

Sir Thomas Wallace, to Miſs Gordon.

Oct. 6.

Oct. 6. Lord Viſcount Valentia, to Miſs Cavendiſh, daughter to the Right Hon. Sir Henry Cavendiſh, Bart.

Nov. 1. The Rev. Mr. O'Beirne, ſecretary to the firſt lord of the Treaſury, to Miſs Stuart, only ſurviving child of the Hon. Colonel Francis Stuart, brother to the Earl of Moray.

Dec. 3. William Bellingham, Eſq. to Miſs Fanny Cholmondeley, youngeſt daughter to the Hon. Robert Cholmondeley.

16. By ſpecial licence, Thomas Boothby Parkyns, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Thomas Parkyns, Bart. to Miſs James, only daughter of the late Sir William James, Bart.

Principal PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1783, *from the London Gazette, &c.*

Dec. 28, 1782. Vice-admiral Sir Peter Parker.—John Whalle Gardiner;—and James Graham, Eſqrs. to be Baronets of Great-Britain.

Jan. 4, 1783. Rev. John Hume, to be dean of Derry, in Ireland, void by the reſignation of the Rev. Mr. Edward Emily.

Dr. Scott to the office of regiſter of the court of faculties.

The Counteſs of Pembroke, to be one of the ladies of her majeſty's bed-chamber, in the room of the Counteſs of Hertford, deceaſed.

Alexander Chalmers, to be commiſſary clerk of the commiſſariot of Murray, vacant by the reſignation of Mr. William Dunbar.

— 8. The order of the Bath conferred upon the Right Hon. George Auguſtus Eliott, general of his majeſty's forces, and governor of Gibraltar.

Same day lieutenant-general C. Grey was inveſted with the order of the Bath.

— 10. John Storr, Eſq. of Halſton, in the county of York, to be rear-admiral of the red.

— 11. Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Grey, knight of the Bath, to be general and commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in North-America, in the room of Sir Guy Carleton, knight of the Bath.

— 12. Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, daughter of the Earl of Waldegrave, appointed lady of the bed-chamber to the princeſs royal.

— 22. Hon. Charles Howard, commonly called Earl of Surry, to be lord-lieutenant of the Weſt Riding in the county of York, and of the city of York and county of the ſame.

— 28. Richard Viſcount Howe, Admiral Hugh Pigot, Charles Brett, and Richard Hopkins, Eſqrs. John Jefferies Pratt, John Aubrey, Eſq. and John Leveſon Gower, were appointed commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

Feb. 1. The Rev. St. Andrew St. John, M. A. uncle to Lord St. John, to the deanry of Worceſter, vice Dr. Foley, deceaſed.

— 10. The Marquis of Carmarthen to be ambaſſador extraordinary to his Chriſtian majeſty;

and William Fawkener, Esq. to be his lordship's secretary.

— 14. Duke of Rutland was appointed steward of his majesty's household.

— 20. The Hon. William Skeffington, to be equerry to her majesty, in the room of the Hon. John West, now Earl Delawar.

— 22. The Hon. John Trevor, to be envoy extraordinary to the king of Sardinia; and Lord Galway, envoy extraordinary to the Elector Palatine, and minister to the diet at Ratisbon.

Alexander Murray, Esq. to be one of the lords of session in North Britain.

Elay Campbell, Esq. advocate, to be his majesty's solicitor-general in Scotland.

March 1. Edward Mathew, Esq. major-general of his majesty's forces, to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the island of Grenada, and such of the islands, commonly called the Grenadines, to the southward of the island of Carriacou, including that island, and lying between the same and Grenada.

Edmund Lincoln, Esq. to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the island of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other the islands, commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of the island of Carriacou, in America.

John Orde, Esq. to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the island of Dominica and its dependencies, in America.

— 4. The dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain to the Hon. Francis Rawdon, (commonly called Lord Rawdon) by the title of Baron Rawdon, of Rawdon, in the county of York.

The dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great-Britain to the Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, by the title of Baron Sydney, of Chiselhurst, in the county of Kent.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great-Britain, to the Rev. Mark Sykes, D. D. of Sledmire, in the county of York.

The like dignity to lieutenant-general John Dalling, of Burwood, in the county of Surry.

William Jones, Esq. to be one of the judges of his majesty's supreme court of judicature, at Fort William, in Bengal, in the room of Stephen Cæsar Le Maistre, Esq. deceased.

— 5. His grace the Duke of Buccleugh, elected governor, and the Right Hon. Lord Elliock, deputy-governor, of the royal bank of Scotland.

— 8. The Earl of Arran to be a knight of St. Patrick, vice Earl of Antrim, declined.

Edward Fanning, Esq. to be lieutenant-governor of the province of Nova-Scotia, vice Sir Andrew Snape Hamond.

The Hon. Mr. Willoughby, son of Lord Middleton, to be colonel of the Nottingham militia, in the room of the late Lord George Sutton.

— 12. Lord Mountstuart was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Spain.

Robert Lifton, Esq. to be his secretary.

— 14. Edwin Francis Stanhope, Esq. gentleman usher of the privy-chamber, to be one of her majesty's equerries, in the room of the Hon. John West.

16. The

— 16. The honour of knighthood on Alexander Munro, Esq. his majesty's consul at Madrid.

His Royal Highness Prince Edward, to be senior knight companion of the illustrious order of St. Patrick.

— 23. Major Bernard, of the 20th dragoons, to be master of the jewel office, in the room of the late Col. William Egerton.

Lord Sydney, to be governor of the Charter-house, in the room of the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

April 2. Dr. Moore was translated from the see of Bangor to the archbishoprick of Canterbury.

The Right Hon. Charles Townshend, to be treasurer of his majesty's navy.

The Right Hon. David, Viscount Stormont, to be lord president of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

The Right Hon. Frederick, Earl of Carlisle, privy seal.

The Right Hon. Lord North, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, to be principal secretaries of state.

His grace William Henry, Duke of Portland, the Right Hon. John Cavendish, the Right Hon. Charles Howard, Frederick Montagu, Esq. and Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. to be commissioners of the treasury.

The Right Hon. Lord John Cavendish, to be chancellor and under-treasurer of the Exchequer.

— 4. John Montagu, Esq. vice-admiral of the red, to be the port admiral at Portsmouth.

— 7. The Right Hon. William Eden, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Admiral Lord Viscount Keppel, Admiral Hugh Pigot, the Right Hon. William Ponsonby, Lord Viscount Duncannon, the Hon. John Townshend, Sir John Lindsay, knight of the Bath, William Jolliffe and Whitshed Keene, Esqrs. to be commissioners for executing the office of high admiral of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland.

The Right Hon. Edmund Burke, to be receiver and paymaster-general of the forces.

— 9. The Right Hon. Charles Greville, to be treasurer of his majesty's household.

The Right Hon. Alexander Lord Loughborough, lord chief justice of his majesty's court of Common Pleas, Sir William Henry Ashhurst, one of the justices of his majesty's court of King's-Bench, and Sir Beaumont Hotham, one of the barons of his majesty's court of Exchequer, to be lords commissioners for the custody of the great seal.

His grace the Duke of Manchester, to be ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the most Christian king.

The Earl of Shannon, the Right Hon. Charles Spencer, commonly called Lord Charles Spencer, and the Right Hon. William Eden, to be vice-treasurers of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 11. George Maddison, Esq. to be his majesty's secretary of embassy to the most Christian king.

The Right Hon. Lord Foley, and the Right Hon. Henry Frederic Carteret, to be postmasters-general.

— 12. The Earl of Dartmouth, lord steward of his majesty's household.

The Earl of Hertford to be

lord chamberlain of his majesty's household.

The Earl of Cholmondeley to be captain of the yeomen of the guards.

Lord Viscount Townshend to be master-general of the ordnance.

Henry Strachey, Esq. to be keeper of his majesty's stores, ordnance, and ammunition of war.

William Adam, Esq. to be treasurer and paymaster of his majesty's ordnance.

The Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, his majesty's secretary at war.

— 14. —— St. John, Esq. of Lincoln'-inn, barrister at law, to be under secretary to Lord North.

The Right Hon. George James, Earl of Cholmondeley, the Right Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, and the Right Hon. Frederick Montagu, were sworn of the privy council.

— 15. Earl Fitzwilliam to be custos rotulorum for the soke or liberty of Peterborough, in Northamptonshire.

John Lee, Esq. to be solicitor-general.

— 20. Sir Willoughby Ashton to be usher of the black rod in Ireland, under the Earl of Northington.

— 29. John Courtney, Esq. master surveyor of the ordnance.

Humphry Minchin, Esq. clerk of the ordnance.

The Bishop of Worcester to be clerk of the closet to his majesty.

Dr. Warren to be Bishop of Bangor.

May 3. The Right Hon. Robert, Earl of Northington, lieutenant-general and general governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

— 6. James Wallace, Esq. to be attorney-general.

The Earl of Leven to be his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

— 14. The Right Hon. George Harry, Earl of Stamford, to be lord-lieutenant of the county of Chester, and of the city of Chester and county of the same.

— 17. Dr. Lewis Bagot, Bishop of Bristol, to be bishop of Norwich.

The Earl of Sandwich, to be ranger and keeper of St. James's Park, and of Hyde Park.

The Earl of Jersey to be captain of his majesty's band of pensioners.

The Lord Viscount Hinchinbroke, to be master of his majesty's buck-hounds.

James Heseltine, Esq. to be his majesty's procurator.

— 22. Counsellor Erskine to be king's council.

— 23. A. Pigot to be a king's council.

June 14. Dr. Wilson, to be bishop of Bristol.

— 15. Rev. Cyril Jackson to be dean of the cathedral church of Christ in the university of Oxford. And, Rev. Thomas Shafto to be canon of the same church, in the room of Mr. Jackson.

— 16. The Right Hon. Lord Viscount Keppel, first lord of the Admiralty, was unanimously chosen master, and Sir William James, Bart. deputy master of the Trinity-house.

— 17. Dr. Smallwell, to be bishop of St. David's.

— 26. Thomas Davenport, Esq. was called to the degree of serjeant

jeant at law. As was alſo Naſh Groſſe, Eſq.

— 27. Serjeant Davenport was knighted by his majeſty.

July 4. Capt. John Collins, in the navy, was knighted.

Aug. 15. The Hon. Henry Erſkine, (brother of the Earl of Buchan, to the office of lord advocate of Scotland, in the room of Henry Dundas, Eſq.

Henry Mathias, Eſq. the offices or places of prothonotary and clerk of the crown in the counties of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan, and the town of Haverfordweſt, and borough of Carmarthen.

— 19. Alleyne Fitzherbert, Eſq. to be his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Peterſburgh.

— 22. Thomas Page, Eſq. of the artillery, had the honour of knighthood conferred on him.

— 26. George Ogle, Eſq. and the honourable Thomas Pelham, to be of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council in the kingdom of Ireland.

— 28. The Earl of Derby to be chancellor of the duchy and county Palatine of Lancaſter, vice Lord Aſhburton.

— 30. John Randolph, bachelor of divinity, to be regius profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, with the place and dignity of a canon of the cathedral church of Chriſt in the ſaid univerſity, void by the death of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Wheeler.

The Hon. and Rev. Edward Seymour Conway, M. A. to be a canon of the ſaid cathedral church, void by the death of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Kennicott.

The Hon. and Rev. George Hamilton, M. A. to be a prebend of his majeſty's free chapel of St. George in the caſtle of Windſor, void by the death of the Rev. Dr. John James Majendie.

Sept. 20. Letters patent paſſed the great ſeal, granting John, Lord Sheffield, the title of Baron Sheffield of Roſcommon, in the county of Roſcommon, with remainders ſeverally to his daughters.

The like dignity of baron of the ſaid kingdom of Ireland to the following gentlemen:

Arthur Pomroy, of Newbury, in the county of Kildare, Eſq. Baron Harberton of Carbery, in the ſaid county.

Robert Clements, Eſq. Baron Leitrim of Manor Hamilton, in the county of Leitrim.

Francis Mathew, Eſq. Baron Landaff of Thomaſtown, in the county of Tipperary. And

William Tonſon, Eſq. Baron Riverſdale, of Rathcormuck, in the county of Cork.

The dignity of a baroneſs of the ſaid kingdom to Mrs. Chriſtian Hely Hutchinſon, wife of the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinſon, by the title of Baroneſs Donogmore of Knocklofty, in the county of Tipperary.

The dignity of a baron of the ſaid kingdom to ſir John Huſſey Delaval, bart. by the title of Baron Delaval of Redford, in the county of Tipperary.

To John Pennington, Eſq. the title of Baron Muncaſter; with remainder to his brother Lieutenant Col. Lowther Pennington.

To Richard Pennant, Eſq. the title of Baron Penrhyn, in the county of Lowth.

Oct. 21. William Lucas, Esq. to be his majesty's chief-justice of the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, in America.

— 25. The Right Hon. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, clerk of the pipe.

Nov. 11. Rev. Dr. Kaye, to be dean of Lincoln.

George Payne, to be consul-general at Morocco.

19. Mr. John Lee, to be attorney-general.

Mr. James Mansfield, to be solicitor-general.

The Hon. Thomas Erskine, and Arthur Pigott, Esq. the former appointed attorney-general, and the latter solicitor-general to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

The Hon. Mr. Walpole, appointed envoy to the court of Bavaria.

— 20. Lord Visc. Lewisham, lord warden of the Stannaries, and steward of the duchy of Cornwall.

— 25. Richard Ackom Harrison, Esq. to be collector of his majesty's customs at the port of Hull.

Dec. 6. Hon. Capt. George Fitzroy, one of the grooms of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales.

— 10. The Rev. William Dickson, clerk, M. A. to the united bishopricks of Down and Connor.

— 13. Anthony Storer, Esq. to be minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, during the absence of the duke of Manchester.

— 20. The Right Honourable George, Earl Temple, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

The Right Hon. Granville, Earl Gower, lord president of the privy-council.

The dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain to the several gentlemen under-mentioned:

John Guise, of Higham Court, in the county of Gloucester, Esq.

Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, Knight, with remainder to Andrew Snape Douglas, Esq. captain in his majesty's navy.

Charles Barrow, of Hygrove, in the county of Gloucester, Esq. with remainder to Thomas Crawley Boevy, of Flanley Abby, in the said county, Esq.

John Morshead, of Trenant Park, in the county of Cornwall, Esq.

The Rev. Richard Rycroft, D. D. of Calton, in the county of York.

John Silvester Smith, of Newland Park, in the West Riding of the county of York, Esq.

John Lombe, of Great Melton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq. with remainders severally to his brother Edward Hase, of Sall, in the said county of Norfolk, Esq. and to the heirs male of Vertue, wife of Richard Paul Jodrell, of Saxlingham, in the same county, niece of the said John Lombe, Esq.

Thomas Durrant, of Scottowe, in the county of Norfolk, Esq.

Lucas Pepys, doctor of physic, of Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, physician extraordinary to his majesty, with remainder to his brother William Weller Pepys, of Ridley, in the county Palatine of Chester, Esq. one of the masters in the high court of chancery.

Francis Wood, of Barnsley, in the county of York, Esq. second

ſon of Francis Wood, late of Barnſley aforeſaid, Eſq. deceaſed, with remainder ſeverally to the Rev. Henry Wood, of the ſame place, D. D. eldeſt ſon of the ſaid Francis Wood, deceaſed, and to the heirs of the ſaid Francis Wood, deceaſed.

William Fitzherbert, of Teſſington, in the county of Derby, Eſq. and Thomas Beevor, of Hethel, in the county of Norfolk, Eſq.

—23. His grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, to be keeper of the privy ſeal.

The Right Hon. Francis, Marquis of Carmarthen, and the Right Hon. Thomas, Lord Sydney, to be his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate.

The Right Hon. Edward, Lord Thurlow, to be lord high chancellor of Great Britain.

The Duke of Dorſet, ambaſſador to Paris.

Daniel Hailes, Eſq. his ſecretary.

Lord Saliſbury to be lord chamberlain.

Lloyd Kenyon, Eſq. to be attorney-general.

Richard Pepper Arden, Eſq. to be ſolicitor-general.

William Pitt, Eſq. Lord Graham, John Buller, Eſq. Edward James Elliott, Eſq. and John Aubrey, Eſq. to be commiſſioners of the treaſury.

Duke of Chandos, to be lord-ſteward of the houſehold.

Lord de Ferrars, to be captain of the band of gentlemen penſioners.

The Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, to be joint pay-maſters of the forces.

The Hon. William Pitt, the office of chancellor and under-treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.

His grace the Duke of Richmond, the office of maſter-general of his majeſty's ordnance.

The Right Hon. Richard, Viſc. Howe, Charles Brett, John Jefferies Pratt, and John Leveſon Gower, Eſqrs. Henry Bathurſt, Eſq. (commonly called Lord Apſley), Charles George Percival, and James Modyford Haywood, Eſqrs. to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland.

The Right Hon. Henry Dundas, the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's navy.

William Smith, Eſq. the office of treaſurer and paymaſter of his majeſty's ordnance.

G. A. Selwyn, ſurveyor of crown lands.

The Right Hon. Barry Yelverton, to be lord chief baron, in Ireland.

John Fitzgibbon, Eſq. to be attorney-general, in Ireland.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for* 1783.

Berkſhire. James Patey, of Reading, Eſq.

Bedfordſhire. John Dilley, of Southill, Eſq.

Bucks. David Deviſme, of Great Miſſenden, Eſq.

Cumberland. John Orfeur Yates, of Skerwith Abbey, Eſq.

Cheſhire. Davis Davenport, of Capeſthorn, Eſq.

Cam

Cambridge and *Huntingdon*. William Vachell, of Hingeſton, Eſq.

Cornwall. Chriſtopher Hawkins, of Trewithen, Eſq.

Devonſhire. Francis Roſe Drewe, of Grange, Eſq.

Dorſetſhire. Francis John Browne, of Frampton, Eſq.

Derbyſhire. Sir Edward Every, of Egginton, Bart.

Eſſex. John Godſalve Croſſe, of Baddow, Eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. Joſeph Roberts, of Clapton-lane, Eſq.

Hertfordſhire. Robert Mackay, of Tewin, Eſq.

Herefordſhire. Tomkyns Dew, of Whitney, Eſq.

Kent. Henry Hawley, of Leybourne, Eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. Charles Loraine Smith, of Enderby, Eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Sir Jeniſon William Gordon, of Branſton, Bart.

Monmouthſhire. Eliſha Biſcoe, of Dixton, Eſq.

Northumberland. William Hargrave, of Shawden, Eſq.

Northamptonſhire. Michael Wodhull, of Thenford, Eſq.

Norfolk. Sir Martin Browne Folkes, of Hillington, Bart.

Nottinghamſhire. John Gilbert Cooper, of Thurgaton, Eſq.

Oxfordſhire. Sir Gregory Page Turner, of Ambroſeden, Bart.

Rutlandſhire. John Bellars, of Seaton, Eſq.

Shropſhire. Iſaac Hawkins Browne, of Badger, Eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Peter Sherſtone, of Wells, Eſq.

Staffordſhire. Richard Gildart, of Norton, Eſq.

Suffolk. Robert Trotman, of Ipſwich, Eſq.

Southampton. William Powlett Powlett, of Sombourne, Eſq.

Surrey. Henry Boulton, of Leatherhead, Eſq.

Suſſex. John Norton, of Southwick, Eſq.

Warwickſhire. John Neale, of Alleſley Park, Eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Jonathan Pytts, of Kyre, Eſq.

Wiltſhire. Thomas Huſſey, of Fiſherton Anger, Eſq.

Yorkſhire. Sir Robert Darcy Hildyard, of Wineſtead, Bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. Thomas Meredith, of Brecon, Eſq.

Carmarthen. John Davies, of Trawſinaur, Eſq.

Cardigan. John Benyon, of Duffryn, Eſq.

Glamorgan. William Kemys, of Ynyſarward, Eſq.

Pembroke. Thomas Wright, of Popehill, Eſq.

Radnor. Thomas Price, of Glaſcombe, Eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſey. Morgan Jones, of Skerries, Eſq.

Carnarvon. Thomas Aſhton Smith, of Vaenol, Eſq.

Denbigh. Charles Goodwin, of Burton, Eſq.

Flint. George Preſcott, of Hawarden, Eſq.

Merioneth. Robert Evans, of Bodwenni, Eſq.

Montgomeryſhire. William Humffreys, of Llwyn, Eſq.

DEATHS, 1783.

Hugh Sandilands, brother to Lord Torphechen, at Madras, in October laſt.

Dec.

Dec. 19, 1782. At Straſburgh, her royal highneſs the princeſs Chriſtina, aunt to the elector of Saxony, and grand abbeſs of Remiremont.

26. Henry Home, Eſq. Lord Kaimes, judge in the courts of ſeſſion and juſticiary.

28. The princeſs Maria Charlotta Antonietta, of Sardinia, ſpouſe of his royal highneſs prince Antony, of Saxony, of the ſmall-pox.

Baron Van Aſſeburg, prince biſhop of Paderbourn, in Germany.

Jan. 3, 1783. Lady Jane Flack, wife of Mr. Flack, attorney, and daughter of the Earl of Wigtown.

4. At Madras, the Hon. George Sempill, brother to Lord Sempill.

9. Rev. Dr. Foley, uncle to Lord Foley, and dean of Worceſter.

10. Lord George Sutton, uncle to his grace the Duke of Rutland.

11. Admiral John Storr.

Capt. Charles Fielding, brother-in-law to the Earl of Winchelſea.

12. Lord Stirling.

14. The lady of rear-admiral Fowke.

Lady Anne Stuart, relict of John Stuart, of Blair-hall, Eſq. and daughter of the late Francis, Earl of Morey.

16. Lady dowager Vere.

21. Sir George Armytage, Bart.

25. Sir Jarritt Smyth, Bart.

Lady Stafford.

Lady Echlin, relict of Sir Robert Echlin, Bart. ſiſter to the late Counteſs of Derby.

27. Miſs Suſannah Howard, daughter of the earl and Counteſs of Carliſle.

29. In Scotland, Sir James Clerk, Bart. of Pennycuick.

At Liſbon, his eminence Cardinal don John de Cunha, privy-counſellor to his majeſty, archbiſhop of Evora, and inquiſitor-general of the kingdom of Portugal and its dependencies.

William, Earl of Delawar.

Feb. 4. The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Ayleſbury.

The Right Hon. the Earl of Suffolk, without male iſſue, and was ſucceeded in his titles by Colonel Howard, of the guards.

6. Mrs. Huddleſton, wife of Thomas Huddleſton, of Hatton Garden, Eſq. She was the only child of Lady Anne Mackworth, and niece of the Earl of Abercorn.

8. At Bath, the Hon. John Chicheſter, Eſq. only brother to the Right Hon. the Earl of Donnegall.

10. Lady Iſabella Monck, ſiſter to the late Duke of Portland, and aunt to the preſent Duke of Portland.

23. Lady Hardres, relict of Sir William Hardres, Bart. of Hardres Court.

25. The Right Hon. Dowager Lady Carysfort, mother of the preſent lord.

The infant don Giuſeppe, their Sicilian majeſty's third ſon (not quite two years old.)

30. Lady Reeve, relict of Sir Thomas Reeve.

March 2. Lady Mary Weſt, ſiſter to the Earl of Stamford.

Lord George Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinſter.

9. Lady Dowager Walpole.

16. William Egerton, brother to the biſhop of Durham.

19. Hon. Dr. Frederick Cornwallis, lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of all England.

20. The lady of Sir Robert Shafto,

Shafto, Esq. daughter and heiress of the late Thomas Duncombe, Esq. of Duncombe Park, by Lady Diana Howard, daughter of the late Earl of Carlisle.

21. The Rev. and Hon. Dr. Hervey, uncle to the Earl of Bristol.

24. His royal highness Charles Gustavus, youngest son of the king of Sweden.

The Right Hon. John, Lord Rollo. His lordship is succeeded in honours and estate by his eldest son James, now Lord Rollo.

30. The celebrated anatomist, Dr. William Hunter.

At Hanover, aged two years, Prince Frederick Charles Ferdinand, younger son of his highness Prince Charles Louis Frederic of Mecklenburgh Strelitz.

April 5. Her serene highness the Princess Louisa Carolina, margravine of Baden Dourlach, and sister to the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt.

6. Sir William Guise, Bart. representative for the county of Gloucester.

Lord Bruce, at Spa, in Germany.

9. Sir John Frederick, Bart. F. R. S. in the 74th year of his age.

10. At Greenwich, in an advanced age, Admiral Mann.

11. Hon. Mrs. Boscawen, relict of lieutenant-general George Boscawen.

19. At lady Harriot Vernon's, in Grafton-street, after a lingering illness, Miss Lucy Vernon, her ladyship's third daughter.

20. Sir John Ramsay, Bart. of Banff.

21. Mrs. Willes, relict of the late Right Hon. Edward Willes, lord chief baron of his majesty's court of Exchequer in Ireland.

23. The right Rev. Dr. Philip Yonge, lord bishop of Norwich.

28. Lord Charles Cavendish, grand uncle to the Duke of Devonshire.

May 3. Prince Octavius, at Kew palace, of inoculation for the small-pox, aged four years, two months, and ten days.

6. The Right Hon. Hen. Loftus, Earl of Ely, Viscount Loftus, of the kingdom of Ireland, and knight of the order of St. Patrick.

11. Henry Howarth, Esq.

16. Sir William Douglas, Bart.

20. The Right Hon. Lady Fortescue, Viscountess Valentia, wife of the Right Hon. Arthur, Viscount Valentia, in the kingdom of Ireland.

23. Rear-admiral Charles Webber.

25. Sir John Gordon, of Invergordon, Bart.

26. The Right Hon. Lord Carbery, of the kingdom of Ireland. He is succeeded by his only son, the Hon. George Evans, Esq.

29. His excellency Compte de Haslang, envoy from his serene highness the Elector Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, privy-counsellor and chamberlain at both courts; likewise knight of the illustrious order of St. George, in the 83d year of his age, after an embassy of forty-four years.

Lady Anne Greville, sister to the Earl of Warwick.

June 5. Lady Helen Stuart, lady of Lord Stonefield.

7. Sir Rowland Hill, of Hawkstone, in the county of Salop, Bart. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son, now Sir Richard Hill, Bart.

Lady

Lady Chadwick, relict of the late Sir Andrew Chadwick.

Lately, on her paſſage from Bengal, the Hon. Mrs. Carey, relict of the Hon. Col. Carey, ſon of Lord Viſcount Falkland.

The infant don Carlos Euſebio, only ſon of the prince of Aſturias.

19. The Hon. Mr. Bateman, brother to Lord Bateman.

28. Lady Middleton, daughter of Lord Pelham.

Rev. James Lewis, dean of Oſſory, in Ireland.

Lady Pennington, wife of Sir Joſeph Pennington, Bart. elder brother of Lord Muncaſter.

July 1. Lady Viſcounteſs Gage.

3. At Edinburgh, the Right Hon. James, Lord Ruthven.

7. At Brighthelmſtone, Lady Catharine Bouverie, daughter of the Earl of Dunmore.

16. At Edinburgh, Mr. Hew Dalrymple, ſon to Lord Weſthall.

26. Sir Thomas Burnet, of Leys, Bart.

Aug. 1. The Right Hon. Lord Viſ. Hereford, premier viſcount of England. His lordſhip is ſucceeded in his titles and eſtates by his only brother, the Hon. George Devereux, Eſq. now Lord Viſ. Hereford.

The Right Hon. Sir William Oſborne, Bart.

3. The Right Hon. Lady Hawley.

7. The lady of Sir John Palmer, Bart. and ſiſter of Sir Henry Gough, Bart.

8. Sir John Ruſſel, Bart.

10. The lady of Sir Noah Thomas.

15. Lieutenant-general Evelyn, uncle to Sir Frederick Evelyn, Bart.

18. The Right Hon. Lord Aſhburton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter.

The Rev. Dr. Benjamin Kennicott, canon of Chriſt church.

Thomas Lloyd, of Albertrinant, in the county of Cardigan, Eſq. brother-in-law to the Right Hon. the Earl of Liſburne, and the Hon. General Vaughan.

20. In Berkley-ſquare, Lady Dowager Gerrard.

22. The Right Hon. Robert Viſ. Hampden, Baron Trevor, in the 73d year of his age.

30. Mrs. Perry, relict of William Perry, Eſq. of Penhurſt, in Kent, niece to John and Jocelyn, late Earls of Leiceſter.

Sept. 1. The Right Hon. Hugh, Lord Clifford, Baron of Chudleigh.

4. Lady Nicolſon, widow of Sir James Nicolſon, of Glenbervie.

15. The Right Hon. James Grenville, brother to the late Earl Temple, and uncle to the preſent earl.

In the 73d year of his age, of the gout in his ſtomach, the Rev. Sir Mark Sykes, Bart. D. D.

16. The Right Hon. Sir John Shelley, Bart. of Michael Grove, in the county of Suſſex.

18. Lovell Stanhope, Eſq. uncle to the Earl of Cheſterfield.

24. Hon. Godfrey Lill, one of the juſtices of the Common Pleas in Ireland, father of Lady Caſtle-Stuart.

The Right Hon. Walter Huſſey Burgh, lord chief baron of the Exchequer in Ireland.

Sir Robert Pollock.

Oct. 1. The Right Hon. Lady Delaval.

The Hon. Mrs. Law, lady of the

the Rev. Archdeacon Law, daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Vif. Falkland.

6. The celebrated Euler, one of the greateft mathematicians of the age, at Peterfburg.

8. The lady of Sir William Deffe.

13. Hon. Mrs. Catharine Heneage, relict of George Heneage, Efq. and aunt to Lord Petre.

14. Lady Dowager Sarah Frankland.

15. The Right Hon. Francis, Earl of Shipbrook, whofe title is extinct.

17. The Right Hon. Lady Anne Dufign, wife of Gerrard Dufign, Efq. and fifter to the late Earl of Hyndford.

18. The Rev. Dr. Cuft, Dean of Lincoln.

21. Sir William Hanmer, Bart.

23. The Right Hon. Joſeph Leefon, Earl of Miltown.

26. The Hon. Miſs Howe, fifter of the late, and aunt to the preſent Lord Chedworth.

Sir Charles Turner, Bart.

28. Monſ. d'Alembert, member of the French academies and the academies of ſciences.

31. The Right Hon. Earl Spencer, Vifc. Althorp, Baron Spencer.

Nov. 5. The Right Hon. Alexander, Lord Blantyre.

7. The Hon. Maſter Willoughby de Broke, ſon of Lord Willoughby de Broke.

10. James Wallace, Efq. his majeſty's attorney-general, king's ſerjeant in the duchy court of Lancaſter, and ſerjeant of the county Palatine of Durham.

Captain John Campbell, nephew to James, the firſt Duke of Argyl, and couſin to the five ſucceeding dukes.

16. Rev. Dr. James Trail, lord biſhop of Downe and Connor.

21. The Right Hon. Lady Caryll, conſort to Lord Caryll.

At Braunfels, the reigning prince of Solms, Ferdinand William Erneſt, in the 68th year of his age.

Dec. 5. At Verſailles, mademoiſelle of France, aged five years, only daughter of the French king.

7. Sir John Mitchell, Bart. of Shetland.

8. George Maſon, D. D. lord biſhop of Sodor and Mann.

9. Sir George Suttie, of Balgowan, Bart.

10. The Right Hon. Lady Dorothea Inglis, widow of Sir Adam Inglis, Bart. of Cramond, in Scotland.

Sir Robert Smyth, Bart. of Isfield, in Suſſex, and Bury St. Edmund's.

11. Lady Sharp, widow of Sir Alexander Sharp, Bart.

13. Mrs. Cornwall, mother of the ſpeaker of the Houſe of Commons.

16. Sir William James, Bart.

19. The Hon. William Parker, youngeſt ſon of the Earl of Macclesfield.

21. In Groſvenor-ſquare, Sir Francis Ratcliff, Bart.

23. Mrs. Vernon, fifter to the late Lord Shipbrook, and to General Vernon.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Letters and Papers relating to Captain Aſgill's *Caſe, written by his Mother, Lady* Aſgill; *the Comte de* Vergennes, *Prime Miniſter of* France; *the* American *Congreſs*; *and General* Waſhington.

Copy of a Letter from Lady Aſgill *to Comte de* Vergennes, *dated* London, *July* 18, 1782.

SIR,

IF the politeneſs of the French court will permit an application of a ſtranger, there can be no doubt but one in which all the tender feelings of an individual can be intereſted, will meet with a favourable reception from a nobleman whoſe character does honour not only to his own country, but to human nature. The ſubject, Sir, on which I preſume to implore your aſſiſtance, is too heart-piercing for me to dwell on, and common fame has, moſt probably, informed you of it, it therefore renders the painful taſk unneceſſary. My ſon, an only ſon, as dear as he is brave, amiable as he is deſerving to be ſo, only nineteen, a priſoner under articles of capitulation of York Town, is now confined in America, an object of retaliation. Shall an innocent ſuffer for the guilty! Repreſent to yourſelf, Sir, the ſituation of a family under theſe circumſtances, ſurrounded as I am by objects of diſtreſs; diſtracted with fear and grief; no words can expreſs my feeling, or paint the ſcene. My huſband given over by his phyſicians, a few hours before the news arrived, and not in a ſtate to be informed of the misfortune; my daughter ſeized with a fever and delirium, raving about her brother, and without one interval of reaſon, ſave to hear heart-alleviating circumſtances. Let your feelings, Sir, ſuggeſt and plead for my inexpreſſible miſery. A word from you, like a voice from heaven, will ſave us from diſtraction and wretchedneſs. I am well informed General Waſhington reveres your character; ſay but to him you wiſh my ſon to be releaſed, and he will reſtore him to his diſtracted family, and render him to happineſs. My ſon's virtue and bravery will juſtify the deed. His honour, Sir, carried him to America. He was born to affluence, independence, and the happieſt proſpects. Let me again ſupplicate your goodneſs; let me reſpectfully implore your high influence in behalf of innocence, in the cauſe of juſtice, of humanity; that you would, Sir, diſpatch a letter to General Waſhington, from France, and

favour me with a copy of it, to be ſent from hence. I am ſenſible of the liberty I take in making this requeſt; but I am ſenſible, whether you comply with it or not, you will pity the diſtreſs that ſuggeſts it; your humanity will drop a tear on the fault, and efface it. I will pray that heaven may grant you may never want the comfort it is in your power to beſtow on

ASGILL.

Copy of a Letter from Comte Vergennes *to General* Waſhington, *dated* Verſailles *the 29th of July*, 1782.

SIR,

IT is not in quality of a king, the friend and ally of the United States, though with the knowledge and conſent of his majeſty, that I now have the honour to write to your excellency. It is as a man of ſenſibility, and a tender father who feels all the force of paternal love, that I take the liberty to addreſs to your excellency my earneſt ſolicitations in favour of a mother and family in tears. Her ſituation ſeems the more worthy of notice, on our part, as it is to the humanity of a nation, at war with her own, that ſhe has recourſe, for what ſhe ought to receive from the impartial juſtice of her own generals.

I have the honour to incloſe your excellency a copy of a letter which Mrs. Aſgill has juſt wrote to me. I am not known to her, nor was I acquainted that her ſon was the unhappy victim, deſtined by lot to expiate the odious crime that a former denial of juſtice obliges you to revenge. Your excellency will not read this letter without being extremely affected; it had that effect upon the king and upon the queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodneſs of their majeſties hearts induce them to deſire that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderneſs reaſſured. I feel, Sir, that there are caſes where humanity itſelf exacts the moſt extreme rigour; perhaps the one now in queſtion may be of the number; but allowing reprizals to be juſt, it is not leſs horrid to thoſe who are the victims; and the character of your excellency is too well known for me not to be perſuaded that you deſire nothing more than to be able to avoid the diſagreeable neceſſity.

There is one conſideration, Sir, which, though it is not deciſive, may have an influence upon your reſolution. Capt. Aſgill is doubtleſs your priſoner, but he is among thoſe whom the arms of the king contributed to put into your hands at York-Town. Although this circumſtance does not operate as a ſafeguard, it however juſtifies the intereſt I permit myſelf to take in this affair. If it is in your power, Sir, to conſider and have regard to it, you will do what is very agreeable to their majeſties; the danger of young Aſgill, the tears, the deſpair of his mother, affect them ſenſibly, and they will ſee with pleaſure the hope of conſolation ſhine out for theſe unfortunate people.

In ſeeking to deliver Mr. Aſgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to ſeek another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly ſatisfactory, muſt be entire. I do not imagine

it

it can be productive of any bad consequences. If the English general has not been able to punish the horrible crime you complain of, in so exemplary a manner as he should, there is reason to think he will take the most efficacious measures to prevent the like in future.

I sincerely wish, Sir, that my intercession may meet success; the sentiment which dictates it, and which you have not ceased to manifest on every occasion, assures me, that you will not be indifferent to the prayers and to the tears of a family which has recourse to your clemency through me. It is rendering homage to your virtue to implore it.

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) DE VERGENNES.

Copy of the Order of Congress for releasing Capt. Asgill.

By the United States in Congress assembled, Nov. 7, 1782.

ON the report of a committee to whom was referred a letter of the 19th of August from the commander in chief, a report of a committee thereon, and motion of Mr. Williamson and Rutlege relative thereto, and also another letter of the 25th of October from the commander in chief, with a copy of a letter from the Count de Vergennes, dated the 29th of July last, interceding for Capt. Asgill,

Resolved, that the commander in chief be directed, and he is hereby directed, to set Capt. Asgill at liberty.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Copy of a Letter from General Washington *to Capt.* Asgill, *covering the above Resolve.*

Head Quarters, Nov. 13.

"SIR,

"IT affords me singular pleasure to have it in my power to transmit you the inclosed copy of an act of Congress of the 7th inst. by which you are released from the disagreeable circumstances in which you have so long been. Supposing you would wish to go to New-York as soon as possible, I also inclose a passport for that purpose.

"Your letter of the 18th of October came regularly to my hands; I beg you to believe that my not answering it sooner did not proceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your situation; I daily expected a determination of your case, and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes that might in the end prove fruitless. You will attribute my detention of the inclosed letters, which have been in my hands about a fortnight, to the same cause.

"I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without assuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleasing affair may be received, I never was influenced through the whole of it by sanguinary motives, but by what I conceived a sense of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take measures, however disagreeable, to prevent a repetition of those enormities which have been the subject of discussion; and that this important end is likely to be answered without the effusion of the blood of an innocent person, is not a

greater relief to you than it is to, Sir, your moſt obedient and humble ſervant,

(Signed) G. WASHINGTON."

When Capt. Aſgill arrived at New-York the Swallow packet having ſailed without him, he followed her in a boat, but did not overtake her till ſhe had got upwards of four leagues to ſea. The conſequence was, that he came over without ſervant or baggage.

Whitehall, April 12.

Extracts of Letters from Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, *K. B. dated* Madras, *the 31ſt of Auguſt and 25th of September* 1782, *received at the Office of his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for the home Department, on the 7th of April,* 1783.

WHILST I was ſtraining every nerve in advancing the army to the neighbourhood of Chingleput, to counteract the views of Hyder and the French, I anxiouſly looked to the reſult of my reference to the governor general and to the arrival of their orders in conſequence, as a period which would undoubtedly reſtore to me that authority over the ſouthern troops which would enable me to direct them to ſuch a co-operation as might tend equally to facilitate my own movements, and diſtract the deſigns of our enemies; but moſt unfortunately on the 18th of February, long before any anſwer could come from Bengal, Colonel Braithwaite was attacked by Hyder Aly's ſon, Tippo Saib, and Monſ. Lally, near the banks of Colleroon, and totally defeated. His whole detachment, conſiſting of about 2000 infantry, 250 cavalry, 18 officers, and a field train of 13 pieces, were either captured or deſtroyed.

The French being free from any apprehenſions of a check from our ſouthern forces, and covered by the army of Hyder Aly to the northward, which ſecured them from all ſudden attack by my army, proceeded in perfect ſecurity againſt Cuddalore, which being incapable of holding out for any length of time, was, on the 6th of April, ſurrendered to the French forces under Monſ. Duchemin, on terms of capitulation, which I have the honour to incloſe.

To his Excellency Sir Eyre Coote, *K. B. Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief in* India.

SIR,

IT gives me much concern to inform you, that this garriſon ſurrendered to the French arms on the 4th inſtant in the morning. A copy of the capitulation I have now the honour of forwarding.

I flatter myſelf your excellency will excuſe me for not ſending it ſooner, as I have been prevented by a multiplicity of buſineſs, owing to conſtant applications from the gentlemen in charge of the French officers, relative to the delivering over the ſtores, &c. of this garriſon.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Your excellency's very obedient
and moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) JAMES HUGHES.

Cuddalore, April 6, 1782.

SIR,

SIR,

THE French general, being desirous of having as little bloodshed as possible, has sent me to inform you, that the nabob's troops having joined his army, if you do not immediately surrender, it will be out of his power to prevent the plundering of the fort, being promised to the European and black troops if they attack it.

In consequence of which he proposes articles of capitulation, such as, from our situation, you have reason to expect: wishing to convince the English, that it is only in war we look on you as enemies, and being sent for this purpose by Monsr. Duchemin, general of the French army, I sign these his first proposals, according to the power he has invested me with.

(Signed)

LE VTE DE HOUDETOT.

N. B. The above is a translation of a copy from the original.

Articles of Capitulation drawn up between his Excellency Monsr. Pierre Duchemin, *Marshal of the Camps and Army of the King of* France, *and Commandant of the Troops of his Majesty in* India, *on the one Side, and Capt.* James Hughes, *Commandant of the Garrison of* Cuddalore, *on the other.*

The gates shall be delivered up to-morrow, the 4th of April, 1782, between the hours of eight and nine in the morning.

Agreed.

The English flag shall be kept flying till that time on the ramparts, and all hostilities shall be suspended; Captain Hughes giving his word, that nothing shall go out of the place, either by land or sea, and all that does go out shall be deemed an infringement on the articles of capitulation, as it must either belong to the king or company, since the property of officers and inhabitants are insured to them.

Agreed.

The garrison shall remain prisoners of war; the European officers and troops shall be sent to Madras on their parole, to be exchanged for the like number and rank of French officers and troops.

Agreed.

Private property shall be secured; but all that belongs to the king and company shall be given over with the utmost exactness, and registered by the French commissary sent for that purpose; and the least infidelity shall be deemed an infringement on the articles of capitulation.

Agreed.

The garrison shall march out with the honours of war, and deposit their arms on the Glacis without being damaged.

Agreed.

The garrison shall be provided with provision, and a passage by sea to Madras, the civil as well as military.

Agreed.

Those who do not choose to remain under the French government, will have passports and escorts to Madras; those that do, shall, at the expiration of three months, take the oaths of allegiance to his most Christian majesty.

Agreed.

The liberty of religion is granted in full.

Agreed.

The fort being delivered up, all private property belonging to the

Engliſh, whether within or without it, ſhall be ſecured to them.

Agreed.

The whole is thoroughly underſtood and agreed to, upon the ſtricteſt honour.

April 3, 1782. Signed for the French general, Le Vicomte de Houdetot.

(Signed) DUCHEMIN.

(Signed) JAMES HUGHES,
Captain Commandant
of Cuddalore.

N. B. The above is a tranſlation of a copy from the original articles of capitulation.

JAMES HUGHES,
Captain Commandant.

On the 12th, I received intelligence of the enemy having commenced the ſiege of Permacoli. And I find that garriſon capitulated on the 17th.

I had no doubt of the enemy's forming deſigns upon Vandiwaſh; indeed my intelligence gave me reaſon to believe, that the French and Hyder would march immediately to attack it: I therefore moved the army towards it with all poſſible diſpatch, in full perſuaſion that our enemies would have met me there, and tried a deciſive action; but I arrived there without receiving the ſmalleſt oppoſition; apprehending, however, leſt the enemy might be in doubt about my deſire of bringing them to action, and convinced that they would not ſeek for me in the neighbourhood of Vandiwaſh, where I could receive them to ſo great advantage, I determined to advance towards them. I accordingly made two marches in the direct road to the ground, on which we had obſerved them, from the hill of Vandiwaſh, to be encamped; but on my approach they fell back, and both by my intelligence, and by what I could diſcover from the heights in the neighbourhood of our camp, they took up their ſtation on the Red Hills. This was a poſition in itſelf ſo ſtrong, and could, by an army of ſuch magnitude as Hyder's, ſupported by an European force far exceeding the numbers in my army, be occupied to ſo great advantage, that I judged it expedient to lay my intelligence and ſentiments before the two next officers in command, Major General Stuart and Colonel Lang, that I might have the benefit of their opinions on a matter of ſuch momentous importance, and on the iſſue of which depended the whole of the Britiſh intereſts in India.

Upon a reference to the council of war, which was held on this occaſion, the idea I ſuggeſted of drawing the enemy from their ſtrong poſt, by moving in a direction which would effectually check Hyder's ſupplies, and alarm him for the ſafety of his grand magazine of Arnee, was unanimouſly approved.

In conformity to that plan, we accordingly marched on the 30th, and, on the firſt of June, encamped at the diſtance of about five miles from Arnee. That day I received intelligence that Hyder, on hearing of the route we had taken, marched immediately, and that the advance of his army had arrived the preceding evening at Deſſoor, diſtant from us about twenty-five miles, and in the high road toward us. I was thereby ſatisfied, that the effect I had in view

view had taken place, and ordered a proper place to be reconnoitred for posting the baggage, in case I should either have found it advisable to go and meet the enemy, or to receive them on the ground I had occupied. In the middle of the night of the 1st, or rather early in the morning of the 2d, intelligence was brought me, that Hyder had come to Chittiput, distant from us about eleven miles. The army was then under orders of march to proceed nearer Arnee, which, I was encouraged to hope, might prove an easy acquisition, and which, by the large stock of provisions it contained, added to the extreme fitness of its situation, opened to us no less a prospect than the total expulsion of the enemy from the Carnatic. In my then position, with Hyder's army on the one side, and an object of such magnitude on the other, it became a point of deliberation, which was the most eligible line of conduct to be adopted; to persevere in my original intention of threatening Arnee (which Hyder had most undoubtedly come to cover) and thereby bring on an action, or to advance and engage the enemy. I preferred the former, as it promised the most certain issue, upon the mind of Hyder, whose sole view evidently was to save his grand magazine. It was equal to him whether he accomplished that, by diverting our attention from it, or by giving us battle. But it is reasonable to imagine, that if he succeeded on the former grounds, he would hardly, after having suffered four defeats, put any thing to risk on the latter. We accordingly therefore commenced our march towards Arnee, contiguous to which the advance of our army had arrived, and we had begun to mark out the ground for our encampment, when a distant cannonade opened on our rear, and which was the first annunciation I had of Hyder's having approached so near us, in force. His coming upon us, thus suddenly, proceeds from his being able to cover the march of his line of infantry by his large bodies of horse, and which having generally been the companion of our movements, during the whole war, were never to be considered as any positive proof of his army being at hand.

Every dispatch was used in making the necessary dispositions for repelling the attack, and coming to action. Our line was then in a low situation, with high and commanding ground all round, which as the enemy had got possession of, our different manœuvres were performed under every disadvantage, and exposed to a heavy though distant cannonade. It was not till near mid-day that we had reduced the enemy's various attacks to one settled point, so as to advance upon them with effect, and with a prospect of advantage; but so soon as that was accomplished, we pushed on and they gave way; we pursued them till the evening was far advanced, taking from them in their retreat one gun, five tumbrils, and two carts loaded with ammunition.

I remained at this advanced station to the last moment the state of my provisions would admit of; and when obliged to fall back for my supplies, I endeavoured to do it with all the credit possible, by again seeking for Hyder, who by

my intelligence, had encamped with his army contiguous to a road by which we might march. He retreated before me with precipitation, although in poſſeſſion of ground which he could have diſputed our approach towards with great advantage. We purſued our march the preceding day, by the ſame road on which he had retreated, but found that he had turned off and croſſed the country towards Arnee. On the 8th of June, when encamped in the neighbourhood of Trivatore, and where we had halted a day to refreſh both the troops and cattle, of which they ſtood greatly in need, having ſuffered ſeverely both by ſickneſs and fatigue, our grand guard was moſt unfortunately drawn into an ambuſcade compoſed of about ſix thouſand of Hyder's choſen horſe, and totally cut off before any ſupport could be afforded.

It is with pleaſure I acquaint you, that the eſtabliſhment of peace with the Mahrattas is in the faireſt way towards being happily accompliſhed, as, on the 17th of May laſt, articles of a treaty of peace, and perpetual friendſhip and alliance, between the Engliſh and the Mahrattas, were agreed to and executed by Manheo Scindia, on the part of the latter, and by Mr. David Anderſon, (deputed by the governor-general and council) on the part of the former, ſubject however to the approval and ratification of their reſpective governments, before they ſhould become final. In as far as depends upon us, I believe every part has been confirmed; but as yet I have not heard of the conditions having received the ſeal and ſignature of the Peſhwa, and the atteſtations of the dependent members of the Poona ſtate.

The only important movement of the army, which happened between the action of the 2d of June until this preſent time, was the relief of the garriſon of Villore, which was performed between the 7th and 21ſt of Auguſt: the army having marched in that period, near two hundred miles, and threw into the place proviſions ſufficient to maintain the garriſon to the firſt of March next.

I am concerned to acquaint your lordſhips with the fall of Trincomale, which by our intelligence was ſurrendered to the French force under Monſieur Suffren on the 31ſt ult. by capitulation.—My orders were to defend it to the laſt. Our ſquadron had an action with the French ſquadron off the place on the 3d inſtant, in which the laſt ſuffered moſt; but our fleet found it neceſſary to come to theſe roads, where it arrived the 9th inſtant, and is now refitting, and intends proceeding to Bombay the middle of next month. The Minerva ſtore ſhip, and the Major and Nottingham Indiamen belonging to Sir Richard Bickerton's fleet, are arrived; the two latter having on board Lieutenant Colonel Adams, with two companies of his majeſty's 101ſt regiment, and Colonel Reimbold, with two companies of his majeſty's electoral troops. They have all of them arrived extremely healthy, and have ſuffered very little indeed by the voyage.

My preſent weak ſtate will not allow of my entering into a particular detail of the late march of the army towards Cuddalore, and its

its return, together with the other occurrences which have ſince happened.

Major General Sir Hector Munro has reſigned the ſervice, and returns to Europe in the Myrtle tranſport, which ſails in a few days. Major General Stuart, who has been conſtantly in the field during the whole of this year's campaign, will in conſequence ſucceed to the chief command of the company's troops on this eſtabliſhment. He has been in command of the army ever ſince my illneſs, in the conduct of which he has ſhewn the moſt indefatigable activity, in a manner highly to his own honour, and much to my ſatisfaction.

REMARKABLE ACTIONS *at* SEA.

Admiralty-Office, April 15, 1782.

Extracts of Letters from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, *Knight of the Bath, and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships employed in the* Eaſt-Indies, *to Mr.* Stephens, *received the 6th inſtant, by the Honourable Captain* Carpenter, *who came Paſſenger to* Ireland *in the* Rodney *Packet belonging to the Eaſt-India Company.*

Superb, off Negapatnam, July 15, 1782.

I Mentioned, in my letter of the 15th ult. my intention to embark, in a few days, all ſuch men from Trincomale hoſpital as could be any ways ſerviceable on board, and proceed with the ſquadron to this coaſt to watch the motions of that of the French under Monſ. Suffren; and accordingly, I ſailed from Trincomale Bay on the 23d of laſt month, and anchored in Negapatnam Road the day following.

At this place I was informed that the French ſquadron was then at anchor off Cuddalore, which had ſurrendered before to their land forces; and that his majeſty's armed tranſports the Reſolution and Raikes, on their paſſage to join me at Trincomale with ſtores and ammunition, had very unfortunately been fallen in with by the French ſquadron, and captured; and the San Carlos, another of his majeſty's armed tranſports, with the Rodney brig, were chaced, and very narrowly eſcaped being alſo captured, and had returned to Madras road.

I continued with the ſquadron at an anchor in Nagapatnam road till the 5th of this month, when, at one P. M. the French ſquadron, conſiſting of 18 ſail, 12 of which of the line, came in ſight. At three P. M. I weighed with his majeſty's ſquadron, and ſtood to the ſouthward all that evening and night, in order to gain the wind of the enemy.

On the 6th, at day-light, the enemy's ſquadron at anchor, bearing N. N. E. diſtant about ſeven or eight miles, wind at S. W. At fifty minutes paſt five A. M. I made the ſignal for the line of battle a-breaſt, and bore away towards the enemy. At ſix, obſerving the enemy getting under ſail, and ſtanding to the weſtward, hauled down the ſignal for the line of battle a-breaſt, and made the ſignal for the line a-head at two cables length diſtance. At ten minutes paſt ſeven, our line being well formed, made the ſignal

nal to bear down on the enemy; each ſhip in our line againſt the ſhip oppoſed to her in the enemy's line. At forty minutes paſt ten the enemy's line began to fire on ours. At forty-five minutes paſt ten I made the ſignal for battle, and at the ſame time the ſignal for a cloſe engagement.

From ten minutes after eleven, till thirty-five paſt noon, the engagement was general from van to rear in both lines, and moſtly very cloſe; the enemy's ſhips appeared to have ſuffered ſeverely both in hulls and maſts; the van ſhip had bore away out of the line, and the Brilliant, the French admiral's, ſecond a-head, had loſt his main-maſt. At this time the ſea breeze ſet in at S. S. E. very freſh, and ſeveral of the ſhips in our van and center were taken aback and paid round with their heads to the weſtward; while others of our ſhips, thoſe in the rear in particular, which had ſuffered much leſs in their rigging, paid off and continued on their former tack. Some of the enemy's ſhips were alſo paid round by the ſea breeze with their heads to the weſtward; the admiral's ſecond a-head in particular, which I ſuppoſed to be the Ajax, but proved afterwards to be the Severe, fell along ſide the Sultan, and ſtruck to her; but, whilſt the Sultan was wearing to join me, made what ſail he could, fired on and raked the Sultan, without ſhewing any colours, and then got in amongſt his own ſhips. At fifty paſt noon, finding the Worceſter, Eagle, and Burford ſtill continuing on their former tack, and nearing the body of the enemy's ſquadron very faſt, I made the ſignal to wear, and hauled down the ſignal for the line, purpoſing to make the ſignal for a general chaſe; but the captain of the Monarca having hailed, and informed me that all his ſtanding rigging was ſhot away, and the ſhip otherwiſe ſo much diſabled as to be ungovernable; and the Hero, on the contrary tack, hauling in with the land with the ſignal of diſtreſs out; and the enemy's ſhips having wore and come to on the larboard tack, thoſe leaſt diſabled forming to the windward to cover their diſabled ſhips, and endeavouring to cut off the Eagle, I made the ſignal at twenty minutes paſt one, to wear, and ſtood to the weſtward, the engagement ſtill continuing partially, wherever our ſhips were near the enemy's, and the Eagle hard preſſed by two of the enemy's ſhips. At half paſt one I made the ſignal for the line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, and made the Exeter's ſignal to come within hail, and directed her to take her ſtation a-ſtern of the Sultan. At two P. M. the enemy's ſquadron were ſtanding in ſhore, and collecting their ſhips, which I was alſo endeavouring to do, as our ſquadron was very much diſperſed, and continued on different tacks, the ſhips being greatly diſabled, and in general ungovernable.

At half paſt four I hauled down the ſignal for the line of battle a-head, and made the ſignal to prepare to anchor; and at half paſt five I anchored with the Superb in ſix fathom water, between Negapatnam and Nagore; the other ſhips of the ſquadron anchoring as they came in with the

the land, and the Worceſter next day.

The enemy having collected their ſhips into a cloſe body, anchored at ſix P. M. about three leagues to leeward of our ſhips; during the remainder of the day, and all night, our ſhips were cloſely employed in ſecuring their lower maſts, almoſt all their ſtanding rigging being ſhot away; ſplicing the old and reeving new rigging, and getting ſerviceable ſails to the yards.

On the 7th in the morning the damages ſuſtained by the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron appeared to me ſo great, that I gave up all thoughts of purſuing the enemy; and at nine A. M. the French ſquadron got under ſail, and returned to Cuddalore Road, their diſabled ſhips a-head; and thoſe leſs ſo, covering their retreat in the rear.

At ten A. M. I ſent Capt. James Watt, of his majeſty's ſhip the Sultan, in the Rodney brig diſarmed, with a flag of truce, and a letter to Monſieur Suffren, containing a demand of the ſurrender of the French king's ſhip the Ajax.—Capt. Watt came up with the French ſquadron the ſame evening, and my letter was forwarded to M. Suffren, who returned an evaſive anſwer, ſaying it was the French ſhip Severe who had the halliards of his enſign ſhot away, as frequently happens in action, by which means it came down, but was never intended to be ſtruck.

I am extremely happy to inform their lordſhips, that in this engagement his majeſty's ſquadron under my command gained a decided ſuperiority over that of the enemy; and had not the wind ſhifted, and thrown his majeſty's ſquadron out of action, at the very time when ſome of the enemy's ſhips had broken their line, and were running away, and others of them greatly diſabled, I have good reaſon to believe it would have ended in the capture of ſeveral of the line of battle ſhips. I am happy alſo to inform their lordſhips, that the officers and the men of the ſquadron behaved to my ſatisfaction, and have great merit for their bravery and ſteady conduct; the captains Gell of the Monarca, Rainier of the Burford, and Watt of the Sultan, eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves by a ſtrict attention to my ſignals, and the utmoſt exertion of courage and conduct againſt the enemy.

I am alſo obliged to Col. Fullarton of the 98th regiment, who has been my companion in the Superb, ſince I left Madras Road in March laſt, preferring to ſerve with his corps on board to living inactive on ſhore. The officers and men of this regiment have behaved with great regularity on board the ſhips of the ſquadron, and done their duty well on all occaſions. Major Grattan, an officer late of General Meadow's ſtaff, and a captain in the 100th regiment, has alſo ſerved with great credit on board the Superb on this occaſion, in the abſence of his corps now on the Malabar coaſt.

The death of Captain Maclellan of the Superb, who was ſhot through the heart with a grape ſhot early in the engagement, is univerſally regretted by all that knew him. I had experienced

rienced in him an excellent officer in every department of the ſervice.

Incloſed with this is an account of the killed and wounded on board each ſhip, and liſts of the Engliſh and French lines of battle.

An Account of the killed and wounded on board the following Ships.

Superb. Captain Dunbar Macleellan, 6 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; 19 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

Hero. Lieut. Henry Chapman, 11 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; 23 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

Magnanime. 2 petty officers and ſeamen killed; Lieut. Thomas Henry Willſon, Capt. William Adlam, of the marines, 15 petty officers and ſeamen, wounded.

Monmouth. Lieut. Sabine Gaſcoyne, 11 petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, wounded.

Monarca. 8 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; Mr. Francis Corrie, maſter, Capt. Abbot, in the company's ſervice, 44 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

Burford. Capt. Vroxholme Jenkinſon, of the 98th reg. 6 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and Laſcars, killed; Mr. Edward Derby, maſter, Mr. Richard Daniel, boatſwain, 32 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

Eagle. 4 petty officers and ſeamen, killed; Lieut. William Wood, 8 petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, wounded.

Exeter. 11 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, and Laſcars, killed; Mr. Thomas Cribbon, maſter, Mr. William Cunningham, boatſwain, 22 petty officers, ſeamen, marines, 98th reg. and Laſcars, wounded.

Sultan. 16 petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, killed; Lieut. John Drew, Lieut. Richard Williams, of the marines, 19 petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, wounded.

Worceſter. 1 Laſcar killed, Lieut. —— Johnſtone, of the marines, 8 petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, wounded.

Iſis. 9 petty officers, ſeamen, 98th reg. and Laſcars, killed; 19 petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, wounded.

Total. 77 Killed. 233 Wounded.

The Engliſh and French Line of Battle on the 6th of July, 1782.

Engliſh ſhips.	*Guns.*
Hero	74
Exeter	64
Iſis	50
Burford	70
Sultan	74
Superb	74
Monarca	70
Worceſter	64
Monmouth	64
Eagle	64
Magnanime	64
Frigate.	
Seahorſe.	
French ſhips.	*Guns.*
Le Flammand	50
Le Hannibal	74
Le Brilliant	64
Le Severe	64
L'Hero	74

Le

French ſhips.	*Guns.*
Le Sphinx	64
Le Petit Hannibal	50
L'Artefien	64
Le Vengeur	64
Le Bizarre	64
L'Orient	74
L'Ajax	64
Frigates.	
La Bellone.	
La Fine.	
La Naide.	
La Diligente.	

EDW. HUGHES.

Superb, Madras Road, Aug. 12, 1782.

Finding it impoſſible to repair the loſs of topmaſts, and the other damages the ſhips of the ſquadron had ſuſtained in the engagement, on the 6th of laſt month, with the French ſquadron under the command of M. Suffren, without a ſupply of ſpars, fiſhes and cordage, and the ammunition of the ſquadron as well as its proviſions being nearly exhauſted, I was under the neceſſity to proceed with the ſquadron to this road, where our ſtores and proviſions are depoſited; and having ſailed from my then ſtation off Negapatnam on the 18th, arrived here the 20th of laſt month, where I have been inceſſantly labouring to put the ſhips in a condition for ſervice.

When I left the windward ſtation off Negapatnam, the French ſquadron was at an anchor off Cuddalore, repairing their damages.

On my arrival in this road, I learned that his majeſty's ſhip Sceptre, Capt. Samuel Graves, one of Sir Richard Bickerton's ſquadron, had arrived here the 13th of laſt month, and had again ſailed with his majeſty's armed tranſport San Carlos on the 17th, with intent to join me to the ſouthward; and on the 28th of the month, they both joined me in this road; Captain Graves had parted company with Sir Richard Bickerton's ſquadron ſoon after it left the Channel, had been at Rio Janiero, where he met the Medea frigate, and, in the courſe of their paſſage to India, they captured a large French ſhip, laden with naval ſtores, in charge of which Capt. Graves left the Medea, and proceeded on in the Sceptre to join me.

On the 31ſt I diſpatched his majeſty's ſhips Monmouth and Sceptre to Trincomale, with a reinforcement of troops, and a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores, under the command of Capt. Alms; and I have the ſatisfaction to inform their lordſhips, that ſervice has been very completely performed, and the two ſhips rejoined me here on the 10th of this month.

As the ſhips of the ſquadron are now nearly fitted, I hope to be able to proceed to ſea in a few days to cover the arrival of the expected reinforcements under Sir Richard Bickerton, and oppoſe the enemy's ſquadron.

Superb, in Madras Road, Aug. 16, 1782.

I beg you will be pleaſed to inform their lordſhips, that, ſince cloſing my laſt letter to you, dated the 12th of this month, his majeſty's frigate the Medea, Captain Gower, arrived and joined me here the 13th, and his majeſty's frigate the Coventry this day from Bom-

Bombay, where ſhe has been completely repaired.

The Medea brought in with her a French ſhip about 450 tons burthen, laden with proviſions and ſtores, bound to the Mauritius, but captured by the Sceptre and Medea off the Cape of Good Hope.

Captain Mitchell of the Coventry informs me, that on the 12th of this month, off Friars Hood, on the iſland Ceylon, he fell in with and attacked the Bellona, a French frigate of 40 guns, and after a ſevere engagement of two hours and a half, the Bellona ſheered off from the Coventry, and made ſail to join the French fleet; and the Coventry had ſuffered ſo much in her maſts and rigging, as not to be able to come up with her before ſhe joined the French fleet, conſiſting of 23 ſail, which Captain Mitchell ſaw at anchor in the Battacalo road, and was chaced by two of their line of battle ſhips: in the engagement the Coventry had 15 men killed, and 29 wounded; and I hope to be able ſo far to repair her damages, as to carry her to ſea with me in two or three days. Captain Mitchell ſpeaks highly of the courage and good conduct of the Coventry's officers and men; and I truſt their lordſhips will give him his full ſhare of merit, for having ſo gallantly attacked and beaten an enemy's ſhip ſo ſuperior in force to his own.

Superb, in Madras Road, Sept. 30, 1782.

In my letter of the 12th of laſt month, I mentioned my intention to proceed to ſea when the ſquadron was refitted, for the purpoſe of covering the arrival of the expected reinforcements under the command of Sir Richard Bickerton, and to oppoſe the enemy's ſquadron: and accordingly, on the 20th, the ſquadron having completed its proviſions, and being in a tolerable condition for ſervice, I left the road with the ſquadron under my command, and uſed all diligence poſſible to get to the ſouthward to Trincomale, being apprehenſive the enemy would endeavour to make themſelves maſters of that harbour in the abſence of the ſquadron: but the wind blowing ſtrong from the ſouthward, I did not arrive with the ſquadron off Trincomale till the night of the ſecond of this month; and in the morning following I diſcovered French colours on the forts, and their ſquadron reinforced by the Illuſtre of 74 guns, the St. Michael, of 64, and the Elizabeth, formerly a company's ſhip, of 50 guns, with ſeveral tranſports, in all 30 ſail, at anchor in the ſeveral bays there.

On the appearance of his majeſty's ſquadron on the morning of the 3d, the French ſquadron, conſiſting of 14 line of battle ſhips, the Elizabeth, three frigates, and a fire-ſhip, got under ſail, and about ſix, A. M. ſtood out of Back Bay, to the S. eaſtward, the wind blowing ſtrong at S. W. off the ſhore, which placed them to windward of his majeſty's ſquadron. At ten minutes paſt ſix, A. M. I made the ſignal for the line of battle a-head at two cables length diſtance, ſhortened ſail, and edged away from the wind, that the ſhips to form the van of our line might the more ſpeedily get into their ſtations. At 20 minutes

nutes paſt eight, the enemy's ſquadron began to edge down to our line, then formed in good order. From that time till half paſt eleven, A. M. I ſteered under top-ſails in the line E. S. E. with the wind blowing ſtrong at S. W. in order to draw the enemy's ſquadron as far as poſſible from the port of Trincomale; they ſometimes edging down, ſometimes bringing to, and in no regular order, as if undetermined what to do.

At noon the enemy's ſquadron appeared to have an intention to engage. At half paſt two, P. M. the French line began to fire on ours, and I made the ſignal for battle: at five minutes after, the engagement was general, from our van to our rear, the two additional ſhips of the enemy's line falling furiouſly on our rear-moſt ſhip, the Worceſter, were bravely reſiſted by that ſhip, and the Monmouth, her ſecond a-head, which backed all her ſails to aſſiſt her. About the ſame time, the van of the enemy's line, to which five of their ſhips had crouded, bore down to the Exeter and Iſis, the two head-moſt ſhips of our line, and by an exerted fire on them forced the Exeter, much diſabled, out of the line; then tacked, keeping their wind, and firing on the Iſis, and other ſhips of our van, as they paſſed. In the mean time the centers of the two lines were warmly engaged, ſhip to ſhip. At twenty-eight minutes paſt three, the mizen-maſt of the French admiral's ſecond a-ſtern was ſhot or cut away, and, at the ſame time, his ſecond a-head loſt her fore and mizen top-maſts.

At thirty-five minutes paſt five the wind ſhifting ſuddenly from S. W. to E. S. E. I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to wear, which was inſtantly obeyed in good order, the ſhips of the enemy's ſquadron either wearing or ſtaying at the ſame time; and the engagement was renewed on the other tack cloſe and vigorouſly on our part. At twenty minutes paſt ſix, the French admiral's main-maſt was ſhot away by the board, and, ſoon after, his mizen-maſt; and about the ſame time the Worceſter, one of our line of battle-ſhips, loſt her main top-maſt. At about ſeven, P. M. the body of the French ſquadron hauled their wind to the ſouthward, the ſhips in our rear continuing a ſevere fire on them till twenty minutes paſt ſeven, when the engagement ceaſed; and the ſhips of our ſquadron had apparently ſuffered ſo much, as to be in no condition to purſue them. At about eight, P. M. made the night ſignal for the line of battle a-head on the larboard tack; but the night being dark, and ſeveral of the ſhips not to be ſeen, at twelve, P. M. I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to bring-to and lye by on the larboard tack. At day-light no part of the enemy's ſquadron was in ſight; and the Eagle, Monmouth, Burford, Superb, and ſeveral other ſhips making much water from ſhot-holes, ſo very low down in the bottom as not to be come at, to be effectually ſtopped; and the whole having ſuffered ſeverely in their maſts and rigging; under theſe circumſtances, and Trincomale being in the enemy's poſſeſſion, and the other parts of the weſt coaſt

coaſt of Ceylon unſafe to anchor on, at this late ſeaſon of the year, when the N. E. winds often blow ſtrong there, I was under the neceſſity of ſteering with the ſquadron for this coaſt, to get anchoring ground, in order to ſtop the ſhot-holes under water; and from the diſabled ſtate of the ſeveral ſhips, I fell in with the land a very few leagues only to windward of this port, on the 8th of this month, and anchored in this road on the 9th, and am now cloſely employed in repairing the damages the ſeveral ſhips have received.

By the account of the killed and wounded, their lordſhips will obſerve, that although we have been fortunate in loſing few of our men, we have ſuffered moſt ſeverely in officers. The Hon. Capt. Lumley, of the Iſis, a very good officer and a promiſing young man; Capt. James Watt, of the Sultan, a moſt worthy officer, died of his wounds; and Capt. Charles Wood, of the Worceſter, a moſt deſerving officer, dangerouſly wounded, with little hopes of his recovery.

As the change of the monſoon is now near at hand, and the line of battle ſhips in their preſent ſtate cannot remain on this coaſt, and as the lateneſs of the ſeaſon may have induced Sir Richard Bickerton to remain at Bombay, in hopes of joining me there; I am preparing the ſhips of the ſquadron for ſervice; and ſo ſoon as they are in a condition, I ſhall proceed to ſea with them, and make the beſt of my way to Bombay, and there uſe every poſſible diligence to get the ſquadron in a condition to come early on this coaſt.

I have not been able to gain the leaſt intelligence of the French ſquadron ſince the engagement of the 3d of this month, but ſuppoſe they are refitting at Trincomale.

Incloſed is the account of the killed and wounded in the late engagement; and a liſt of the Engliſh and French naval force in theſe ſeas, as they were on the 3d of this month.

Superb. 4 ſeamen killed; Lieut. Murray, Lieut. Orr, of the marines, Lieut. Thompſon, of the 98th regiment, 49 ſeamen and marines, wounded.

Hero. 1 ſeaman killed; 17 ſeamen and marines, wounded.

Sultan. 4 ſeamen and marines killed; Capt. Watt, ſince dead, Lieut. Bartholomew, Lieut. Stewart, of the 78th reg. 43 ſeamen, marines, and 78th reg. wounded.

Magnanime. 3 ſeamen and 1 ſepoy, killed; Lieut. Stephenſon, 16 ſeamen, wounded.

Monmouth. 3 ſeamen wounded.

Monarca. Capt. Robert Clugſtone, of the marines, Lieut. Barrett, of ditto, 4 ſeamen, marines, 78th and 98th regts. killed; Hon. Capt. Maitland, of the 78th reg. Hon. Lieut. Sandilands, Lieut. Armſtrong, 10 ſeamen, 78th and 98th regts. wounded.

Burford. 4 ſeamen and 98th reg. killed; 38 ſeamen, marines, 78th and 98th regts. wounded.

Sceptre. 2 ſeamen killed; 23 ſeamen wounded.

Eagle. 8 ſeamen killed; 14 ſeamen wounded.

Exeter.

Exeter. 6 ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. killed; Lieut. Atkins, 18 ſeamen, marines, and 98th reg. wounded.

Worceſter. Lieut. Edwards, of the marines, boatſwain, 4 ſeamen, killed; Capt. Charles Wood, dangerouſly, 15 ſeamen, wounded.

Iſis. Hon. Capt. Lumley, Mr. Bell, maſter's mate, 5 ſeamen and marines, killed; 19 ſeamen and marines, wounded.

Total. 51 Killed. 283 Wounded.

Liſt of the Engliſh and French Squadrons.

Engliſh ſhips.	*Guns.*
Superb	74
Hero *	74
Sultan *	74
Burford	70
Monarca	68
Exeter	64
Worceſter	64
Monmouth *	64
Eagle	64
Magnanime *	64
Sceptre *	64
Iſis *	50
Frigates.	
San Carlos *	44
Active *	32
Coventry *	28
Medea *	28
Seahorſe *	24
Combuſtion fireſhip	

French ſhips.	*Guns.*
Hero *	74
Illuſtre *	74
L'Orient	74
Hannibal	74
Vengeur *	64
Arteſien *	64
Sphynx *	64
Brilliant	64
Severe	64

French ſhips.	*Guns.*
Bizarre	64
Ajax	64
St. Michael *	64
Eng. Hannibal *	50
Flamand	50
Conſolante	50
Frigates.	
Pourvoyeuſe	36
Bellone *	34
La Fine *	34
Sylphide	18
Chaſer *	18
Diligente	
Pulveriſeur fireſhip	

Thoſe with this * mark are coppered.

Superb, in Madras Road, Oct. 16, 1782.

In continuation of my letter of the 30th of laſt month, I beg you will pleaſe to acquaint their lordſhips, that the weather growing very threatning and ſqually, ſo that ſeveral of the ſhips of the ſquadron have parted their cables, and loſt their anchors already, I am preparing to ſail with the line of battle ſhips for Bombay, leaving all the frigates to cruize between Point Palmiras and this road, for the protection of the merchant ſhips and veſſels ſailing between Bengal and this port. I have not to this hour received any intelligence where Sir Richard Bickerton, with his majeſty's ſhips and convoy under his command, now is.

Sir Edward Hughes's *Line of Battle, 6th July, with the Names of the Captains, omitted in the Gazette.*

Hero to lead on the larboard tack.

Magnanime		on the ſtarboard tack.
Hero	74	Commod. King Charles Hughes
Exeter	64	Rob. Montague
Iſis	50	Hon. T. Lumley
Burford	70	Peter Rainier
Sultan	74	James Watt
Superb	74	Sir Edw. Hughes Dunb. M'Clellan
Monarca	68	John Gell
Worceſter	64	Charles Wood
Monmouth	64	James Alms
Eagle	64	Amb. Reddall.
Magnanime	64	Charles Wolſely.

Account of the Capture of the Solitaire, *a* French 64 *Gun Ship, by the* Ruby.

Admiralty-Office, Feb. 2, 1783.

ADMIRAL Pigot, commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips at Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, by his letter to Mr. Stephens, dated at Barbadoes on the 9th of December, gives an account,

That he arrived at that iſland on the 21ſt of November, with the ſquadron under his command, from New York; and that rear Admiral Sir Richard Hughes, joined him on the 8th of December, with the ſhips under his orders, accompanied by the Solitaire, a French ſhip of war of 64 guns, and a ſmall frigate of 24, captured on the 6th, 40 leagues to windward of Barbadoes.

Captain Collins, of his majeſty's ſhip Ruby, by ſuperior ſailing, got up with the Solitaire, about twelve minutes paſt one in the afternoon, and the action continued 41 minutes, when the latter ſtruck.

The rear admiral mentions the fire of the Ruby to have been greatly ſuperior to that of the French ſhip, and that the condition of the two ſhips proved it fully; the Ruby having two men ſlightly wounded, with her foremaſt, rigging and ſails damaged; and the Solitaire having loſt her mizen-maſt, being in every reſpect very much beat (almoſt a wreck) with 20 or 25 men killed, and about 35 wounded, as near as could be aſcertained; among whom were the ſecond captain, maſter, and boatſwain. She was commanded by the Chevalier de Borda, and had been ten days from Martinique, cruiſing in expectation of falling in with one of our convoys from England.

The admiral adds, that too much could not be ſaid of the very gallant behaviour of Capt. Collins, his officers, and men, upon that occaſion.

Extract of a Letter from Admiral Pigot *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated the* 3*d of March*, 1783.

CAPTAIN Payne, who I had appointed to the command of the Leander, and ſent to convoy a cartel ſhip to the northward of the iſlands, acquaints me, that he had, on the night of the 18th of January, fallen in with and engaged a large ſhip; I have not a doubt of her being at leaſt of 74 guns, having ſeen and examined ſeveral of the ſhot that were lodged in the Leander. I ſhould not do juſtice to Captain Payne, his officers and ſhip's company, if I did not acquaint their lordſhips, that, from every enquiry as to the action, it appears to have been con-

conducted with the greateſt bravery and good order; and indeed, I have in ſeveral inſtances found Captain Payne a very active good officer. It is rumoured at this iſland, that the ſhip he engaged was the Couronne, and that ſhe is got into Porto Rico.

N. B. *The action began at midnight, and continued near two hours. Both ſhips were conſiderably damaged, and ſeparated in the courſe of the night.*

Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Rowley, *Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships at* Jamaica, *dated the 9th of February*, 1783, *to Mr.* Stephens.

HIS majeſty's ſhip the Magicienne, of 32 guns, and 220 men, arrived here the 17th ult. after having had a very ſevere action with a French frigate, ſuppoſed to be the Sybil, in which the Magicienne loſt all her maſts, and was thereby prevented from purſuing the enemy. The Endymion, who was in ſight, could not get up with her from her ſuperiority in ſailing.

Liſt of killed and wounded on board the Magicienne *in the above action.*

Seamen killed	13
Marines killed	3
Seamen wounded	26
Marines wounded	5

Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral Digby, *Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in* North America, *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated February 8, 1783.*

I TAKE the opportunity of the Maria, bound to Glaſgow, to acquaint their lordſhips, that Captain Ruſſel, of the Huſſar, has this morning brought into port the Sybil, a French frigate of 36 guns and 350 men, after an action that does him, his officers, and men, great credit, as ſhe is more than double his force. Captain Ruſſel had only two men killed, and five or ſix wounded. What number the Sybil has loſt I am not certain; ſhe was under jury maſts, having had an action ſome time before with a frigate.

The greateſt part of the Sybil's convoy from Cape Francois, with a corvette, were brought in about ten days ago, by the Amphion and Cyclops; and there are now three or four ſail of prizes off the Hook.

Extract from the Kingſton *Gazette, received May 2, 1783.*

SUNDAY the 2d of March, his majeſty's ſhip Reſiſtance, James King, Eſq. commander, coming through Turk's Iſland paſſage, with the Du Guay Trouin in company, diſcovered two ſhips at anchor, which cut their cables, got under way, and ſtood to the ſouthward. The Reſiſtance immediately gave chace to the ſternmoſt ſhip, of 20 guns, which loſt her main-top-maſt, by carrying a preſs of ſail, and then hauled her wind. The Reſiſtance preſently came up with her, gave her a doſe from her upper-deckers, and ſtood after the other ſhip of 28 guns, which

ſoon after began to fire her ſtern chaces, and continued ſo doing for about 15 minutes, when the Reſiſtance running along ſide to leeward, ſhe ſtruck the white rag, after diſcharging her broadſide, and poſſeſſion was taken of the French king's frigate La Coquette, pierced for 28 guns, five of which had been left aſhore at Turk's Iſland, and carrying 200 men, commanded by the Marquis de Graſſe, a nephew to the celebrated Count de Graſſe.—The Reſiſtance diſcharged only a few guns, and had two of her officers wounded by the Frenchman's fire. —La Coquette and her conſort, were two tranſports, ſailed from the Cape about three weeks before, with troops on board, bound on an expedition againſt Turk's Iſland, which they reduced and fortified, leaving a garriſon of 530 men in the place. A day or two after the capture of La Coquette, the Reſiſtance fell in with his majeſty's frigates Albemarle and Tartar, and the Drake and Barrington armed veſſels, when it was reſolved an attempt ſhould be made to retake the iſland; for which purpoſe 250 men were landed, under the command of Capt. Dixon, of the Drake; and the two brigs were ſtationed oppoſite the town, to cover the diſembarkation, and to diſlodge the enemy from the houſes; but a battery of four 24 pounders, and five ſix pounders, being unexpectedly opened againſt them, they were compelled to retire: the Drake having ſeven men wounded, and the Barrington two. Capt. Dixon, at the ſame time, finding it impoſſible to diſlodge the enemy, who were advantageouſly poſted behind a ſtrong work, and greatly ſuperior in numbers, drew off his men, and re-embarked them without loſs. The following night the Tartar was drove off the bank, and went to ſea with the loſs of an anchor. It was next determined upon to attack the battery with the large ſhips; but the wind coming about to the weſtward, and blowing hard, ſo that it was with great difficulty the ſhips could be cleared of the lee-ſhore, the project was abandoned.

Extract of a Letter from General Sir Guy Carleton, *K. B. &c. dated* New-York, *June* 20, 1783.

My Lord,

I Tranſmit for your lordſhip's information a copy of Colonel Deveaux's letter, conveying an account of the recapture of the Bahama iſlands, together with a copy of the capitulation.

I am, my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
and moſt humble ſervant,
Guy Carleton.

Right Hon. Lord North.

Extract of a Letter from Colonel Deveaux, *to Sir* Guy Carleton, *dated* New Providence, *June* 6, 1783.

I HAVE the pleaſure to inform your excellency, that on the 1ſt of April laſt, not having heard that peace was concluded, I formed from St. Auguſtine an expedition againſt New Providence, to reſtore its inhabitants, with thoſe of

of the adjacent iſlands, to the bleſſings of a free government, I undertook this expedition at my own expence, and embarked my men, which did not exceed ſixty-five, and ſailed for Harbour Iſland, where I recruited for four or five days; from thence I ſet ſail for my object, which was the eaſtern fort on the iſland of Providence, and which I carried about day-light, with three of their formidable gallies, on the 14th. I immediately ſummoned the grand fortreſs to ſurrender, which was about a mile from the fort I had taken; his excellency the governor evaded the purport of my flag, by giving me ſome trifling informations, which I took in their true light. On the 16th I took poſſeſſion of two commanding hills, and erected a battery on each of them of twelve pounders. At day-light on the 18th, my batteries being complete, the Engliſh colours were hoiſted on each of them, which were within muſquet-ſhot of their grand fortreſs. His excellency, finding his ſhot and ſhells of no effect, thought proper to capitulate, as you will ſee by the incloſed articles. My force never at any time conſiſted of more than 220 men, and not above 150 of them had muſquets, not having it in my power to procure them at St. Auguſtine.

I took on this occaſion one fort, conſiſting of thirteen pieces of cannon, three gallies carrying twenty-four pounders, and about fifty men.

His excellency ſurrendered four batteries, with about ſeventy pieces of cannon, and four large gallies (brigs and ſnows) which I have ſent to the Havannah with the troops as flags; I therefore ſtand in need of your excellency's advice and directions in my preſent ſituation, and ſhall be exceedingly happy to receive them as ſoon as poſſible.

I had letters written for your excellency on this occaſion, ſince the middle of the laſt month; but the veſſel by which they were to have been conveyed, went off and left them; therefore hope your excellency will not think it my neglect, in not having the accounts before this.

I have the honour to be,
Your excellency's moſt obedient
and very humble ſervant,
(Signed) A. DEVEAUX.
Colonel commandant of the Royal
Forreſters, New Providence.

June 6, 1783.

Articles entered upon between Don Antonio Claraco y Sanz, *Governor of the* Bahama *Iſlands, &c. and his Honour* Andrew Deveaux, *Colonel and Commander in Chief of the Expedition, &c.*

I. THE government-houſe and public ſtores to be delivered to his Britannic majeſty.

II. The governor and garriſon under his command to march to the eaſtern fort, with all the honours of war; remaining with a piece of cannon and two ſhots per day, in order to hoiſt his Catholic majeſty's flag. Proviſions for the troops, ſailors, and ſick in the hoſpital, to be made at his Britannic majeſty's expence; as alſo veſſels prepared to carry them to the Havannah, particularly a veſſel to carry the governor to Europe.

III. All the officers and troops of the garrison, belonging to his Catholic majesty, are to remain in possession of their baggage and other effects.

IV. All the vessels in the harbour, belonging to his Catholic majesty, are to be given up, with every thing on board the said vessels, to his Britannic majesty.

V. All effects appertaining to Spaniards to remain their property, and the Spanish merchants to have two months to settle their accounts. (Signed)

ANTONIO CLARACO Y SANZ.
A. DEVEAUX.

New Providence,
April 18, 1783.

To his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, *Knight of the most Honourable Order of the Bath, General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in* North-America, *within the Colonies lying on the* Atlantic *Ocean from* Nova Scotia *to* West Florida *inclusive, &c. &c.* *

The Officers commanding his Majesty's Provincial Regiments, for themselves, and in behalf of others his Majesty's faithful Subjects in America, *now serving in his Provincial Forces, beg leave to represent,*

THAT the offer of independence to the American colonies by Great Britain, and the probability that the present contest will terminate in the separation of the two countries, has filled the minds of his majesty's provincial troops with the most alarming apprehensions.

That, from the purest principles of loyalty and attachment to the British government, they took arms in his majesty's service; and, relying on the justice of their cause, and the support of their sovereign and the British nation, they have persevered with unabated zeal through all the vicissitudes of a calamitous and an unfortunate war.

That their hearts still glow with loyalty to their sovereign, and the same enthusiastic attachment to the British constitution, which first stimulated them to action; and nothing can ever wean their affections from that government under which they formerly enjoyed so much happiness.

That their detestation to that republican system, which the leaders of the rebellion are aiming to establish, the fatal effects of which are already felt, is unconquerable.

That whatever stipulations may be made at a peace for the restoration of the property of the loyalists, and permission for them to return home; yet, should the American provinces be severed from the British empire, it will be utterly impossible for those who have served his majesty in arms in this war to remain in the coun-

* This memorial of the commanding officers of his majesty's provincial regiments and corps in North America, was presented to Sir Guy Carleton in March 1783, and was by him transmitted to the secretary of state, with a letter strongly recommending the case of the provincial officers to their gracious sovereign.

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try. The perſonal animoſities that aroſe from civil diſſenſions, have been ſo heightened by the blood that has been ſhed in the conteſt, that the parties can never be reconciled.

That the officers of his majeſty's provincial forces have ſacrificed not only their property, but many of them very lucrative profeſſions, and all their expectations from their rank and connections in civil ſociety.

That numbers of them entered very young into the king's ſervice, and have grown up in the army; and having no other profeſſion, and no family expectations, or homes to go to, their friends being all involved in the common ruin, they look forward to the day of their being diſbanded with extreme ſolicitude.

That many of them have wives, who, born to the faireſt expectations, and tenderly brought up, have been unaccuſtomed to want; and children about them, for whoſe education and future happineſs they feel the moſt anxious concern.

That many who have ſerved his majeſty in his provincial troops, in ſubordinate capacities, during this war, have been reſpectable yeomen; of good connections, and poſſeſſed of conſiderable property, which from principles of loyalty, and a ſenſe of duty, they quitted, and in the courſe of this conteſt have ſhewn a degree of patience, fortitude, and bravery, almoſt without example.

That there are ſtill remaining in the provincial line a great number of men, who from wounds, and from diſorders contracted in ſervice, are rendered totally unable to provide for their future ſubſiſtence; they therefore look up to that government, in whoſe ſervice they have ſuffered, with all the anxiety of men who have no other hope left; many of them have helpleſs families who have ſeen better days.

That the widows and orphans of the provincial officers and ſoldiers, who have loſt their lives in the king's ſervice, are many of them reduced to extreme poverty and diſtreſs, and have no proſpect of relief but from the juſtice and humanity of the Britiſh government.

Theſe, Sir, are the difficulties and the apprehenſions under which his majeſty's provincial troops now labour; and to your excellency they look up for aſſiſtance.

Relying on the gracious promiſe of their ſovereign to ſupport and protect them, and placing the fulleſt confidence in your excellency's benevolent interpoſition, and favourable repreſentation of their faithful ſervices, they are induced to aſk—

That grants of lands may be made to them in ſome of his majeſty's American provinces, and that they may be aſſiſted in making ſettlements, in order that they and their children may enjoy the benefits of the Britiſh government.

That ſome permanent proviſion may be made for ſuch of the non-commiſſioned officers, and private ſoldiers, as have been diſabled, from wounds, and from diſorders contracted in his majeſty's ſervice, and for the widows

and orphans of the deceaſed officers and ſoldiers.

That as a reward for their faithful ſervices, the rank of the officers may be permanent in America, and that they all may be entitled to half pay upon the reduction of their regiments.

Signed by the commanding officers of fourteen provincial corps.

New York, March 14, 1783.

The following are Copies of Letters from General Carleton *and Admiral* Digby, *in Anſwer to thoſe diſpatched by* Robert R. Livingſton, *Eſq. Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on Arrival of the* Triumph *Sloop of War, Lieutenant* Duqueſne, *from* Cadiz.

New York, March 26, 1783.

SIR,

I Have received your letter of the 24th inſtant, incloſing a reſolution of congreſs of the ſame date, taken in conſequence of the arrival of the cutter Triumph, commanded by Lieutenant Du Queſne, with orders of the 10th of February laſt, given at Cadiz by Vice-admiral D'Eſtaing, for him to put to ſea, and cruiſe on ſuch ſtations as he ſhall judge moſt likely to meet with ſhips of his nation, and inform them of the happy reconciliation of the belligerent powers, and to order all their ſhips of war to ceaſe hoſtilities againſt thoſe of Great Britain; the preliminary articles of a general peace being ſigned the 20th of January. You therefore are pleaſed to expreſs your expectation, that I would think the information thus conveyed, "ſufficiently authentic to juſtify my taking immediate meaſures to ſtop the farther effuſion of blood." For my own part, I have hitherto abſtained from all hoſtilities; and this conduct I mean to continue, ſo far as our own ſecurity would permit; but how great ſoever my deſire is to put an entire ſtop to the calamities of war, and whatever reſpect this information may deſerve, yet I do not find myſelf thereby juſtified in recommending meaſures, which might give facility to the fleets and armies menacing any part of the king's poſſeſſions, to carry their hoſtilities into execution. To adopt a meaſure of this importance, it is neceſſary I ſhould receive orders from home, which I may reaſonably expect every hour, as a cruiſer ſent out on other purpoſes is already arrived at Philadelphia; and I aſſure you, Sir, I only wait the official certainty of this great event, to aſſume the language, and the ſpirit too, of the moſt perfect conciliation and peace.

I perceive, Sir, by the reſolution incloſed in your letter, that congreſs has thought fit to conſider this information as authentic, and thereupon has taken one conſiderable ſtep towards the carrying the terms of peace into immediate execution. Another, not leſs important, I preſume has been taken, or is taking. With the ceſſation of hoſtilities, I perceive is connected, in the ſeventh article of the proviſional treaty, an agreement, that "all priſoners, on both ſides, ſhall be ſet at liberty." Of this event, there-

fore, I hope likewiſe ſpeedily to receive the very neceſſary and welcome notice, as I ſhall find the higheſt ſatisfaction in ſeeing releaſed on all ſides, men upon whom the evils and calamities of war have more peculiarly fallen.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
GUY CARLTON.

Robert R. Livingſton, Eſq.

New York, March 23, 1783.

SIR,

I Have received your letter, incloſing me the reſolve of congreſs, with a copy of a letter to his excellency Sir Guy Carleton; but as I have as yet received no official accounts from England, I muſt wait till you on your ſide relieve our priſoners, before I give that general relief to yours I ſo much wiſh. There can be no reaſon for detaining our priſoners one moment, as congreſs muſt ſuppoſe the peace ſigned. I ſhall take every precaution in my power, conſiſtent with my duty, to ſtop any further miſchief upon the ſeas; but ſhould recommend the preventing any veſſels ſailing, as I have not yet received ſufficient authority to enable me to withdraw my cruiſers.

I am, Sir,
Your very obedient,
humble ſervant,
ROBERT DIGBY.

To Robert Livingſton, Eſq. &c. &c.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton, *K. B. &c. &c. &c. to the Preſident of the* American *Congreſs.*

New York, Aug. 17, 1783.

SIR,

THE June packet lately arrived, has brought me final orders for the evacuation of this place; be pleaſed, Sir, to inform congreſs of this proof of the perſeverance of the court of Great Britain, in the pacific ſyſtem expreſſed by the proviſional articles, and that I ſhall loſe no time, as far as depends upon me, in fulfilling his majeſty's commands.

But notwithſtanding my orders are urgent to accelerate the total evacuation, the difficulty of aſſigning the preciſe period for this event is of late greatly increaſed.

My correſpondence with General Waſhington, Governor Clinton, and Mr. Livingſton (your late ſecretary for foreign affairs) early ſuggeſted the impediments, tending to retard this ſervice. A letter to Mr. Livingſton of the 6th of April, two more to General Waſhington of the 10th of May and 10th of June, with ſeveral to Governor Clinton, ſtating many hoſtile proceedings within the ſphere of his authority, are thoſe to which I refer; copies of ſome of theſe letters I encloſe, though I am doubtleſs to preſume, the congreſs to be informed of all tranſactions material to the general direction of their affairs.

The violence in the Americans, which broke out ſoon after the ceſſation of hoſtilities, increaſed the number of their countrymen

to

to look to me for escape from threatened destruction; but these terrors have of late been so considerably augmented, that almost all within these lines conceive the safety both of their property and of their lives, depend upon their being removed by me, which renders it impossible to say when the evacuation can be completed. Whether they have just ground to assert, that there is either no government within your limits for common protection, or that it secretly favours the committee in the sovereignty they assume, and are actually exercising, I shall not pretend to determine; but as the daily gazettes and publications furnish repeated proofs, not only of a disregard to the articles of peace, but as barbarous menaces from committees formed in various towns, cities, and districts, and even at Philadelphia, the very place which the congress had chosen for their residence, I should shew an indifference to the feelings of humanity, as well as to the honour and interest of the nation whom I serve, to leave any of the loyalists that are desirous to quit the country, a prey to the violence they conceive they have so much cause to apprehend.

The congress will hence discern how much it will depend on themselves and the subordinate legislatures, to facilitate the service I am commanded to perform, by abating the fears they will hereby diminish the number of the emigrants. But should these fears continue and compel such multitudes to remove, I shall hold myself acquitted from every delay in the fulfilling my orders and the consequences which may result therefrom; and I cannot avoid adding, that it makes no small part of my concern, that the congress have thought proper to suspend to this late hour, recommendations stipulated by the treaty, and in the punctual performance of which, the king and his ministers have expressed such entire confidence.

I am, Sir, your excellency's
Most obedient, and
Most humble servant,

GUY CARLETON.

His excellency Elias Boudinot, Esq.

A circular Letter from his Excellency George Washington, *Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of* America, *dated June* 18, 1783.

Head-Quarters, Newburgh, June 18, 1783.

SIR,

THE great object for which I had the honour to hold an appointment in the service of my country, being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which, it is well known, I left with the greatest reluctance; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life in a state of undisturbed repose: but, before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communi-

munication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which heaven has been pleased to produce in our favour, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquility of the United States, to take my leave of your excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights; and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favourable manner in which it has terminated; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing: this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity: here they are not only surrounded with every thing that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoyment, but heaven has crowned all its other blessings, by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness, than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than a recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances, under which our republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire was not laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period: researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent: the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government; the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and,

above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increaſed the bleſſings of ſociety. At this auſpicious period the United States came into exiſtence as a nation, and if their citizens ſhould not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our ſituation, and ſuch are our proſpects; but notwithſtanding the cup of bleſſing is thus reached out to us, notwithſtanding happineſs is ours, if we have a diſpoſition to ſeize the occaſion, and make it our own; yet it appears to me, there is an option ſtill left to the United States of America, whether they will be reſpectable and proſperous, or contemptible and miſerable as a nation; this is the time of their political probation; this is the moment, when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them; this is the moment to eſtabliſh or ruin their national character for ever; this is the favourable moment to give ſuch a tone to the fœderal government, as will enable it to anſwer the ends of its inſtitution; or this may be the ill-fated moment for relaxing the powers of the union, annihilating the cement of the confederation, and expoſing us to become the ſport of European politics, which may play one ſtate againſt another, to prevent their growing importance, and to ſerve their own intereſted purpoſes. For, according to the ſyſtem of policy the ſtates ſhall adopt at this moment, they will ſtand or fall;—and, by their confirmation or lapſe, it is yet to be decided, whether the revolution muſt ultimately be conſidered as a bleſſing or a curſe;—a bleſſing or a curſe, not to the preſent age alone, for with our fate will the deſtiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the preſent criſis, ſilence in me would be a crime; I will therefore ſpeak to your excellency the language of freedom and ſincerity, without diſguiſe. I am aware, however, thoſe who differ from me in political ſentiments, may, perhaps, remark, I am ſtepping out of the proper line of my duty; and they may poſſibly aſcribe to arrogance or oſtentation, what I know is alone the reſult of the pureſt intention; but the rectitude of my own heart, which diſdains ſuch unworthy motives; the part I have hitherto acted in life; the determination I have formed of not taking any ſhare in public buſineſs hereafter; the ardent deſire I feel and ſhall continue to manifeſt, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wiſe and liberal government, will, I flatter myſelf, ſooner or later, convince my countrymen, that I could have no ſiniſter views in delivering, with ſo little reſerve, the opinions contained in this addreſs.

There are four things which I humbly conceive are eſſential to the well being, I may even venture to ſay, to the exiſtence of the United States, as an independent power.

1ſt. An indiſſoluble union of the ſtates under one federal head.

2dly. A ſacred regard to public juſtice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper peace eſtabliſhment. And,

4thly.

4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly diſpoſition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies, to make thoſe mutual conceſſions which are requiſite to the general proſperity, and, in ſome inſtances, to ſacrifice their individual advantages to the intereſt of the community.

Theſe are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character muſt be ſupported. Liberty is the baſis—and whoever would dare to ſap the foundation, or overturn the ſtructure, under whatever ſpecious pretexts he may attempt it, will merit the bittereſt execration, and the ſevereſt puniſhment, which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three firſt articles I will make a few obſervations, leaving the laſt to the good ſenſe and ſerious conſideration of thoſe immediately concerned.

Under the firſt head, although it may not be neceſſary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular diſquiſition of the principles of the union, and to take up the great queſtion which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requiſite for the ſtates to delegate a large proportion of power to congreſs, or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to aſſert, without reſerve, and to inſiſt upon the following poſitions: That unleſs the ſtates will ſuffer congreſs to exerciſe thoſe prerogatives they are undoubtedly inveſted with by the conſtitution, every thing muſt very rapidly tend to anarchy and confuſion. That it is indiſpenſible to the happineſs of the individual ſtates, that there ſhould be lodged, ſomewhere, a ſupreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration.

That there muſt be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every ſtate with the late propoſals and demands of congreſs, or the moſt fatal conſequences will enſue. That whatever meaſures have a tendency to diſſolve the union, or contribute to violate or leſſen the ſovereign authority, ought to be conſidered as hoſtile to the liberty and independency of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly. And laſtly, that unleſs we can be enabled by the concurrence of the ſtates to participate of the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the eſſential benefits of civil ſociety, under a form of government ſo free and uncorrupted, ſo happily guarded againſt the danger of oppreſſion, as has been deviſed and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be a ſubject of regret, that ſo much blood and treaſure have been laviſhed for no purpoſe; that ſo many ſufferings have been encountered without a compenſation, and that ſo many ſacrifices have been made in vain. Many other conſiderations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the ſpirit of the union, we cannot exiſt as an independent power. It will be ſufficient for my purpoſe to mention but one or two, which ſeem to me of the greateſt importance. It is only in our

our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers, with the United States of America, will have no validity on the diſſolution of the union. We ſhall be left nearly in a ſtate of nature; or we may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and neceſſary progreſſion from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny; and that arbitrary power is moſt eaſily eſtabliſhed on the ruins of liberty abuſed to licentiouſneſs.

As to the ſecond article, which reſpects the performance of public juſtice, congreſs have, in their late addreſs to the United States, almoſt exhauſted the ſubject; they have explained their ideas ſo fully, and have enforced the obligations the ſtates are under to render complete juſtice to all the public creditors, with ſo much dignity and energy, that in my opinion, no real friend to the honour and independency of America can heſitate a ſingle moment reſpecting the propriety of complying with the juſt and honourable meaſures propoſed; if their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have greater influence, eſpecially when we reflect that the ſyſtem referred to, being the reſult of the collected wiſdom of the continent, muſt be eſteemed, if not perfect, certainly the leaſt objectionable of any that could be deviſed; and that, if it ſhall not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable conſequences, will take place, before any different plan can poſſibly be propoſed or adopted; ſo preſſing are the preſent circumſtances, and ſuch is the alternative now offered to the ſtates.

The ability of the country to diſcharge the debts, which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myſelf, will not be wanting; the path of our duty is plain before us; honeſty will be found, on every experiment, to be the beſt and only true policy. Let us then, as a nation, be juſt; let us fulfil the public contracts which congreſs had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpoſe of carrying on the war, with the ſame good faith we ſuppoſe ourſelves bound to perform our private engagements. In the mean time let an attention to the chearful performance of their proper buſineſs, as individuals, and as members of ſociety, be earneſtly inculcated on the citizens of America; then will they ſtrengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one will reap the fruit of his labours; every one will enjoy his own acquiſitions, without moleſtation and without danger.

In this ſtate of abſolute freedom and perfect ſecurity, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to ſupport the common intereſts of ſociety, and enſure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we ſhould be completely ſatisfied, if at the expence of one-half, we could defend the remainder of our poſſeſſions? Where is the man to be found,

found, who wiſhes to remain indebted for the defence of his own perſon and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honour and of gratitude? In what part of the continent ſhall we find any man, or body of men, who would not bluſh to ſtand up, and propoſe meaſures purpoſely calculated to rob the ſoldier of his ſtipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it poſſible that ſuch a flagrant inſtance of injuſtice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down, upon the authors of ſuch meaſures, the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a ſpirit of diſunion, or a temper of obſtinacy and perverſeneſs ſhould manifeſt itſelf in any of the ſtates; if ſuch an ungracious diſpoſition ſhould attempt to fruſtrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the union; if there ſhould be a refuſal to comply with the requiſitions for funds to diſcharge the annual intereſt of the public debts, and if that refuſal ſhould revive all thoſe jealouſies, and produce all thoſe evils which are now happily removed, congreſs, who have in all their tranſactions ſhewn a great degree of magnanimity and juſtice, will ſtand juſtified in the ſight of God and man! And that ſtate alone, which puts itſelf in oppoſition to the aggregate wiſdom of the continent, and follows ſuch miſtaken and pernicious councils, will be reſponſible for all the conſequences.

For my own part, conſcious of having acted, while a ſervant of the public, in the manner I conceived beſt ſuited to promote the real intereſt of my country; having, in conſequence of my fixed belief, in ſome meaſure, pledged myſelf to the army, that their country would finally do them complete and ample juſtice; and not willing to conceal any inſtance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to tranſmit to your excellency the incloſed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by congreſs to the officers of the army: from theſe communications, my decided ſentiment will be clearly comprehended, together with the concluſive reaſons, which induced me at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this meaſure in the moſt earneſt and ſerious manner. As the proceedings of congreſs, the army, and myſelf, are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, ſufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unneceſſary to ſay any thing more, than juſt to obſerve, that the reſolutions of congreſs, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and abſolutely binding upon the United States, as the moſt ſolemn acts of confederation or legiſlation.

As to the idea, which I am informed, has in ſome inſtances prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a penſion, it ought to be exploded for ever: that proviſion ſhould be viewed, as it really was, a reaſonable compenſation offered by congreſs,

congreſs, at a time when they had nothing elſe to give to officers of the army, for ſervices then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the ſervice: it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to ſay, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honour; it can never be conſidered as a penſion or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly diſcharged.

With regard to the diſtinction between officers and ſoldiers, it is ſufficient that the uniform experience of every nation of the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the diſcrimination. Rewards in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unqueſtionably due to all its ſervants. In ſome lines, the ſoldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compenſation for their ſervices, by the large bounties which have been paid them, as their officers will receive in the propoſed commutation; in others, if beſides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army muſt be put upon the ſame footing) we take into the eſtimate, the bounties many of the ſoldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promiſed to all, poſſibly their ſituation (every circumſtance being duly conſidered) will not be deemed leſs eligible than that of the officers. Should a farther reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to aſſert, no man will enjoy greater ſatisfaction than myſelf, an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in ſome inſtances) or any other adequate immunity or compenſation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cauſe: but neither the adoption or rejection of this propoſition will, in any manner affect, much leſs militate againſt the act of congreſs, by which they have offered five years full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promiſed to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the ſubject on public juſtice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious claſs of veterans, the non-commiſſioned officers and privates, who have been diſcharged for inability, in conſequence of the reſolution of congreſs, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual penſion for life: their peculiar ſufferings, their ſingular merits and claims to that proviſion need only to be known, to intereſt the feelings of humanity in their behalf; nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can reſcue them from the moſt complicated miſery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and diſtreſſing ſight, than to behold thoſe who have ſhed their blood, or loſt their limbs in the ſervice of their country, without a ſhelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or neceſſaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer me to recommend thoſe of this deſcription, belonging to your ſtate, to the warmeſt patronage of your excellency and your legiſlature.

It

It is neceſſary to ſay but a few words on the third topic which was propoſed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but congreſs will recommend a proper peace eſtabliſhment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the union upon a regular and reſpectable footing; if this ſhould be the caſe, I ſhould beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the ſtrongeſt terms.

The militia of this country muſt be conſidered as the palladium of our ſecurity, and the firſt effectual reſort in caſe of hoſtility: it is eſſential, therefore, that the ſame ſyſtem ſhould pervade the whole; that the formation and diſcipline of the militia of the continent ſhould be abſolutely uniform; and that the ſame ſpecies of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, ſhould be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expence, and confuſion which reſult from a contrary ſyſtem, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than uſual has been taken in the courſe of the addreſs, the importance of the criſis, and the magnitude of the objects in diſcuſſion, muſt be my apology: it is, however, neither my wiſh nor expectation, that the preceding obſervations ſhould claim any regard, except ſo far as they ſhall appear to be dictated by a good intention: conſonant to the immutable rules of juſtice; calculated to produce a liberal ſyſtem of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and cloſe attention to public buſineſs. Here I might ſpeak with more confidence, from my actual obſervations; and if it would not ſwell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had preſcribed myſelf, I could demonſtrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in leſs time, and with much leſs expence than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the ſame happy concluſion, if the reſources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the diſtreſſes and diſappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many inſtances, reſulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular ſtates: that the inefficacy of the meaſures, ariſing from the want of an adequate authority in the ſupreme power, from a partial compliance with the requiſitions of congreſs in ſome of the ſtates, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of thoſe who were more willing to exert themſelves, ſerved alſo to accumulate the expences of the war, and to fruſtrate the beſt concerted plans; and that the diſcouragement occaſioned by the complicated difficulties and embarraſſments, in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the diſſolution of any army, leſs patient, leſs virtuous, and leſs perſevering, than that which I have had the honour to command. But while I men-

tion thoſe things, which are notorious facts, as the defects of our federal conſtitution, particularly in the proſecution of a war, I beg it may be underſtood, that as I have ever taken a pleaſure in gratefully acknowledging the aſſiſtance and ſupport I have derived from every claſs of citizens; ſo ſhall I always be happy to do juſtice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual ſtates, on many intereſting occaſions.

I have thus freely diſcloſed what I wiſhed to make known before I ſurrendered up my public truſt to thoſe who committed it to me: the taſk is now accompliſhed; I now bid adieu to your excellency, as the chief magiſtrate of your ſtate; at the ſame time I bid a laſt farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only requeſt, that your excellency will communicate theſe ſentiments to your legiſlature, at their next meeting; and that they may be conſidered as the legacy of one who has ardently wiſhed, on all occaſions, to be uſeful to his country, and who, even in the ſhade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earneſt prayer, that God would have you, and the ſtate over which you preſide, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a ſpirit of ſubordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another, for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have ſerved in the field; and finally, that he would moſt graciouſly be pleaſed to diſpoſe us all to do juſtice, to love mercy, and to demean ourſelves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteriſtics of the divine Author of our bleſſed religion; without an humble imitation of whoſe example, in theſe things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honour to be, with much eſteem and reſpect, Sir,

Your excellency's moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency William Greene, Eſq. Governor of the State of Rhode Iſland.

General Waſhington's *farewell Orders to the Armies of the United States.*

Rocky Hill, near Princeton, Nov. 2, 1783.

THE United States in congreſs aſſembled, after giving the moſt honourable teſtimony to the merits of the federal armies, and preſenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long eminent and faithful ſervice, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 18th of October laſt, to diſcharge ſuch part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from ſervice, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of

all concerned;—it only remains for the commander in chief to addreſs himſelf once more, and that for the laſt time, to the armies of the United States (however widely diſperſed individuals who compoſed them may be), and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of thoſe he holds moſt dear, he wiſhes to indulge himſelf a few moments in calling to mind a ſlight review of the paſt:—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future proſpects, of adviſing the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be purſued; and he will conclude the addreſs, by expreſſing the obligations he feels himſelf under for the ſpirited and able aſſiſtance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended againſt ſo formidable a power, cannot but inſpire us with aſtoniſhment and gratitude.—The diſadvantageous circumſtances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten.—The ſingular interpoſitions of Providence in our feeble condition, were ſuch as could ſcarcely eſcape the attention of the moſt unobſerving—while the unparalleled perſeverance of the armies of the United States, through almoſt every poſſible ſuffering and diſcouragement, for the ſpace of eight long years, was little ſhort of a ſtanding miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compaſs of this addreſs, to detail the hardſhips peculiarly incident to our ſervice, or to deſcribe the diſtreſſes which in ſeveral inſtances have reſulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedneſs, combined with the rigours of an inclement ſeaſon;—nor is it neceſſary to dwell on the dark ſide of our paſt affairs. Every American officer and ſoldier muſt now conſole himſelf for any unpleaſant circumſtances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon ſcenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the aſtoniſhing events of which he has been a witneſs; events which have ſeldom, if ever before, taken place on the ſtage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before ſeen a diſciplined army formed at once from ſuch raw materials? Who that was not a witneſs could imagine that the moſt violent local prejudices would ceaſe ſo ſoon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, ſtrongly diſpoſed by the habits of education to deſpiſe and quarrel with each other, would inſtantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the ſpot, can trace the ſteps by which ſuch a wonderful revolution has been effected, and ſuch a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is univerſally acknowledged, that the enlarged proſpects of happineſs, opened by the confirmation of our independence and ſovereignty, almoſt exceed the power of deſcription: and ſhall not the brave men who have con-

tributed ſo eſſentially to theſe inеſtimable acquiſitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the bleſſings which have been obtained? In ſuch a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In ſuch a country, ſo happily circumſtanced, the purſuits of commerce, and the cultivation of the ſoil, will unfold to induſtry the certain road to competence. To thoſe hardy ſoldiers, who are actuated by the ſpirit of adventure, the fiſheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extenſive and fertile regions of the Weſt will yield a moſt happy aſylum to thoſe who, fond of domeſtic enjoyment, are ſeeking for perſonal independence. Nor is it poſſible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and the diſſolution of the union, to a compliance with the requiſitions of congreſs, and the payment of its juſt debts, ſo that the officers and ſoldiers may expect conſiderable aſſiſtance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the ſums due to them from the public, which muſt and will moſt inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this deſirable purpoſe, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken poſſeſſion of the minds of any of the good people of the ſtates, it is earneſtly recommended to all the troops, that, with ſtrong attachments to the union, they ſhould carry with them into civil ſociety the moſt conciliating diſpoſitions; and that they ſhould prove themſelves not leſs virtuous and uſeful as citizens, than they have been perſevering and victorious as ſoldiers.—What though there ſhould be ſome envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let ſuch unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any inſtance of intemperate conduct;—let it be remembered, that the unbiaſſed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promiſed the juſt reward, and given the merited applauſe;—let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is eſtabliſhed beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a conſciouſneſs of their atchievements, and fame, ſtill excite the men who compoſed them to honourable actions, under the perſuaſion, that the private virtues of œconomy, prudence, and induſtry, will not be leſs amiable in civil life, than the more ſplendid qualities of valour, perſeverance and enterprize, were in the field:—every one may reſt aſſured that much, very much of the future happineſs of the officers and men will depend upon the wiſe and manly conduct which ſhall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has ſo frequently given it as his opinion, in the moſt public and explicit manner, that unleſs the principles of the federal government were properly ſupported, and the powers of the union increaſed, the honour, dignity, and juſtice of the nation, would be loſt for ever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occaſion ſo intereſting a ſentiment, and leaving it as his laſt injunction to every officer and every ſol-

dier who may view the ſubject in the ſame ſerious point of light, to add his beſt endeavours to thoſe of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting theſe great and valuable purpoſes, on which our very exiſtence as a nation ſo materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the ſoldier to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that ſteady and decent tenour of behaviour, which has generally diſtinguiſhed not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and ſeparate armies, through the courſe of the war. From their good ſenſe and prudence he anticipated the happieſt conſequences: and while he congratulates them on the glorious occaſion which renders their ſervices in the field no longer neceſſary, he wiſhes to expreſs the ſtrong obligations he feels himſelf under for the aſſiſtance he has received from every claſs, and in every inſtance. He preſents his thanks, in the moſt ſerious and affectionate manner, to the general officers, as well for their counſel on many intereſting occaſions, as for their ardour in promoting the ſucceſs of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the ſtaff, for their alacrity and exactneſs in performing the duties of their ſeveral departments; and to the non-commiſſioned officers and private ſoldiers, for their extraordinary patience in ſuffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To various branches of the army the general takes this laſt and ſolemn opportunity of profeſſing his inviolable attachment and friendſhip.—He wiſhes more than bare profeſſions were in his power, that he was really able to be uſeful to them all in future life.—He flatters himſelf, however, they will do him the juſtice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done.—And being now to conclude theſe his laſt public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a ſhort time, of the military character,—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has ſo long had the honour to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies.—May ample juſtice be done them here, and may the choiceſt of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend thoſe who, under the divine auſpices, have ſecured innumerable bleſſings for others! With theſe wiſhes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from ſervice.—The curtain of ſeparation will ſoon be drawn—and the military ſcene to him will be cloſed for ever.

EDW. HAND, Adjutant-general.

The Addreſs of his Officers to his Excellency General Waſhington, *Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States of* America.

WE, the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudſon, have

received your excellency's ſerious and farewell addreſs, to the armies of the United States. We beg you to accept our unfeigned thanks for the communication, and your affectionate aſſurances of inviolable attachment and friendſhip. If your attempts to enſure to the armies the juſt, the promiſed rewards, of their long, ſevere, and dangerous ſervices, have failed of ſucceſs, we believe it has ariſen from cauſes not in your excellency's power to controul. With extreme regret do we reflect on the occaſion which called for ſuch endeavours. But while we thank your excellency for theſe exertions in favour of the troops you have ſo ſucceſsfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this ſentiment our own particular intereſts have but a ſecondary place; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that poſſible) could not ſhake the patriotiſm of thoſe who ſuffer by it. Still with pleaſing wonder and with grateful joy ſhall we contemplate the glorious concluſion of our labours. To that merit in the revolution which, under the auſpices of heaven, the armies have diſplayed, poſterity will do juſtice; and the ſons will bluſh whoſe fathers were their foes.

Moſt gladly would we caſt a veil on every act which ſullies the reputation of our country—never ſhould the page of hiſtory be ſtained with its diſhonour—even from our memories ſhould the idea be eraſed. We lament the oppoſition to thoſe ſalutary meaſures which the wiſdom of the union has planted; meaſures which alone can recover and fix on a permanent baſis the credit of the ſtates; meaſures which are eſſential to the juſtice, the honour, and intereſt of the nation. While ſhe was giving the nobleſt proofs of magnanimity, with conſcious pride we ſaw her growing fame; and regardleſs of preſent ſufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter ſcenes in proſpect.—There we beheld the genius of our country dignified by ſovereignty and independence, ſupported by juſtice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we ſaw patient Huſbandry fearleſs extend her cultured fields, and animated Commerce ſpread her ſails to every wind. There we beheld fair Science lift her head, with all the Arts attending in her train. There, bleſt with freedom, we ſaw the human mind expand; and throwing aſide the reſtraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country, it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with ſuch delightful proſpects did they preſent us. Nor are we diſappointed. Thoſe animating proſpects are now changed and changing to realities; and actively to have contributed to their production is our pride, our glory.—But juſtice alone can give them ſtability. In that juſtice we ſtill believe. Still we hope that the prejudices of the miſinformed will be removed, and the arts of falſe and ſelfiſh popularity, addreſſed to the feelings of avarice, defeated: or in the worſt event, the world, we hope, will make the juſt diſtinction; we truſt the diſingenuouſneſs

neſs of a few will not ſully the reputation, the honour, and dignity, of the great and reſpectable majority of the ſtates.

We are happy in the opportunity juſt preſented of congratulating your excellency on the certain concluſion of the definitive treaty of peace. Relieved at length from long ſuſpence, our warmeſt wiſh is to return to the boſom of our country, to reſume the character of citizens; and it will be our higheſt ambition to become uſeful ones. To your excellency this great event muſt be peculiarly pleaſing: for while at the head of her armies, urged by patriot virtues and magnanimity, you perſevered, under the preſſure of every poſſible difficulty and diſcouragement, in the purſuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and ſafety of your country;—your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you that the period of indulging them has arrived ſo ſoon. In contemplating the bleſſings of liberty and independence, the rich prize of eight years hardy adventure, paſt ſufferings will be forgotten; or if remembered, the recollection will ſerve to heighten the reliſh of preſent happineſs. We ſincerely pray God this happineſs may long be your's; and that when you quit the ſtage of human life, you may receive from the unerring Judge, the rewards of valour exerted to ſave the oppreſſed, of patriotiſm and diſintereſted virtue.

Weſt Point,
15th *November*, 1783.

Ceremonial of the Introduction of his Royal Highneſs George Auguſtus Frederick *Prince of* Wales, *into the Houſe of Peers, at the Meeting of Parliament on Tueſday November* 11, 1783.

HIS royal highneſs having been, by letters patent, dated the 19th day of Auguſt, in the ſecond year of his majeſty's reign, created Prince of Wales and Earl of Cheſter, was in his robes, which with the collar and order of the garter he had put on in the earl marſhal's room, introduced into the Houſe of Peers in the following order.

Gentleman uſher of the black rod, with his ſtaff of office.

Earl of Surrey.

Deputy earl marſhal of England.

Earl of Carliſle.

Lord privy ſeal.

Garter principal king of arms, in his robe, with the ſceptre, bearing his royal highneſs's patent.

Sir Peter Burrell,

Deputy great chamberlain of England.

Viſcount Stormont,

Lord preſident of the council.

The CORONET,

On a crimſon velvet cuſhion, borne by Viſcount Lewiſham, one of the gentlemen of his royal highneſs's bed chamber.

His Royal Highneſs the PRINCE of WALES,

Carrying his writ of ſummons, ſupported by his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, and the Dukes of Richmond and Portland.

And proceeding up the houſe with the uſual reverences, the writ and patent were delivered to the Earl of Mansfield, ſpeaker, on the wool-

ſack, and read by the clerk of the parliament at the table, his royal highneſs and the reſt of the proceſſion ſtanding near: after which his royal highneſs was conducted to his chair on the right hand of the throne, the coronet and cuſhion having been laid on a ſtool before the chair, and his royal highneſs being covered as uſual, the ceremony ended.

Some time after his majeſty entered the Houſe of Peers, and was ſeated on the throne with the uſual ſolemnities, and having delivered his moſt gracious ſpeech, retired out of the houſe.

Then his royal highneſs at the table took the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and made and ſubſcribed the declaration; and alſo took and ſubſcribed the oath of abjuration.

The Ceremonial of Inveſtiture of the Knights of St. Patrick.

Dublin Caſtle, March 11, 1783.

THIS day having been appointed by his excellency the lord lieutenant for the inveſtiture of the knights of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, the noblemen named in his majeſty's letter to be knights companions of the order were ſummoned to attend, in order to be inveſted with the enſigns of that dignity previous to their inſtallation; and being aſſembled in the preſence chamber, a proceſſion was made from thence to the great ball-room, viz.

Purſuivants, and
Officers attending the ſtate.
Peers named in the king's letter, viz.
Earls
Bective, and Charlemont,
Courtown, and Mornington,
Clanbraſſil, and Shannon,
Tyrone, and Drogheda,
Inchquin, and Weſtmeath.
Earl of Clanricarde, and the Duke of Leinſter.
Officers of his excellency's houſehold, viz.
Pages.
Gentlemen at large.
Gentlemen of the chamber.
Maſter of the ceremonies.
Gentlemen of the horſe.
Comptroller and ſteward of the houſehold.
Officers of the order, viz.
Purſuivants.
Heralds.
Regiſter, and uſher.
Secretary, and genealogiſt.
Chancellor.
Ulſter king of arms,
Bearing his majeſty's commiſſion, and the badge and ribband of the grand maſter upon a blue velvet cuſhion.
Lord Viſcount Carhampton,
Bearing the ſword of ſtate.
His excellency the lord lieutenant,
With ten aids de camp on each ſide.
Gold ſtick.
Battle-axe guards.

On their arrival in the great hall-room the different perſons who compoſed the proceſſion proceeded to the places aſſigned them; and his excellency being covered and ſeated in the chair of ſtate, Ulſter king of arms preſented to him his majeſty's letter, which his excellency delivered to the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, who read the ſame aloud, during which time his excellency and the aſſembly remained

remained ſtanding and uncovered. His excellency being again ſeated, Ulſter preſented to him the blue ribband and badge of grand maſter, with which his excellency inveſted himſelf.

His excellency then ſignified his majeſty's pleaſure, that the great ball-room ſhould be ſtyled the Hall of St. Patrick, which was done by proclamation made by Ulſter king of arms, at the ſound of trumpets, and with the uſual formalities; after which

His excellency directed Ulſter king of arms and uſher of the black rod to introduce his grace the lord archbiſhop of Dublin, to whom the ſecretary of ſtate adminiſtered the oath, as chancellor of the order, and his grace, kneeling, was inveſted by the grand maſter with the proper badge, and received from his excellency's hands the purſe containing the ſeals.

The dean of St. Patrick's was then introduced, to whom the oath of regiſter of the order was adminiſtered by the chancellor, and he was inveſted in the like manner by his excellency, who delivered to him the ſtatutes and the regiſter of the order. Lord Delvin was next introduced, and having taken the oath, was inveſted as ſecretary; and in like manner Charles Henry Coote, Eſq. as genealogiſt——John Freemantle, Eſq. as uſher——and William Hawkins, Eſq. as king of arms of the ſaid order, the oaths being firſt adminiſtered to them by the chancellor, were ſeverally inveſted by the grand maſter.

His excellency then ſignified his majeſty's pleaſure, that in conſideration of the tender age of Prince Edward, his royal highneſs ſhould be inveſted in England, and that his majeſty's diſpenſation for that purpoſe ſhould be entered upon the regiſter of the order: and in conſequence of his majeſty's direction, the Lord Baron Muſkerry was knighted, and declared proxy to his royal highneſs Prince Edward.

His excellency then directed that his grace the Duke of Leinſter ſhould be called in; and as by the ſtatutes of the order none but a knight can be elected or inveſted, his grace, being introduced by the uſher and king of arms, was knighted by his excellency with the ſword of ſtate, and immediately delivered to the genealogiſt the proofs of blood required by the ſtatutes, whereupon the oaths were adminiſtered by the chancellor, and his grace kneeling was inveſted by the grand maſter with the ribband and badge. His grace then joined the proceſſion to introduce the Earl of Clanricarde, who being ſworn was inveſted in like manner, and both knights joined the proceſſion to bring in the Earl of Weſtmeath; after which the two junior knights performed this duty, and the ſenior knight took his ſeat as companion of the order. The Earls of Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbraſſil, Mornington, Courtown, Charlemont, and Bective, being ſeverally introduced by the two junior knights, were each of them ſworn by the chancellor, and inveſted by the grand maſter, and took their ſeats as knights companions.

The ceremony of inveſtiture being

ing ended, his majeſty's pleaſure was declared and regiſtered for appointing his grace the Lord Archbiſhop of Armagh, primate and metropolitan of Ireland, to be prelate of the ſaid moſt illuſtrious order.

A proceſſion was then made from St. Patrick's Hall to the preſence-chamber, where the lord lieutenant received the compliments of the knights of the order, and of a numerous aſſembly of the nobility and gentry, who teſtified their ſatisfaction in this diſtinguiſhed mark of the royal favour to this kingdom.—St. Patrick's Hall was elegantly fitted up for the occaſion, and the galleries belonging to it were crowded with ladies of the firſt rank and faſhion; and the whole ceremony was conducted with the utmoſt propriety, and with the moſt ſplendid magnificence.

INSTALLATION *of the* KNIGHTS.

March 17. Being the feſtival of St. Patrick, tutelar ſaint of Ireland, and the day appointed for the inſtallation of the newly created knights of the *Shamrock*, at ſix in the morning the volunteer corps of the county and city of Dublin paraded at the Royal Exchange, and balloted for the guards which were to be ſtationed in the cathedral: after which they proceeded to Dawſon-ſtreet, to receive inſtructions from the right hon. the lord mayor, appointed commanding officer of the day, and from thence marched to the cathedral, the avenue to which, from the middle of Bride-ſtreet, was ſtrongly lined, and were there joined by the troops in garriſon, who alſo lined the remaining ſtreets to the caſtle. Guards of horſe and foot were ſtationed at the different avenues leading into the ſtreets through which the proceſſion moved, which prevented carriages paſſing, and the populace from being too preſſing, and by which judicious arrangement the proceſſion met with not the leaſt obſtruction. The cavalcade left the caſtle between ten and eleven o'clock, in the following order: a large detachment of dragoons, ſtate trumpets, battle-axe guards, ſword of ſtate, ſovereign's eſquires, archbiſhop of Armagh prelate of the order, the lord lieutenant as grand maſter, Lord Muſkerry as proxy for his royal highneſs Prince Edward, the Duke of Leinſter, the Earls of Clanrickarde, Weſtmeath, Inchiquin, Shannon, Clanbraſſil, Mornington, Arran, Courtown, Charlemont, and Bective. The Earl of Ely, the remaining knight, being out of the kingdom, his inveſtiture and inſtallation could not take place. Each knight had three eſquires, who attended him in his carriage. In going to the church the knights were in their ſurcoat only, with their caps in their hands; but in their proceſſion back, after they were inſtalled, they were dreſſed in the full mantle, habit, and collar of the order.—The dreſſes of the whole were very rich and magnificent. The proceſſion returned to the caſtle a little after two o'clock, and the knights appeared at the windows to gratify the ſpectators.

The inſtallation of the knights was conducted with the greateſt propriety and regularity—not a ſingle

ſingle miſtake occurred from the time of their arrival at the choir till they returned to the chapter-houſe. The effect of the ceremony viewed from the galleries was amazingly ſplendid. As the proceſſion reached the choir they were arranged in their proper places by Ulſter, and the heralds of arms; the prebends ſeats were prepared under the galleries, to which they *filed* off as they came up.—The eſquires of the knights entered three a-breaſt, with their white ſattin ſurcoats lined with ſky blue,—their white ſattin bonnets in their hands. After making an obeiſance to the altar, they were *told* off into their proper places immediately under their reſpective knights, where they continued ſtanding while the knights advanced two a-breaſt clad in their ſurcoat only with the cap of the order in their hand, the junior knight firſt. After being placed in the ſtalls formerly allotted to the prebends of St. Patrick, the whole continued ſtanding till the ſovereign of the order entered in full dreſs, girded with the ſword, collar, and mantle, wearing his cap and plumes. He was conducted by the officers of the order to the ſtall formerly occupied by the dean, and after being ſaluted by all the knights and eſquires, took his ſeat, covered, when the coronation anthem immediately commenced. After it was finiſhed, the officers of the order, with the heralds and purſuivants, advanced to the ſovereign's ſtall, making three profound obeiſances, where they received the banner, which was carried by Ulſter to the altar, and there received by the dean. The prince's banner was depoſited in the ſame manner. The premier knight, his grace of Leinſter, was then inveſted with the inſignia of the order, by the proper officers, and took his ſeat covered, when the next knight, Lord Clanricarde, was called upon; his grace deſcended in full habit of the order to receive him, and was conducted to the ſovereign's ſtall between the inſtalled knight and Ulſter; after the obeiſances were made, the premier knight aſſiſted in putting on the ſword, the collar, and mantle of the order, and delivered him the cap, when he returned to his ſtall, and was ſaluted by the ſovereign and the other knights. After the ſame ceremony of inſtallation had been gone through with each knight, and all ſeated in full habit of the order, Te Deum was celebrated by the band, when the proceſſion left the choir in the ſame manner they entered, only the knights wore their ſwords, mantles, collars, and caps. A guard of 300 volunteers mounted in the cathedral, and were drawn up on each ſide of the ſouth and center aiſles, in lines three deep, through which the proceſſion moved, and were received by the whole with preſented arms.

Three troops of volunteer horſe were drawn up in Patrick's Cloſe during the inſtallation.

Gardiner's horſe diſmounted, did duty in the choir, and were placed as guards at the altar and entrance.

The CEREMONIAL *of the* INSTALLATION.

On the proper precaution having been taken to guide the line of

of carriages and of ſpectators, and the ſtreets being lined with the regiments on Dublin duty, his excellency, preceded by his own carriages, containing his houſehold, the eſquires of the ſovereign, and the peer who bears the ſword of ſtate, and attended by a ſquadron of cavalry, ſet forward from the caſtle, and followed by the knights companions, each in a coach attended by their eſquires; and no other carriage, ſave thoſe of the knights, were allowed to move in this proceſſion.

At the door of the cathedral of St. Patrick his excellency was met by the officers of the church and of the order, who attended him to the robeing-room. His excellency alone being in the full mantle, habit, and collar of the order, the other knights in the ſurcoat only, and with their caps and feathers in their hands; their mantles, collars and ſwords having been previouſly ſent to the chapter-room.

As ſoon as his excellency notified his pleaſure, the proceſſion was made to the choir in the following manner, viz.

Singing men.
Prebends.
Meſſengers.
Kettle drums.
Trumpets.
Purſuivants.
Pages.
Gentlemen at large.
Gentlemen of the bed-chamber.
Gentlemen of horſe, chamberlain, and gentleman uſher.
Steward and comptroller.
Eſquires.
Heralds.
Knights.
Ulſter, regiſter, and uſher.
Genealogiſt, chancellor, ſecretary.
Prelate.
Sword of ſtate, carried by ſenior peer.

Aid de Camp. Lord lieutenant. Aid de Camp.

Peers ſons.
Train bearer.
Colonel of battle-axes.
Battle-axe guards.

Upon entering the choir the trumpets, purſuivants, and other officers attending the proceſſion, proceeded to their proper places, as well as his excellency's ſuite. The eſquires, three a-breaſt, made their reverence to the altar when they came oppoſite to the ſtall of their knight, and then wheeled off to their reſpective places; the knights entered two and two, and after the ſame reverences proceeded to their ſtalls, where they remained ſtanding till his excellency was ſeated, when they bowed all together, and ſeated themſelves. The choir then performed the coronation anthem; after which the uſher, king of arms, heralds, and purſuivants, attended with the three eſquires of the ſenior knight, went out with the uſual reverences for the inſignia of the order, with which they returned in the following manner, viz.

The principal eſquire bearing the banner furled.
The two other eſquires bearing the mantle and the ſword.
Ulſter carrying the great collar of the order upon a blue velvet cuſhion.

When they had proceeded to the center of the choir, they remained there while the four great officers of the order proceeded to

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the ſtall of the ſaid ſenior knight, after the uſual reverences to the ſovereign's ſtall: the knight then deſcended into the middle of the choir, where he was inveſted with the ſword, the mantle, and the collar, by the chancellor and regiſter, after reading the admonitions preſcribed, viz.

Upon putting on the ſword; "Take this ſword to the increaſe of your honour; and in token and ſign of the moſt illuſtrious order, which you have received, wherewith you being defended may be bold ſtrongly to fight in the defence of thoſe rights and ordinances to which you be engaged, and to the juſt and neceſſary defence of thoſe who be oppreſſed and needy."

Upon putting on the mantle; "Receive this robe and livery of this moſt illuſtrious order, in augmentation of thine honour, and wear it with the firm and ſteady reſolution, that by your character, conduct, and demeanour, you may approve yourſelf a true ſervant of the almighty God; and a worthy brother and knight companion of this moſt illuſtrious order."

Upon putting on the collar; "Sir, the loving company of the order of St. Patrick hath received you their brother, lover, and fellow, and in token and knowledge of this, they give you and preſent you this badge, the which God will that you receive and wear from henceforth to his praiſe and pleaſure, and to the exaltation and honour of the ſaid illuſtrious order, and yourſelf."

They conducted him to his ſtall, with the uſual reverences to the ſovereign; and he ſeated himſelf with his cap upon his head; immediately after which the eſquire unfurled the banner, and the knights ſtanding up uncovered, Ulſter repeated his ſtyle in Engliſh, and a proceſſion was made to the altar, of the regiſter and officers of arms, attended by the eſquires with the banner, which was delivered to Ulſter, who preſented it to the regiſter, who placed it within the rails of the altar. After which, with the uſual reverences, the eſquires proceeded to their places, and the officers of arms proceeded with the eſquires of the ſecond knight in like manner as before. And when theſe ceremonies were finiſhed, the choir performed the Te Deum; after which a proceſſion was made in like manner as before to the chapter-room, and from thence to the caſtle, where the knights repoſed themſelves till dinner was ſerved; when a proceſſion was again made from the preſence-chamber to St. Patrick's-hall, where the knights took their ſeats covered, viz. the grand maſter in the center, the prince's chair on his left hand, the prelate and the chancellor at the two ends of the ſovereign's table, and the knights on each ſide; and the eſquires remained ſtanding till after grace was ſaid, when they retired to the ſeats prepared for them.

Towards the end of the firſt courſe, when his excellency ſtood up uncovered, the knights roſe uncovered, and the king of arms proclaimed by the ſound of trumpet, that the grand maſter and knights companions of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick drank the ſovereign's health. The

ſecond

second course was then brought in with the usual ceremonies; after which his excellency again stood up, and the knights uncovered, Ulster again proclaimed that the grand master, in the name of the sovereign, drank the healths of the knights companions. And at the end of the second course, all rising again uncovered, the queen's health was drank and proclaimed in the same manner. The desert was then brought in, and during it the officers of arms, with the usual reverences, cried *Largess* thrice, and first proclaimed the style of the sovereign, and afterwards of each knight companion, who successively stood up during the said proclamation. After which the knights, esquires, and officers attended the grand master to the presence-chamber, where the ceremony was finished; and the esquires and officers retired to the dinner prepared for them.

Whitehall, Nov. 25.

Extract of a Letter from the President and Select Committee at Bombay, *to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 27th of June, 1783, received over Land 21st of November.*

OUR last letters left General Matthews, with his whole force collected, in possession of Onore, and under positive orders to make an immediate attempt upon the city of Bednure, in case the intelligence just then received of Hyder's death proved well founded. In pursuance of these orders the general proceeded to Cundapore, which he reduced after some slight resistance, and from thence represented in very strong terms, that the condition of the army was not such as would warrant his attempt upon Bednure, but that nevertheless he would make the trial; and this advice of his intention was conveyed in a letter from Cundapore, dated the 19th of January, and received here the 8th of February.

The general's representation of the danger of the enterprize, and fatal consequences of a failure, was expressed so forcibly, that we did not think it proper, after an opinion given in such strong terms by the officer who was to execute the service, to persist in exacting a compliance with our above-mentioned orders; and we therefore, though with reluctance, dispatched discretionary orders to the general to defer the attempt, at the same time recommending to him to give due weight in the scale to the advantages Hyder's death would afford him, which, in our opinion, more than counterballanced the objections which might in strict prudence be urged against the attempt.

The service, however, had been performed before the dispatch of our orders, and on the 14th of February, the president received advice in a note from Capt. Toriano, commandant at Onore, of our army having forced the Gauts, and gained possession of the city of Bednure. Advice of this important event was shortly after communicated to you by the president.

Subsequent reports, and intelligence collected from private letters, made us very impatient to receive

receive a relation of his ſucceſs from the general himſelf, as we ſoon underſtood that a treaty of a particular nature had been concluded with Hyat Saib, the governor of Bednure under Hyder Ally, and that he was continued in the government of that city with an authority, little inferior to what he held before we had become maſters of the place.

On February 26th, Colonels Macleod and Humberſton, and Major Shaw, the principal officers of his majeſty's troops, arrived here from the army, which they left ſome days after the ſurrender of Bednure, but we had ſtill no letters from Brigadier General Matthews. Theſe gentlemen on their arrival each gave in memorials, ſtating their reaſons for quitting the army.

Mangalore ſurrendered by capitulation the 9th of March, after a practicable breach had been nearly effected. Carwar and other forts in the Soundah country, had been likewiſe reduced by a ſeparate detachment under Captain Carpenter; and ſome forts inland, a conſiderable diſtance to the eaſtward of Bednure, by other detachments.

In a letter from the general, dated the 4th of March, he taxes the whole army in terms the moſt ſevere and unqualified, but altogether general and indiſcriminate, with offences of the higheſt criminality. He ſays, that after the ſurrender of Bednure, the flame of diſcontent broke out amongſt the officers, which rapidly ſpread from thoſe in the immediate ſervice of his majeſty to the honourable company's ſervants, and that this flame being blown by a few zealots for plunder and booty, he was apt to think was one cauſe of depriving him at that critical time of the ſervice of Lieutenant Colonels Macleod and Humberſton. He mentioned in very conciſe terms, ſome points of difference between himſelf and Colonel Macleod, reſpecting a claim of rank, and the mode of ſupplying his majeſty's troops. That the agents for the captors had been loud in their repreſentations of the ſuppoſed right of the army, and they and the officers had done every thing that was diſreſpectful and injurious to him; which circumſtances, ſo contrary to good order and diſcipline, could not fail to increaſe the ſpirit for plunder in the ſoldiery, who, encouraged by the practice of the officers, were become looſe and unfeeling as the moſt licentious freebooters.

The general further ſaid, he ſuppoſed Colonel Macleod would deliver the papers on the ſubject of theſe diſputes, and called upon us to take meaſures to prevent ſuch dangerous proceedings; that the troops in Bednure were almoſt in a ſtate of mutiny; the enemy collecting a force within thirty miles; the proſpect of reſettling the city every moment more diſtant, owing to the dejection of the Jemautdar Hyat Saib, who, from the illiberal and indecent expreſſions of officers, was filled with apprehenſions that made him utterly deſpond, and rendered him incapable of any exertion.

Such was the accuſation againſt the army; and ſuch the materials afforded by the general as grounds upon which government were to take their meaſures in ſo delicate and

and critical an emergency. Colonel Macleod had not delivered the papers, as ſuppoſed by the general; he had only on his arrival, as mentioned in a former paragraph, given in a memorial, aſſigning his reaſons for quitting the army, and ſtating, with candour and moderation, the circumſtances of his own rank and ſervices, and the complaints of his majeſty's troops, which had rendered it impoſſible for him to continue to ſerve under the command of Brigadier General Matthews. Theſe circumſtances, as well as our reſolutions in conſequence, will be communicated by a future conveyance, only deeming it material to mention at preſent, that being of opinion the ſervices of an officer of the colonel's ability and experience were abſolutely requiſite at ſo critical a period, we had made a requeſt to him on the 7th of March, to continue to ſerve on this coaſt till we could receive the determination of the governor general and council, or General Coote, regarding his caſe; giving him aſſurances that we would endeavour in the mean time to place him on a footing that might be ſatisfactory, in any practicable manner he could point out.

Colonel Macleod ſhewed a readineſs in complying with our requeſt that entitled him to every mark of attention from the company. He recalled to our attention his difficulties in ſerving with General Matthews; ſtill, however, offering to ſerve wherever and in whatever ſhape we might command; but in order to avoid all diſputes relating to the king's and company's troops, and to enable him to ſerve with more efficacy, he ſuggeſted the neceſſity of beſtowing company's rank upon him.

In conſequence of the general's reference, we called upon Colonel Macleod the 18th of March, for the papers alluded to, who in return demanded from our juſtice an extract of the general's letter, in which thoſe diſputes on his conduct were mentioned.

Colonel Macleod being furniſhed with the deſired extract, delivered the papers required, accompanied with a letter from himſelf in vindication of his own character, and of the other officers involved in one general accuſation. Theſe papers are of too great a length to be ſent by an overland diſpatch; but they contain imputations againſt the general of a very ſerious nature, and ſupported by ſtrong teſtimony.

Our want of information from General Matthews laid us under the neceſſity of applying to Colonel Macleod to furniſh us with a detail of the operations of the army from their leaving Cundapore to the ſurrender of Bednure, and any information he could afford reſpecting the nature of the treaty with Hyat Saib, and the proceedings in conſequence.

Colonel Macleod in conſequence ſent in the journals kept by himſelf and Colonel Humberſtone, and gave us all the information in his power relative to the ſurrender of Bednure and the treaty with Hyat Saib. When the reſpective details of theſe gentlemen and General Matthews of the ſame event ſhall come before you, you will doubtleſs make due compariſon.

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We are informed the general, notwithſtanding the capitulation, immediately on getting poſſeſſion of Bednure, confined Hyat Saib a cloſe priſoner, and that many bad conſequences reſulted from the alarm and impreſſion given by this proceeding. That very great treaſures were found in the Durbar, amounting to fourteen lacks and upwards, beſides much other treaſure and jewels not expoſed, which were at firſt publicly ſhewn to the officers by the general, and declared to be the property of the army. That the breach between the general and Hyat Saib was ſoon after made up; and in a few days the army were aſtoniſhed to hear that Hyat Saib had claimed all this money, which evidently belonged to the government of the country, as his private property, and that the general had reſtored it to him on that plea. Colonel Macleod had been detached at this time; but this tranſaction reviving a diſcontent and ſuſpicion occaſioned by a former affair at Onore, ſome of the other principal officers were carried to Hyat Saib by the general, who prevailed upon him to make a donation to the army of half a lack of pagodas.

We took the general's conduct and the ſtate of the army under conſideration, on the 27th of March, and now tranſmit a copy of our proceedings on this very difficult and diſagreeable occaſion.

Feeling the ſtrongeſt conviction that the ſervice could not proſper in his hands, we thought it our indiſpenſible duty not to continue him any longer in command of the army in the Bednure country; and we accordingly came to a reſolution to remove him therefrom, and to ſuſpend him from the honourable company's ſervice until he can clear up the ſeveral charges againſt him.

We appointed Lieutenant Colonel Macleod, of his majeſty's forces, the officer firſt in rank upon this coaſt, and who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the defeat of Tippo Saib at Panany, to ſucceed General Matthews in the command of the army in the Bednure country; and we alſo deſired Lieutenant Colonel Humberſtone and Major Shaw to rejoin the army.

We had ſome days before, on the 17th of March, received advice from Mr. Anderſon, in a letter dated the 20th of February, of the Mahratta treaty having arrived at Poonah.

The peace had been duly proclaimed at Bombay, and every neceſſary ſtep taken on our part for the performance of the treaty. The Ranger had ſailed the 5th of April with Colonels Macleod and Humberſtone, Major Shaw, and other officers, to join the army. Lieutenant Pruen, the commander of the veſſel, having been previouſly apprized of the peace, and furniſhed with the ſame orders as had been circulated to all the marine, not to commit hoſtilities againſt the Mahrattas; when on the 18th of April we were alarmed by an account given by a Laſcar, who had eſcaped, that the Ranger had been attacked on the 8th, three days after leaving Bombay, by the Mahratta fleet, and after a moſt deſperate reſiſtance of near five hours, was obliged to

ſubmit to ſuperior force, and, with the whole convoy of boats, had been carried in to Gheriah.

We were under great anxiety and uncertainty for a conſiderable time regarding the fate of Colonel Macleod and the other officers, which was not entirely removed till the 23d of May, when the preſident received a letter from him, dated at Gheriah the 5th of that month. In this letter the colonel mentions he had made ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to convey advice of his misfortune, and then relates ſome circumſtances of the engagement, referring for a more particular account to Lieutenant Pruen. The account Colonel Macleod gives is, that on the morning of the 8th of April, they found themſelves near the Mahratta fleet belonging to Gheriah, which, without ſpeaking or ceremony, attacked the Ranger with great fury. Lieutenant Pruen fought his veſſel with the greateſt courage. Their defence was deſperate, and ceaſed not till they were almoſt all killed or wounded. Major Shaw was ſhot dead: Colonel Humberſtone was ſhot through the lungs: Lieutenant Stuart of the 100th regiment, was almoſt cut to pieces on boarding: Lieutenant John Taylor, of the Bombay troops, was ſhot through the body: Lieutenant Seton, of the Bombay artillery, and Lieutenant Pruen, commander of the veſſel, were wounded with ſwords on boarding. In the beginning of the action Colonel Macleod received two wounds in his left hand and ſhoulder; and, a little before it was over, a muſket ball paſſed through his body, which pierced his lungs and ſpleen. Lieutenant Pruen's account likewiſe proves, that the Mahrattas began the attack, and that he received a number of ſhot before he returned a gun. Their force conſiſted of two large ſhips, a ketch, and eight gallivats, with which the Ranger, carrying only twelve guns twelve pounders, ſuſtained a cloſe engagement of four hours and a half; and for the laſt half hour the two ſhips and the ketch were laſhed along ſide of the Ranger, in which ſituation the engagement was continued with muſketry only; and the brave defence of the officers and crew prevented the enemy from entering the veſſel, till, from the number of killed and wounded, and moſt of the muſkets being rendered unſerviceable, the fire of the Ranger was ſo much reduced, that the commander was under the neceſſity of ſtriking; and the inſtant the colours were down, the enemy ruſhed on board, and cruelly cut and wounded ſeveral of the officers and men, while others jumped overboard, to avoid immediate death. The ſame night the Ranger was carried into Gheriah, where the Subedar and officers diſowning all knowledge of the peace, had refuſed to releaſe the veſſel and officers without orders from Poonah.

We are concerned to add, that Colonel Humberſtone died at Gheriah the 30th of April, of the wound he received in the action. Colonel Macleod's recovery was long thought impoſſible, but he is now perfectly reſtored to health. Lieutenants Stuart, Taylor,

Taylor, Seton, and Pruen, are alſo recovered.

The Ranger, with Colonel Macleod and the other ſurviving officers arrived here the 29th of May, having been releaſed from Gheriah the 27th, in too diſabled and deſpoiled condition to make her way to the ſouthward.

Our laſt letter from Mr. Anderſon is dated the 18th of May, upon receipt of the intelligence of the capture of the Ranger, which he immediately communicated to Mhadajee Scindia, and required him in ſtrong terms to give ſome explanation with regard to this outrage, and the meaſures he intended to purſue in vindication of his own honour, which was thus brought into queſtion; Scindia declared, that none of his late letters from the miniſter gave him the leaſt reaſon to apprehend any ſiniſter intentions of the Mahratta government, and he aſſured Mr. Anderſon, that he had written in ſtrong terms to the miniſter to puniſh with death the perſon who committed this act of hoſtility, and to make full reſtitution of the ſtores and effects taken; that if they complied with theſe requiſitions, he would undertake to reconcile the Engliſh government; but if they refuſed, they muſt take the conſequences: that for his part, ſince ſo enormous an outrage had been committed after the concluſion of the treaty, he muſt conſult and adopt the inclinations of the Engliſh.

So far from puniſhing the officer who committed the act of hoſtility, we are aſſured by Colonel Macleod that he received from the miniſter public marks of approbation and honorary rewards for his conduct. Colonel Macleod was invited to the ceremony held upon this occaſion, and ſome of the officers were actually preſent when the Subedar exhibited in public durbar, according to the cuſtom of the country, the honorary ornaments which had been ſent to him from Poonah.

By this time matters to the ſouthward had taken a very unfavourable turn. The latter end of April we received advice from the Select Committee at Madras, in a letter dated the 12th of March, that Tippo had ſent the greateſt part of his army out of the Carnatic through Changamah Paſs, and that they concluded he himſelf would ſoon follow, in order to uſe his utmoſt efforts to endeavour to recover his valuable poſſeſſions in the Bednure country.

General Matthews ſent repeated advice of the enemy's approach in force, and requiſitions for reinforcement. Under the 20th of March he writes from Mangalore of a body of 25,000 men, with 25 pieces of cannon, being to the eaſtward of Bednure, and that he ſhould ſet off for that place next day, where he ſaid he may poſſibly collect 12,000 Sepoys, 400 Europeans, with five pieces of cannon to meet the enemy in the field. His next letter is dated the 27th, at Cundapore, in which he repeats his intelligence, and requeſts for a reinforcement, without which he obſerves it will be next to a miracle if he can keep his footing. He then mentions as a certainty, that a very large force was arrived within 35 miles of Bednure. His next letter and the laſt we have received from him, was dated

the 1st of April, at Bednure, and advised, that Tippo Saib, with 1000 French, 12,000 horse, and as many infantry, with a few guns, were arrived within 45 miles, and purposed pushing on without delay. We soon after received an account from Captain Matthews, the general's brother, dated at Cundapore, of a smart action having happened, in which the company's troops gained considerable advantage. This account was not distinct, and only collected from the country people.

Our next accounts informed us of the loss of the two posts the general had established at the Gauts, by which the communication between Bednure and the sea coast was cut off. The principal post, which had been represented as very strong, appears to have been lost after a very slight defence, by the misconduct of the officer in command. The fugitives who escaped from the Gauts communicated such disorder and panic to the garrison at Cundapore, that little else but an escape was thought of, in attempting which numbers of men and horses were drowned. Large magazines of stores and provisions which were deposited at Cundapore, were immediately set fire to in the confusion, and a large field of artillery disabled or left to the enemy, who, it is to be observed, had not even made their appearance, when this shameful flight and destruction of a post said to be tenable took place. A part of the garrison escaped to Onore, which is under the command of Captain Torriano, who, by his resolute and prudent conduct, prevented the panic from infecting his garrison, and made an effort to recover the post at Cundapore, in which he did not succeed.

These accounts were soon followed by others still more unfavourable, of the loss of Bednure; and that part of the army which was above the Gauts under the command of General Matthews in person. The most authentic information we have received of this disaster is from Major Campbell at Mangalore, and the particulars given by him are as follows: "The 12th of May, the Intrepid had hardly sailed, when a Sepoy arrived from Bednure with the distressing accounts of the general, after six days employed in settling the articles of capitulation, having marched out of the fort the 3d instant with his whole garrison, with all the honours of war, in expectation of being allowed in the same manner to come here; but, as naturally might be expected from an enemy by whom faith is so seldom kept, the brave but unfortunate garrison was no sooner got out of the gates, than they were surrounded by both horse and foot, and forced to lay down their arms, and are now detained prisoners. The melancholy account is again confirmed by another person, a Sepoy, who was also in Bednure Fort when it was given up: he corroborates every part respecting it; both Sepoys agree that there was a considerable quantity of water and provisions in the fort."

Under the 19th of May, Major Campbell writes, "I have nothing further to add to my last dispatches than a painful confirmation of the surrender of Bednure,

nure, the cauſe unknown, but the conſequence is, that Tippo Saib is now encamped with his whole army in our front, his rear is juſt arrived, ſo that I expect an attack to-morrow morning. A Madras ſoldier has come in to us, and ſays the number of the French Tippo has with him does not exceed 300: the reſt of his army not leſs than 100,000 fighting men."

The force General Matthews had with him at Bednure, and the poſts above the Gauts, conſiſted of detachments of the 98th and 102d regiments, and of the 100th regiment of his majeſty's troops, the greater part of the Bombay infantry, originally 300 rank and file, the 2d grenadier battalion of Sepoys, and the 3d, 11th, and 15th battalions, except ſome detachments from them, and the Bombay Europeans, which were at Onore and other forts. According to Colonel Macleod's computation, for we have no returns to guide us, our loſs in this unhappy affair, amounts to about 600 Europeans and 1600 Sepoys. We before mentioned the force the general ſuppoſed he ſhould be able to collect.

It was ſome relief to us in this misfortune, and gave us confidence and hopes of retrieving it, that juſt at this time we received advice, by the way of Baſſora, of the preliminaries of a general peace having been ſigned at Paris the 20th of January.

There is ſtill a very reſpectable force remaining at Carwar, Onore and Mangalore. We are apprehenſive for the ſafety of Onore, in caſe it ſhould be vigorouſly attacked, but truſt the troops at Carwar and Mangalore will be preſerved. At Carwar, and the poſts dependant, there is one battalion of Sepoys; and at Mangalore, the 42d regiment, and ſome ſmall detachments from other regiments, and company's troops, amounting all together to about 400 men, beſides artillery, and upwards of four battalions of Sepoys, giving, on a return dated the 8th of May, near 3000 men. There is alſo a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions, and a number of able officers in the place, which is under the command of Major Campbell; and we have ſtrong hopes that the ſtrength of the garriſon and the approach of the monſoon will baffle the attempts of the enemy.

This force will prove a good foundation for a new army; and we truſt, notwithſtanding our late loſs, we ſhall be able, with proper aſſiſtance of money, and a body of European infantry, to renew and continue a powerful diverſion on this coaſt (Malabar) againſt the dominions of Tippo Saib. The peace in Europe, and with the Mahrattas, will now enable this preſidency, without danger, to furniſh a ſtrong body of Sepoys, and a reſpectable detachment of artillery, in addition to thoſe now to the ſouthward.

Leſt you ſhould not have received advice of the early return of the French fleet to the other coaſt, and an account of their proceedings, we think it right to inſert a paper tranſmitted to us by the Select Committee at Madras, with their letter of the 12th of March, being intelligence given

by Captain Light, whoſe veſſel had been made a prize of by M. Suffrein.

"The French fleet, conſiſting of 11 ſail of the line, and the La Fine and Bellona frigates, left Acheen the 20th of December; the Hannibal and Bellona were ſent to cruize off the Braces. The 6th of January the fleet arrived at Ganjam; the 10th ditto the Coventry was taken; ſhe had ſpoke with the Blandford that morning, who informed Captain Wolſeſley that in the night he had engaged a privateer. The Coventry ſeeing a ſhip at anchor at Ganjam Roads, ſuppoſed it to be the privateer, and ran cloſe in before ſhe diſcovered the reſt of the fleet. On the 11th, the Blanchard was taken by the Coventry. On the 18th, the Blake was taken by the Coventry. On the 20th and 21ſt, three ſmall veſſels in ballaſt were taken and ſunk."

We have not heard of any material captures made by the French fleet except the Coventry and Blandford.

We have the pleaſure to acquaint you that the fleet under Vice Admiral Hughes arrived at Madras the 13th of April. The admiral ſaw nothing of the French fleet in the paſſage, and it ſeems doubtful whether they were to the northward or to the ſouthward. The Briſtol and her convoy arrived the 17th of April, and ſoon after the company's ſhip Duke of Athol had the misfortune to blow up, by which a number of lives were loſt. The Fairford was deſtroyed by fire in this harbour on the 5th inſtant, as you will be adviſed by the board.—The grand army had marched to the ſouthward upon an expedition againſt Cuddalore.—The fleet was at Madras the 30th of April, and, we underſtand, was ſoon to proceed to the ſouthward, to co-operate with the army againſt Cuddalore.

We are much concerned to acquaint you, that we have private advice, that Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote died at Madras the 26th of April, the day after his arrival from Bengal in the Reſolution country ſhip.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Hutchinſon *to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, &c.*

Gentlemen,

THE hon. the preſident of Bombay having directed the commander of the Viper cutter, proceeding with diſpatches for Baſſora, to touch here for intelligence, I embrace the opportunity of acquainting you with the moſt recent occurrences in the Carnatic, which have come to my knowledge.

General Stuart, with a powerful army, was before Cuddalore, when information was received of a treaty of peace having been concluded at London the 9th of February between the belligerent powers; in conſequence of which a ceſſation of hoſtilities immediately took place. It is imagined the garriſon muſt have ſhortly ſubmitted, as we had ſucceeded in the attack on their lines, and had carried their redoubts. In effecting this ſervice, a very heavy loſs was ſuſtained on the

part

part of the Britiſh forces, computed at 616 Europeans, and 356 Sepoys, killed, wounded, and miſſing. This happened on the 13th ult. On the 25th, the enemy made a ſally from the fort, and advanced cloſe up to our works, commencing and ſupporting the aſſault with great ſpirit and intrepidity; but they were repulſed, with the loſs of about 200 Europeans, and their Colonel D'Aquitaine taken priſoner.

On or about the 20th ult. there was an engagement between the Britiſh and French fleets near Pondicherry, but I do not learn any deciſive blow was ſtruck by either ſide. Monſieur Suffrein returned to Cuddalore, and Sir Edward Hughes is ſuppoſed to have ſtood towards Madras, as it was reported he was in want of water, and his people were very ſickly.

The ſouthern army, acting in the Carnatic, under the command of Colonel Lang, had made an irruption into the Coimbature country, ſubduing Caroor and Dindegul, when the colonel was recalled to join the grand army before Cuddalore, and Colonel Fullarton inveſted with the command, who with great ſpirit and activity had puſhed on to Darampore, which fell to him the 21ſt ult. He was then within ſix days march only of Paliagacheri, towards which place his further progreſs was totally barred, by an order from General Stuart, to move back to Cuddalore. He is now on his return again to the Cuddalore country, ſtrongly reinforced.

A detachment of 300 Europeans, together with a ſupply of powder and proviſions, are ſent from Madras to Mangalore in his majeſty's ſhips Briſtol and Iſis. A further reinforcement is deſtined for the ſame part, with an intention of enabling Colonel Campbell to take the field, in caſe it ſhould be expedient.

No accounts are yet received of the expected fleet, which was to have left England in January laſt.

I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient humble ſervant,

JOHN HUTCHINSON.

Anjenjo, 19th July, 1783.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 10, 1782, to DECEMBER 16, 1783.

	Christened	Buried
In the 97 Parishes within the Walls	1115	1401
In the 17 Parishes without the Walls	4751	4142
In the 23 Out-Parishes in Middlesex and Surry	7421	9072
In the 16 Par. in the City & Liberties of Westminster	3804	4414

Christened { Males 8739 / Females 8352 } Buried { Males 9730 / Females 9299 } Increased in the Burials this Year 1111.

Total Males and Females Christened 17091.—Total Males and Females Buried 19029.

Died under Two Years	6632	—Fifty and Sixty	1551	A Hundred and One	
Between Two and Five	1873	—Sixty and Seventy	1332	A Hundred and Two	1
—Five and Ten	673	—Seventy and Eighty	926	A Hundred and Three	2
—Ten and Twenty	676	—Eighty and Ninety	420	A Hundred and Four	
—Twenty and Thirty	1421	—Ninety and a Hundred	51	A Hundred and Five	
—Thirty and Forty	1711	A Hundred	1	A Hundred and Six	2
—Forty and Fifty	1757				

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive and Stillborn	636	Dropsy	864	Miscarriage	1	Bit by a mad dog	
Aged	1239	Evil	7	Mortification	211	Broken Limbs	1
Ague	11	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples	2313	Palsy	73	Bruised	
Apoplexy and Sudden	219			Pleurisy	17	Burnt	13
Asthma and Phthisick	199	Fistula		Quinsy	7	Choaked	
Bedridden	19	Flux	23	Rash		Drowned	110
Bleeding	3	French Pox	49	Rheumatism	3	Excessive Drinking	4
Bloody Flux	5	Gout	47	Rickets		Executed	15
Bursten and Rupture	5	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury	43	Rising of the Lights		Found Dead	4
Cancer	67	Grief	4	Scald Head		Frighted	
Canker		Head-Ach	1	Scurvy	5	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	75
Chicken Pox	1	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	19	Small-Pox	1550	Killed themselves	26
Childbed	444	Jaundice	75	Sore Throat	22	Murdered	4
Cholic, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	37	Impostbume	6	Sores and Ulcers	8	Overlaid	3
Cold	3	Inflammation	308	St. Anthony's Fire	1	Poisoned	
Consumption	4575	Itch		Stoppage in the Stomach	6	Scalded	3
Convulsions	4770	Leprosy	1	Surfeit	3	Smothered	1
Cough, and Hooping Cough	268	Lethargy	2	Swelling	1	Starved	2
Diabetes	1	Livergrown	1	Teeth	532	Suffocated	8
		Lunatick	53	Thrush	85		
		Measles	185	Tympany		Total	269
				Vomiting and Looseness	14		
				Worms	18		

Complete

Complete and authentic LIST *of Men of War, both of* France, Spain, Holland, *and* England, *which have been either taken, or deſtroyed, during the late War, by*
T——s G——H.

French Ships taken.

1778.	Guns.
La Licorne	32
La Pallas	32
Le Sartine	32
Le Coureur	10
1779.	
La Fortuné	42
La Prudente	36
La Blanche	36
La Danäe	34
L'Oiſeau	32
L'Alcmene	32
La Ellis	28
Le Pilote	14
Le Mutin	14
1780.	
Le Prothée	64
L'Artois *	40
La Nymphe	40
La Belle Poule	36
L'Eſperance	32
L'Avanture	26
La Perle	18
Le Chevreul †	18
Le ——— ‡	16
1781.	
La Bellipotent	40
Le Neckar	36
La Magicienne	32
Le Rouen Soubiſe	22
L'Abondance §	20
Le Runtom ‖	2
1782.	
La Ville de Paris	110
Le Glorieux	74
L'Hector	74
Le Pegaſe	74
Le Caton	64
Le Jaſon	64
L'Actionnaire	64
Le Dauphin	64
Le Solitaire	64
L'Hebé	40
L'Aigle	40
L'Aimable	32
L'Aigle	22
La Samea	18
L'Eſpion	16
Le Temeraire	10
La Sylphide	4
1783.	
La Sybelle	36
La Concorde	36
La Coquette	28
Le ———	16

Spaniſh Ships taken.

1779.	
La Santa Monica	36
La Santa Margaritta	36
1780.	
El Phenix	80
El Monarca	70
El Diligente	70

* Though ſhe was fitted out by the ſtates D'Artois, ſhe received pay from the king, and was commanded by an experienced officer in his navy.
† Thoſe in *Italick*, not quite certain.
‡ Taken in Charles-Town Bay with L'Avanture, by Admiral Arbuthnot.
§ I believe ſhe was a king's frigate armée en flute.
‖ Taken by the Aurora in Mount's Bay.

La

	Guns.
La Princeſſa	70
La Santa Anna Gracia	16
1781.	
La Santa Leocadia	40
La Grana	30
El ———	12
1782.	
El San Miguel	72
1783.	
La Santa Catalina	22

Dutch Ships taken.

1781.	
Mars	60
Princeſs Caroline	54
Rotterdam	50
Mars	38
St. Euſtatia *	28
1782.	
Ulrica Louiſa	54
1783.	
None	
	2514

French Ships deſtroyed.

1778.	
None	
1779.	
La Valeur	26
La Recluſe	24
Le ——— †	20
Le Dieppe	16
1780.	
La Capricuſe	44
La Legere	36
1781.	
None	
1782.	
Le Ceſar	74
Le Diademe	74
L'Orient	74
Le Scipion	74
1783.	
None	

Spaniſh Ships deſtroyed.

1779.	
None	
1780.	
El San Eugenio	70
El San Domingo	70
1781.	
None	
1782.	
La Santa Catalina	34
1783.	
None	

Dutch Ships deſtroyed.

1781.	
Hollandia	68
1782.	
None	
1783.	
None	
	704

Engliſh Ships taken by the French.

1778.	
Active	28

* With theſe two frigates were taken four other ſmaller veſſels of war, whoſe names and exact force are not mentioned.

† Driven on the rocks near Morlaix, with ſome armed veſſels and a convoy, by the Quebeck and Unicorn.

Fox

	Guns.
Fox	28
Alert	10
Thunder	8
Folkſtone	8
1779.	
Experiment	50
Montreal	32
Ariel	24
Weaſel	16
York	12
Holderneſſe	8
1780.	
Fortune	18
1781.	
Romulus	44
Iris	32
Richmond	32
Creſcent	28
Guadaloupe	28
Cormorant	16
Fly	14
Loyaliſt	14
1782.	
Hannibal	50
Oronoque	20
Sylph	18
Barbuda	16
Stormont	16
Rodney	14
Aligator	14
Racoon	14
Reſolution	14
Raikes	14
Flying-fiſh	14
1783.	
Coventry	28

By the Spaniards.

1779.	
None	
1780.	
Penelope	24
1781.	
Port Royal	18
St. Firmin	16
1782.	
None	
1783.	
None	

By the Dutch.

1781.	
None	
1782.	
None	
1783.	
None	
	740

Engliſh Ships deſtroyed by the French.

1778.	
Flora	32
Lark	32
Juno	32
Orpheus	32
Cerberus	28
Mermaid	28
Falcon	18
King's-fiſher	16
1779.	
Quebeck	32
Roſe	20
Savannah	14
1780.	
None	
1781.	
Charon	44
1782.	
None	
1783.	
None	

By the Spaniards.

1779.	
None	
1780.	
None	

Mentor

	Guns.		Guns.
		By the Dutch.	
1781.			
Mentor	20		
Minorca	18	None	
		1781.	
1782.			
None		None	
		1782.	
1783.			
		None	
		1783.	
None.			366

French, Spaniſh, and Dutch guns -	3218
Engliſh ditto - - - -	1106
Balance againſt France, Spain, and Holland	2112 as follows:

French, Spaniſh, and Dutch taken	2514	deſtroyed	704
Engliſh taken - -	740	deſtroyed	366
	1774		338
		Total	2112

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of* January, 1784.

EXPORTED.

1783.	Britiſh Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	4,541	13,695	
Wheat Flour	25,952	981	
Rye	431	2,873	
Barley	5,395	1,321	13,117 9 3½ Bo.
Malt	45,919	Nil	
Oats	7,978	2,405	461 11 3 Dr.
Oatmeal	1,193	Nil	
Beans	10,164	27	
Peaſe	2,701	Nil	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	4,869		
Wheat Flour	1,904		
Rye	60		
Barley	1,383	- - - - -	179 15 5 Bo.
Barley Meal	47		
Oats	185		
Oatmeal	64		
Peaſe and Beans	67		

IMPORTED.

1783.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	484,921	
Wheat Flour	20,240	
Rye	74,465	
Rye Flour	124	
Barley	87,884	17,062 9 2
Oats	166,222	
Oatmeal	9	
Beans	17,435	
Peaſe	1,087	
Indian Corn	2	

SCOT-

1783. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received. £. s. d.
Wheat	78,844	
Wheat Flour	178	
Rye	6,706	
Barley	57,030	
Barley Meal	12	3,547 4 3
Oats	61,504	
Oatmeal	1,207	
Peaſe and Beans	13,093	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1783.

Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
6	7	4	5½	3	9½	2	5¾	4	4¼

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK, for the YEAR 1783.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices which each Stock bore during the courſe of any Month, are put down oppoſite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Conſol.	4 pr Ct. Conſol.	Long Ann.	30 Yrs. 1778.	S. Sea Stock.	Ditto O. An.	Ditto N. An.	India Stock.	Ditto Ann.	Ditto Bonds	Navy Bills.	Excheq. Bills.	Omn. Prem.
Jan.	121 1/2	61 3/4	60 7/8	87 3/4	18 1/8	12 7/8	—	68 1/4	—	140	—	—	7 1/4	4s a 5s	—
	135 1/2	70 1/4	70 1/2	87 7/8	20 1/2	14 1 5/16	—	—	—	140 1/2	—	—	—	dif.	—
Feb.	133 3/4	68 3/8	67 3/4	85 7/8	20 1/16	13 3/4	—	68 1/4	—	143 1/2	—	3dif.	9 3/8	2 a 3	—
	135	69 1/8	68 1/2	86	20 1/4	13 1 5/16	—	—	—	145 1/4	—	—	9 1/2	dif.	—
Mar.	133 1/8	68 1/2	67 7/8	86 1/4	20 3/16	13 5/8	75 1/4	67 1/2	66 1/8	141 1/4	—	—	9 5/8	—	—
	134 3/4	68 7/8	69 3/4	87 1/2	20 1/16	14 1/8	76	67 7/8	66 7/8	141 3/4	—	—	—	—	—
Apr.	131	61 1/2	63 3/8	85	19 1/16	13 3/4	75	—	66 3/4	137 1/4	63 3/8	1dif.	9 1/2	2 dif.	6 1/2
	133 1/4	67 3/8	68 5/8	88 5/8	20 5/8	14 1/8	76	—	67 1/8	138 1/2	63 3/4	10p.	11	12	7 1/2
May	130 1/2	65 1/4	66 5/8	84 3/4	20 1/8	14 1/16	74 1/2	—	66 1/4	138	65 1/4	12p.	9 1/4	1 a 4	4 1/2
	133 3/4	67 1/2	68	88 5/8	20 3/4	14 3/8	76	—	67 1/8	138 3/4	67 7/8	5dif.	10 1/8	dif.	8 1/2
June	129 1/4	65 1/4	66 1/2	83 7/8	20 1/8	14 1/4	75	—	65	137 3/4	61 1/4	1 a 6	9 7/8	1 a 3	3
	131 1/4	66 7/8	67 1/2	85 3/8	20 3/8	14 3/8	—	—	66 3/4	139 1/4	62 3/4	dif.	11 3/4	dif.	5 3/4
July	123 1/2	61 3/4	61 7/8	80 1/4	19	13 1/4	—	—	60 3/4	132	57 1/2	2dif.	10 3/4	4 dif.	1 par.
	128 1/2	65 3/8	66 7/8	84	20 3/4	—	—	—	64 5/8	138 1/2	61	25p.	12 3/4		3 1/2 dif.
Aug.	126 1/2	64 1/8	62 1/2	82 3/4	19 1/8	13 1/4	70	—	61 5/8	133 1/2	60 1/8	8dif.	11 3/8	2	1/4 pr.
	128	65	64 1/4	84 5/8	19 3/8	13 3/8	71	—	63 1/2	139	59 1/2	22p.	12	10	1 1/2 par
Sept.	126 1/2	64 7/8	58	82 1/2	18 1/4	12 7/8	71	—	61 1/8	139	59 5/8	16d.	11 1/2	3 a 8	6 dif.
	128 1/2	66	64 7/8	84 3/4	19 3/8	13 1/2	—	—	64 1/2	143	61 3/8	28d.	14	dif.	1/2 par.
Oct.	116	56 1/4	57 1/4	75	17 1/4	12 1/4	—	56 1/8	56 1/2	138 1/2	55	7a32	12	9 a 14	—
	127 1/2	59 1/2	60 7/8	80 3/4	18 1/2	13	—	—	60 5/8	143	58 1/4	dif.	13 1/8	dif.	—
Nov.	117	57 7/8	57 7/8	75 3/4	17 1/2	12 7/8	65 1/2	57 3/4	58 1/2	120	54 3/4	9a28	12 3/4	7 a 12	—
	118 3/4	60 1/2	60 7/8	77 3/4	18 5/8	13 1/4	—	59 1/2	60 1/4	139	56 1/4	dif.	13 3/4	dif.	—
Dec.	112 1/4	55 7/8	56 1/4	71 1/2	17 1/4	12 3/4	68	55 1/2	56 3/4	120	52 3/8	26	13 1/2	4	—
	115 1/4	57 1/4	58 1/2	75 1/2	17	13	69	57 7/8	57 5/8	127	54 1/4	80	17 3/4	10	—

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1783.

DECEMBER 11, 1782.

	£.	s.	d.
THAT there be 110,000 men, including 25,291 marines, for sea-service for 1783, at the rate of 4l. per man per month for maintaining them	5,406,000	0	0

DECEMBER 18, 1782.

Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of land forces, and other services incurred since January 21, 1782, and not provided for by parliament	623,021	13	6½

FEBRUARY 5, 1783.

1. Towards defraying the extraordinary expences of land forces, and other services incurred between January 31, 1782, and December 6 following	296,507	14	3½
2. Towards defraying ditto between the 9th of April, 1782, and November 9 following	340,346	5	9

FEBRUARY 28.

Towards defraying extraordinaries of the army between July 31, 1782, and February 1, 1783	1,356,919	10	2¾

MARCH 3.

1. To pay off exchequer bills made out pursuant to act of last session	1,500,000	0	0
2. To pay off ditto pursuant to another act	1,495,000	0	0
3. To pay off ditto made out pursuant to vote of credit last session	1,000,000	0	0
4. The charge of 54678 men for guards and garrisons in Great-Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, for 121 days, from December 25, 1782, to April 24, 1783	456,904	19	9
5. For the charge of forces in the Plantations, Africa and Gibraltar, for ditto time	310,623	16	6

6. For

	£.	s.	d.
6. For general and ſtaff officers for ditto time	15,561	17	2
7. For the pay neceſſary to be advanced to one regiment of light dragoons, and ſeven battalions of foot, for ſervice in the Eaſt-Indies, for 1783 —	15,074	10	0
8. For the charge of embodied militia in South-Britain, and of four regiments of fencibles in North-Britain, for 90 days, from December 25, 1782, to March 24, 1783 —— ——	165,418	16	6
9. For the charge of four regiments of foot from Ireland, and of ſeveral additionals to his majeſty's forces, from their eſtabliſhments, to December 24, 1782 —— ——	41,140	16	2
10. For the charge of five principal corps formed in North-America for 121 days, from December 25, 1782, to April 24, 1783 —— —	25,126	3	1
11. For the out-penſioners of Chelſea hoſpital for 1783 —— ——	96,972	17	11
12. For the charge of three Hanoverian battallions of foot at Gibraltar, for 1783 ——	28,017	11	0½
13. For the charge of 13,472 men, the troops of Heſſe Caſſel, and ſubſidy —— —	367,203	9	10
14. For ditto of 2257 men, the troops of Hanau, and ſubſidy —— ——	65,158	12	8¼
15. For ditto of 4300 men, the troops of Brunſwick, and ditto —— ——	93,947	15	8
16. For ditto of a regiment of foot of Waldeck, and ſubſidy —— ——	17,498	3	2¼
17. For ditto of 1781 men, troops of Brandebourg Anſpach, and ſubſidy —— ——	51,501	19	1½
18. For ditto of 933 men, troops of Anhalt Zerbſt, and ſubſidy —— ——	23,818	11	11¼
19. To make good a deficiency in ſums voted for the troops of Heſſe-Caſſel, being the charge of an augmentation to the ſaid troops from March 1, 1782, to December 24 following —— —	3317	14	9½
20. To make good a deficiency of ſums voted for the troops of Brandebourg Anſpach, being the charge of an augmentation to the ſaid troops from March 1, 1782, to December 24 following —	6419	9	9
21. For the charge of artillery for the foreign troops for 1783 —— ——	27,683	14	0

MARCH 10.

1. For defraying the expence of ſervices performed by the office of ordnance for land ſervice, and not provided for in 1782 —— —	819,259	2	9
2. Towards the charge of the office of ordnance for land ſervice for 1783 —— ——	630,612	12	10

APRIL 9.

	£.	s.	d.
1. For the charge of 41,755 men for guards and garrisons from April 25, 1783, to 24th of June following	188,891	1	6
2. For forces in the plantations, Africa, and Gibraltar, for ditto time	155,868	14	6
3. For the charge of two Hanoverian battalions of foot in Great-Britain, from December 25, 1782, to June 24, 1783	9320	13	6

APRIL 14.

For paying off exchequer bills iſſued ſince February 25, 1783, purſuant to act of laſt ſeſſion	405,000	0	0

MAY 9.

1. For completing the rebuilding of Newgate	10,000	0	0
2. To the Turkey company	5000	0	0

MAY 12.

1. To make good deficiency on July 5, 1782, of fund for paying annuities granted by act 31 G. II. towards the ſupply for 1758	46,444	0	11
2. To make good ditto, granted by act 18 G. III. for 1778	160,191	8	8¾
3. To make good ditto, granted by act 19 G. III. for 1779	63,888	8	7½
4. To make good ditto, granted by act 20 G. III. for 1780	141,871	7	7¾
5. To make good ditto, granted by act 22 G. III. for 1782	138,682	17	4
6. To make good deficiency of grants for 1782	282,502	8	2
7. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to ſea and marine officers, for 1783	451,989	12	11
8. Towards buildings and repairs of ſhips, and other extra works, for 1783	311,843	1	4

JUNE 7.

1. For the civil eſtabliſhment of Nova-Scotia	5943	9	5
2. For ditto of Eaſt-Florida	3950	0	0
3. For defraying the ſalaries due to the civil officers of Weſt-Florida to June 24, 1783	4970	4	1
4. For the civil eſtabliſhment of the iſland of St. John	3150	0	0
5. For ſalaries of civil officers of Georgia to June 24, 1783	3340	0	0
6. For ditto of Senegambia to ditto	2450	0	0

JUNE

JUNE 13.

	£.	s.	d.
1. For the charge of 17,483 men, including 2030 invalids, for guards, garrisons, and other land forces in Great-Britain, Guernsey, and Jersey, from June 25, 1783, to December 24 following	308,277	6	2
2. For the charge of eight battalions of foot for ditto time	40,241	14	0
3. Upon account, for defraying the charge of forces serving abroad, exceeding the proposed establishment, for ditto time	136,888	11	6
4. For the charge of five provincial corps formed in North-America, from April 25, 1783, to October 24 following	38,000	14	3
5. For maintaining forces in the plantations and Africa, including the Hessian garrison at Gibraltar, from June 25 to December 24, 1783	205,542	12	0
6. For the charge of full pay to the commissioned officers reduced, with the ninth and tenth companies of several regiments, for ditto time	8037	8	0
7. For the pay of the general and general staff officers in Great-Britain, for ditto time	8131	13	8

JUNE 18.

1. For compensation to proprietors of lands near Chatham, purchased to secure his majesty's docks, &c.	4949	11	5
2. Upon account, towards defraying the charge of 200 letter-men of Chelsea hospital, from June 25 to December 24, 1783	1830	0	0

JUNE 25.

Towards enabling his majesty to make a separate establishment for the Prince of Wales	60,000	0	0

JUNE 27.

1. To make good money issued pursuant to addresses	11,236	4	0
2. To make good ditto issued for the expence of confining and employing convicts on the river Thames	14,452	17	3
3. Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1783	25,000	0	0
4. To the commissioners of public accounts	7500	0	0
5. To the officers of the board of works, for their trouble and expences in surveying the losses occasioned by the riots in the year 1780	1006	15	0

	£.	s.	d.
6. To make good money iſſued to American ſufferers	76,849	16	6
7. For new paving certain ſtreets in St. Margaret's and St. John's pariſh	800	0	0
8. Upon account of half-pay to certain provincial corps	15,000	0	0
9. For ſupport of African forts and ſettlements	13,000	0	0
10. For the pay of general and general ſtaff officers in Great-Britain, from April 25, 1783, to June 24 following	2760	11	3
11. Upon account of the reduced officers of land forces and marines for the year 1783	77,985	5	10
12. For allowances to officers and private gentlemen of reduced horſe guards	574	18	4
13. Upon further account of reduced officers of land forces	47,500	0	0
14. Upon account of ſeveral officers late in the ſervice of the ſtates-general	3513	9	0
15. For Scotch roads	5329	10	6
16. Vote of credit	1,000,000	0	0
Total of ſupplies	19,788,863	19	4

Ways and Means for raiſing the above Supplies granted to his Majeſty.

1. Land-tax	2,000,000	0	0
2. Malt duty	750,000	0	0

FEBRUARY 28, 1783.

That one million be raiſed by loans and exchequer bills, to be charged upon the firſt aids to be granted next ſeſſion	1,000,000	0	0

APRIL 16.

That 12,000,000l. be raiſed by annuities, and 480,000l. by a lottery	12,480,000	0	0

JUNE 30.

1. That there be raiſed by exchequer bills	1,500,000	0	0
2. That there be applied out of the ſinking fund	2,200,000	0	0
3. That the ſum remaining in the hands of the paymaſter-general of the forces, out of the ſavings of the ſums voted for the charge of eighty independent companies, be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expences of the army	68,745	0	6
4. That the ſum remaining in the hands of ditto, of ditto, be applied towards ditto	8647	15	4

5. Paid

	£.	s.	d.
5. Paid into the exchequer by Sir R. Taylor, being the ſum which remained in his hands of 5200l. granted in 1781, for making good damages ſuſtained by the riots in 1780	1843	11	10
Total of ways and means	20,009,236	7	2
Ditto of ſupplies	19,788,863	19	4
Exceſs of ways and means	220,372	7	10

TAXES *for the Year* 1783.

1. Stamp-duty on bills of exchange, for 1782, doubled	56,000	0	0
2. The ſame extended to foreign bills, promiſſory notes, &c.	44,000	0	0
3. Additional ſtamp-duties on probates of wills and legacies	40,000	0	0
4. Ditto on bonds, law proceedings, admiſſions to the inns of court, &c.	60,000	0	0
5. Ditto on ſtage-coaches and diligences	25,000	0	0

NEW TAXES.

1. A ſtamp-duty of 2d. upon receipts for 2l. and not amounting to 20l. and of 4d. if amounting to or exceeding 20l.	250,000	0	0
2. Ditto of 6s. upon every agreement, of 2s. 6d. upon any inventory or catalogue, and of 5s. upon every award	10,000	0	0
3. Duty on turnpike roads and incloſure bills	20,000	0	0
4. A ſtamp-duty of 3d. upon entry of any burial, marriage, births, or chriſtenings	15,000	0	0
5. Ditto 20s. for every licence to enable all perſons (except ſuch as have ſerved a regular apprenticeſhip to any ſurgeon, apothecary, or chymiſt) to vend medicines; and 3d. upon every box, packet, or bottle of medicines, under the value of 2s. 6d.; 6d. when of the value of 2s. 6d.; and 1s. when of the value of 5s. and upwards, ſold by perſons taking out ſuch licence	15,000	0	0
6. A duty of 4s. annually upon every waggon, or other carriage, with three or four wheels, and of 2s. annually upon every carriage with two wheels	25,000	0	0
Total of taxes	560,000	0	0
Intereſt of the loan of 12,000,000	560,000	0	0

STATE PAPERS.

*His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes * of Parliament, on the cloſing of the Seſſion, July 11, 1782.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE unwearied aſſiduity with which you have perſevered in the diſcharge of your duty in parliament, during ſo long a ſeſſion, bears the moſt honourable teſtimony to your zeal and induſtry in the ſervice of the public; for which you have provided with the cleareſt diſcernment of its true intereſts; anxiouſly opening every channel for the return of peace; and furniſhing with no leſs vigilance the means of carrying on the war, if that meaſure ſhould be unavoidable.

The extenſive powers with which I find myſelf inveſted to treat for reconciliation and amity with the colonies which have taken arms in North America, I ſhall continue to employ in the manner moſt conducive to the attainment of thoſe objects, and with an earneſtneſs ſuitable to their importance.

The zeal which my ſubjects in Ireland have expreſſed for the public ſervice, ſhows that the liberality of your proceedings towards them is felt there as it ought; and has engaged their affections, equally with their duty and intereſt, in the common cauſe.

The diligence and ardour, with which you have entered upon the conſideration of the Britiſh intereſts in the Eaſt-Indies, are worthy of your wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity. To protect the perſons and fortunes of millions in thoſe diſtant regions, and to combine our proſperity with their happineſs, are objects which amply repay the utmoſt labour and exertion.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the very liberal ſupplies which you have granted with ſo much chearfulneſs and zeal for the ſervice of the current year. I reflect with extreme regret upon the heavy expence which the circumſtances of public affairs unavoidably call for. It ſhall be my care to huſband your means to the beſt advantage; and, as far as de-

* This ſpeech ought to have been inſerted in the State Papers of the Annual Regiſter for 1782, but was by miſtake omitted.

pends

pends on me, to apply that œconomy which I have endeavoured to ſet on foot in my civil eſtabliſhment, to thoſe more extenſive branches of public expenditure, in which ſtill more important advantages may be expected.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The important ſucceſſes, which, under the favour of Divine Providence, the valour of my fleet in the Weſt Indies hath obtained, promiſe a favourable iſſue to our operations in that quarter. The events of war in the Eaſt Indies have alſo been proſperous. Nothing however can be more repugnant to my feelings, than the long continuance of ſo complicated a war.

My ardent deſire of peace has induced me to take every meaſure which promiſed the ſpeedieſt accompliſhment of my wiſhes; and I will continue to exert my beſt endeavours for that purpoſe. But if, for want of a correſponding diſpoſition in our enemies, I ſhould be diſappointed in the hope I entertained of a ſpeedy termination of the calamities of war, I rely on the ſpirit, affection, and unanimity of my parliament and people to ſupport the honour of my crown, and the intereſts of my kingdoms; not doubting that the bleſſing of heaven, which I devoutly implore upon our arms, employed as they are in our juſt and neceſſary defence, will enable me to obtain fair and reaſonable terms of pacification. The moſt triumphant career of victory would not excite me to aim at more; and I have the ſatisfaction to be able to add, that I ſee no reaſon which ſhould induce me to think of accepting leſs.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the opening of the Seſſion, December 5, 1782.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſions, I have employed my whole time in the care and attention which the important and critical conjuncture of public affairs required of me.

I loſt no time in giving the neceſſary orders to prohibit the further proſecution of offenſive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting, as my inclination will always lead me to do, with deciſion and effect, whatever I collect to be the ſenſe of my parliament and my people; I have pointed all my views and meaſures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with thoſe colonies.

Finding it indiſpenſible to the attainment of this object, I did not heſitate to go the full length of the powers veſted in me, and offered to declare them free and independent ſtates, by an article to be inſerted in the treaty of peace. Proviſional articles are agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace ſhall be finally ſettled with the court of France.

In thus admitting their ſeparation from the crown of theſe kingdoms, I have ſacrificed every conſideration of my own to the

wiſhes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earneſt prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might reſult from ſo great a diſmemberment of the empire; and, that America may be free from thoſe calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how eſſential monarchy is to the enjoyment of conſtitutional liberty. —— Religion—language——intereſt——affections, may, and I hope will yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries: to this end, neither attention nor diſpoſition ſhall be wanting on my part.

While I have carefully abſtained from all offenſive operations againſt America, I have directed my whole force by land and ſea againſt the other powers at war, with as much vigour, as the ſituation of that force, at the commencement of the campaign, would permit. I truſt that you feel the advantages reſulting from the ſafety of the great branches of our trade. You muſt have ſeen with pride and ſatisfaction the gallant defence of the governor and the garriſon of Gibraltar; and my fleet, after having effected the object of their deſtination, offering battle to the combined force of France and Spain on their own coaſts; thoſe of my kingdoms have remained at the ſame time perfectly ſecure, and your domeſtic tranquility uninterrupted. This reſpectable ſtate, under the bleſſing of God, I attribute to the entire confidence which ſubſiſts between me and my people, and to the readineſs which has been ſhewn by my ſubjects in my city of London, and in other parts of my kingdoms, to ſtand forth in the general defence. Some proofs have lately been given of public ſpirit in private men, which would do honour to any age, and any country.

Having manifeſted to the whole world, by the moſt laſting examples, the ſignal ſpirit and bravery of my people, I conceived it a moment not unbecoming my dignity, and thought it a regard due to the lives and fortunes of ſuch brave and gallant ſubjects, to ſhew myſelf ready on my part, to embrace fair and honourable terms of accommodation with all the powers at war.

I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that negociations to this effect are conſiderably advanced, the reſult of which, as ſoon as they are brought to a concluſion, ſhall be immediately communicated to you.

I have every reaſon to hope and believe, that I ſhall have it in my power in a very ſhort time to acquaint you, that they have ended in terms of pacification, which, I truſt, you will ſee juſt cauſe to approve. I rely however with perfect confidence on the wiſdom of my parliament, and the ſpirit of my people, that if any unforeſeen change in the diſpoſitions of the belligerent powers ſhould fruſtrate my confident expectations, they will approve of the preparations I have thought it adviſeable to make, and be ready to ſecond the moſt vigorous efforts in the further proſecution of the war.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have endeavoured, by every meaſure in my power, to diminiſh the

the burthens of my people. I loſt no time in taking the moſt decided meaſures for introducing a better œconomy into the expenditure of the army.

I have carried into ſtrict execution the ſeveral reductions in my civil liſt expences, directed by an act of the laſt ſeſſions. I have introduced a further reform into other departments, and ſuppreſſed ſeveral ſinecure places in them. I have, by this means, ſo regulated my eſtabliſhments, that my expence ſhall not in future exceed my income.

I have ordered the eſtimate of the civil liſt debt, laid before you laſt ſeſſions, to be completed. The debt proving greater than could be then correctly ſtated, and the propoſed reduction not immediately taking place, I truſt you will provide for the deficiency, ſecuring, as before, the repayment out of my annual income.

I have ordered enquiry to be made into the application of the ſum voted in ſupport of the American ſufferers; and I truſt that you will agree with me, that a due and generous attention ought to be ſhewn to thoſe who have relinquiſhed their properties or profeſſions from motives of loyalty to me, or attachment to the mother country.

As it may be neceſſary to give ſtability to ſome regulations by act of parliament, I have ordered accounts of the ſeveral eſtabliſhments, incidental expences, fees and other emoluments of office, to be laid before you. Regulations have already taken place in ſome, which it is my intention to extend to all, and which, beſides expediting all public buſineſs, muſt produce a very conſiderable ſaving, without taking from that ample encouragement, which ought to be held forth to talents, diligence, and integrity, wherever they are to be found.

I have directed an enquiry to be made into whatever regards the landed revenue of my crown, as well as the management of my woods and foreſts, that both may be made as beneficial as poſſible, and that the latter may furniſh a certain reſource for ſupplying the navy, our great national bulwark, with its firſt material.

I have directed an inveſtigation into the department of the Mint, that the purity of the coin, of ſo much importance to commerce, may be always adhered to; that by rendering the difficulty of counterfeiting greater, the lives of numbers may be ſaved, and every needleſs expence in it ſuppreſſed.

I muſt recommend to you an immediate attention to the great objects of the public receipts and expenditure, and above all, to the ſtate of the public debt. Notwithſtanding the great increaſe of it during the war, it is to be hoped that ſuch regulations may be ſtill eſtabliſhed, ſuch ſavings made, and future loans ſo conducted, as to promote the means of its gradual redemption by a fixed courſe of payment. I muſt, with particular earneſtneſs, diſtinguiſh for your ſerious conſideration, that part of the debt which conſiſts of navy, ordnance, and victualling bills; the enormous diſcount upon ſome of theſe bills ſhews this mode of payment to be a moſt ruinous expedient.

I have ordered the ſeveral eſtimates, made up as correctly as the preſent

preſent practice admits, to be laid before you. I hope that ſuch further corrections as may be neceſſary, will be made before the next year. It is my deſire, that you ſhould be appriſed of every expence before it is incurred, as far as the nature of each ſervice can poſſibly admit. Matters of account can never be made too public.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The ſcarcity, and conſequent high price of corn, requires your inſtant interpoſition.

The great exceſs to which the crimes of theft and robbery, in many inſtances accompanied with perſonal violence, particularly in the neighbourhood of this metropolis, has called of late for a ſtrict and ſevere execution of the law. It were much to be wiſhed that theſe crimes could be prevented in their infancy, by correcting the vices become prevalent in a moſt alarming degree.

The liberal principles adopted by you, concerning the rights and the commerce of Ireland, have done you the higheſt honour, and will, I truſt, enſure that harmony, which ought always to ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms. I am perſuaded, that a general increaſe of commerce throughout the empire, will prove the wiſdom of your meaſures with regard to that object. I would recommend to you a reviſion of our whole trading ſyſtem upon the ſame comprehenſive principles, with a view to its utmoſt poſſible extenſion.

The regulation of a vaſt territory in Aſia, opens a large field for your wiſdom, prudence, and foreſight. I truſt that you will be able to frame ſome fundamental laws, which may make their connection with Great Britain a bleſſing to India; and that you will take therein proper meaſures to give all foreign nations, in matters of foreign commerce, an entire and perfect confidence in the probity, punctuality, and good order of our government. You may be aſſured that whatever depends upon me, ſhall be executed with a ſteadineſs, which can alone preſerve that part of my dominions, or the commerce which ariſes from it.

It is the fixed object of my heart to make the general good, and the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, the invariable rule of my conduct, and on all occaſions to advance and reward merit in every profeſſion.

To enſure the full advantage of a government conducted on ſuch principles, depends on your temper, your wiſdom, your diſintereſtedneſs, collectively and individually.

My people expect theſe qualifications of you; and I call for them.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Jovis 5° Decembris, 1782.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

It

It is with the ſincereſt gratitude we acknowledge the ſacrifice which your majeſty has been graciouſly and affectionately pleaſed to make to the wiſhes and opinions of your people, fully convinced that your majeſty's own conduct has always been actuated by a ſimilar diſpoſition; we acknowledge likewiſe your majeſty's conſtant care and attention to the true intereſts of your people, and the critical ſtate of public affairs ſince the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; and in a particular manner for your majeſty having been graciouſly pleaſed to direct your meaſures towards promoting a cordial reconciliation between Great Britain and America.

Permit us, Sir, to expreſs our great ſatisfaction that your majeſty, in the exerciſe of the powers which were veſted in you, has laid the foundation of a peace with that country, and that you have actually agreed upon articles to take effect when the terms with the court of France ſhall be finally ſettled, thereby affording to your people a reaſonable expectation of being delivered from the burdens of a moſt expenſive war; as well as to unite our hopes with your majeſty's, that religion, language, intereſts, and affection may yet be the means of effecting a permanent union between the two countries; to obtain which purpoſe, ſo highly laudable, our earneſt endeavours ſhall not be wanting.

Your majeſty may be aſſured we are ſenſible of the important advantages reſulting from the ſucceſsful exertions of your majeſty's fleets, owing to the ſkill and bravery of your officers, and thoſe ſerving under them, in protecting your diſtant colonies and ſettlements, as well as the great branches of our trade; and that we are impreſſed with a due ſenſe of what is owing to the ſpirit and good conduct of your majeſty's governor and garriſon of Gibraltar.

We ſet a juſt value on the continuance of our domeſtic tranquility, and ſhall always reflect with peculiar ſatisfaction on the ſignal inſtances of public ſpirit called forth by the occaſion.

We learn with great joy that a conſiderable progreſs is made in the negociations for a general peace, at a moment ſo ſuitable to your majeſty's dignity; and we cannot omit to acknowledge the paternal regard your majeſty has ſhewn for the lives and fortunes of your brave and gallant ſubjects.

We return your majeſty our hearty thanks for your gracious promiſe, to communicate to us the terms with the ſeveral belligerent powers as ſoon as they are concluded; and we give your majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that if any unforeſeen change in the diſpoſitions of thoſe powers ſhould diſappoint your majeſty's confident expectations of peace, we will moſt chearfully exert our utmoſt endeavours to aſſiſt your majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the war.

We will not omit, on our parts, to apply ourſelves, with the moſt unremitting attention, to the ſeveral important points which your majeſty has been pleaſed to mention, and to conſider of the moſt effectual means for remedying the evils which may be apprehended from

from the preſent ſcarcity of corn; and for preventing, as far as poſſible, the crimes of theft and robbery, which have lately prevailed to a very alarming height.

We beg leave to expreſs our ſatisfaction at the meaſures which have been adopted with reſpect to Ireland, for ſecuring its rights and commerce, which, we truſt, will have the effect of enſuring that harmony which ought always to ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms; and we do aſſure your majeſty we ſhall be ready to direct our attention to a reviſion of our whole trading ſyſtem, guided by the ſame liberal principles which your majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to commend.

We are deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of the important ſubject which the ſtate of our national concerns in the Eaſt Indies offers for our moſt ſerious deliberation; and your majeſty may be perſuaded, we have a due impreſſion of your royal goodneſs in thus extending your anxious regard to the good government of the diſtant territories in Aſia, and to the welfare and happineſs of the people there: we will, in return, ſhew ourſelves zealous to anſwer your majeſty's gracious expectations, by aſſiſting to frame ſome fundamental laws which may make their connection with Great Britain a bleſſing to India, and may give to other nations, in matters of foreign commerce, an entire confidence in the probity, juſtice, and good order of the Britiſh government.

Allow us to expreſs, in the moſt fervent and grateful manner, our warmeſt gratitude for your majeſty's gracious aſſurances that you will make the general good, and the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, the invariable rule of your majeſty's conduct, and that you will, on all occaſions, advance and reward merit in every profeſſion.

Your majeſty may rely with the utmoſt confidence, that every meaſure will be adopted on our part, to ſecure the full advantages of a government conducted on ſuch principles.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords,

This very affectionate and loyal addreſs affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction.

Your approbation of the foundation I have laid for the peace between Great Britain and America, and of the meaſures I have taken towards a general pacification, as well as the earneſt zeal which you have ſo unanimouſly expreſſed for carrying on the war with vigour, if the negociations ſhould unexpectedly break off, muſt be attended with the beſt effects, both at home and abroad.

Your affectionate acknowledgment of my conſtant diſpoſition to make my own conduct conformable to the wiſhes and opinions of my people, touches me moſt ſenſibly.

Upon that principle, I can never regret the ſacrifice I make of every conſideration of my own.

I accept, with pleaſure, your aſſurances of ſupport to a government, conducted on principles equally agreeable to my own honour, and the public good.

The

The humble Addreſs of the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled, Dec. 5, 1782.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty the thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We beg leave to acknowledge, with ſincere and hearty thanks, your majeſty's royal care and attion to the important and critical ſtate of public affairs ſince the laſt ſeſſion, and particularly for having been graciouſly pleaſed to direct your meaſures to promote a cordial reconciliation between Great Britain and America.

Permit us to expreſs to your majeſty our ſatisfaction that your majeſty, in the exerciſe of the powers which were veſted in your majeſty, has laid the foundation of a peace with that country, and has actually agreed upon articles to be concluded whenever terms are finally ſettled with the court of France. We moſt ardently wiſh, that religion, language, intereſts, and affection, may yet prove the bond of permanent union between the two countries.

We are impreſſed with a due ſenſe of the advantages reſulting from the ſafety of the great branches of our trade, and of the happy ſucceſs which we owe to the ſpirit of your majeſty's fleet: and we reflect with peculiar pleaſure on the uninterrupted continuance of our domeſtic tranquility, and the ſignal inſtances of public ſpirit which the ſituation of the country has called forth.

We rejoice to learn that advances have been made towards a general pacification, at a moment ſo ſuitable to your majeſty's dignity, and to your gracious and parental regard to the lives of your majeſty's brave and gallant ſubjects.

We deſire to thank your majeſty for having promiſed to acquaint us, as ſoon as the terms are concluded; and to aſſure your majeſty of our reſolution to take every meaſure to ſecond the moſt vigorous efforts in the further proſecution of the war, if any unforeſeen change in the diſpoſitions of the belligerent powers ſhould fruſtrate your majeſty's confident expectations of peace.

We are anxious to offer the warmeſt return of gratitude to your majeſty, for your gracious diſpoſition to diminiſh the burthens of your people; and to aſſure your majeſty that your faithful Commons will, as they ought, moſt zealouſly co-operate in ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to give ſtability to regulations for that purpoſe. We will chearfully provide for the deficiency of the ſum granted laſt year for the diſcharge of the debt on your majeſty's civil liſt.

We will apply ourſelves, with the moſt ſerious attention, to the many important points which your majeſty is pleaſed to recommend to our conſideration: we will do every thing in our power to remedy the evils which may be apprehended from the general ſcarcity of corn; to put a ſtop to the alarming exceſs of theft and robbery, and the cauſes from which thoſe crimes originate; and to lay the foundation of a gradual redemption

demption of the public debt, by a fixed courſe of payment.

We recollect, with great ſatisfaction, thoſe liberal meaſures adopted with regard to the rights and commerce of Ireland, which will, we truſt, inſure the harmony which ought always to ſubſiſt between the two kingdoms. And we ſhall be ready to conſider of ſuch a general reviſion of our trading ſyſtem, as may, in the preſent circumſtances, be wiſe and expedient.

We are truly ſenſible of the neceſſity of framing ſuch regulations as are adapted to the ſituation of affairs in the Eaſt Indies. And we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty, that it will be our great object, in all our deliberations, to manifeſt that temper and thoſe principles which your majeſty is pleaſed to inculcate, and which are required of us by the duty we owe to your majeſty, to our conſtituents, and to ourſelves.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I return you thanks for this loyal and dutiful addreſs.

I am happy to receive your aſſurances of ſatisfaction on being acquainted that articles have been agreed upon with America, to take effect whenever terms of peace ſhall be finally ſettled with the court of France; and that while you rejoice to learn, that advances have been made towards a general pacification, you are at the ſame time reſolved to ſecond the moſt vigorous efforts in the farther proſecution of the war, if any unforeſeen change in the diſpoſition of the belligerent powers ſhould fruſtrate my confident expectations of peace.

His Majeſty's Speech at the cloſing the Seſſion, July 16, 1783.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE advanced ſeaſon of the year requires ſome remiſſion from your long and laborious attention to the public ſervice. The exigencies of that ſervice may oblige me to call you together again at an early period; and I perſuade myſelf, from my uniform experience of your affection to me, and your zeal for the public good, that you will chearfully ſubmit to a temporary inconvenience, for the permanent advantage of your country.

The conſideration of the affairs of the Eaſt Indies will require to be reſumed as early as poſſible; and to be purſued with a ſerious and unremitting attention.

I expected to have had the ſatisfaction of acquainting you, before the end of the ſeſſion, that the terms of pacification were definitively ſettled; but the complicated ſtate of the buſineſs in diſcuſſion has unavoidably protracted the negociation. I have, however, every reaſon to believe, from the diſpoſitions ſhewn by the ſeveral powers concerned, that they are perfectly well inclined to ſuch a concluſion as may ſecure the bleſſings of peace, ſo much and ſo equally to be deſired by all parties.

Gen-

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I thank you for the ſupplies you have ſo liberally granted for the public ſervice; for facilitating my arrangements towards a ſeparate eſtabliſhment for the Prince of Wales; and for enabling me, without any new burthen on my people, to diſcharge the debt which remained on my civil liſt.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I earneſtly recommend to you an attention towards promoting among my people, in your ſeveral counties, that ſpirit of order, regularity, and induſtry, which is the true ſource of revenue and power in this nation; and without which all regulations for the improvement of the one, or the increaſe of the other, will have no effect.

Then the Earl of Mansfield, lord chief juſtice of the court of King's Bench, ſpeaker of the Houſe of Lords, by his majeſty's command, ſaid:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tueſday the ninth day of September next, to be then here holden: and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tueſday the 9th day of September next.

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*Preliminary Articles * of Peace between his Britannic Majeſty and the States General of the United Provinces. Signed at Paris, the 2d of September, 1783.*

In the Name of the Moſt Holy Trinity.

THE king of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Provinces, animated with an equal deſire to put an end to the calamities of war, have already authorized their reſpective miniſters plenipotentiary to ſign mutual declarations for a ſuſpenſion of arms; and being willing to re-eſtabliſh union and good underſtanding between the two nations, as neceſſary for the benefit of humanity in general, as for that of their reſpective dominions and ſubjects, have named for this purpoſe; to wit, on the part of his Britannic majeſty, the moſt illuſtrious and excellent Lord George Duke and Earl of Mancheſter, Viſcount Mandeville, Baron of Kimbolton, &c. his ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and on the part of their high mightineſſes the States General, the moſt excellent Lords Mathew Leſtevenon de Berkenroode, and Gerard Brantſen, reſpectively their ambaſſador, and ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiaries: who, after having duly communicated their full powers in good form, have agreed upon the following preliminary articles.

Art. I. As ſoon as the preliminaries ſhall be ſigned and ratified, ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between his

* For the preliminary articles of peace with France, Spain, and America, ſee State Papers of the Annual Regiſter for 1782.

Britannic majesty, his kingdoms, dominions and subjects, and their high mightinesses the States General of the United Provinces, their dominions and subjects, of what quality or condition soever they be, without exception, either of places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions and subjects, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed, either by sea or by land, for any cause or under any pretence whatsoever: and they shall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occasion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, interests and advantages, without giving any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There shall be a general oblivion of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or since the commencement of the war which is just ended.

Art. II. With respect to the honours of the flag, and the salute at sea, by the ships of the republic towards those of his Britannic majesty, the same custom shall be respectively followed, as was practised before the commencement of the war which is just concluded.

Art. III. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of exchange of the ratifications of these preliminary articles; each power respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made, for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and sureties shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire release. And all ships, as well men of war as merchant ships, which may have been taken since the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the cessation of hostilities by sea, shall likewise be restored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes: and the execution of this article shall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this preliminary treaty.

Art. IV. The States General of the United Provinces cede and guaranty, in full right to his Britannic majesty, the town of Negapatnam, with the dependencies thereof; but, in consideration of the importance which the States General of the United Provinces annex to the possession of the aforesaid town, the king of Great Britain, as a proof of his good-will towards the said states, promises, notwithstanding this cession, to receive and treat with them for

the reſtitution of the ſaid town, in caſe the ſtates ſhould hereafter have an equivalent to offer to him.

Art. V. The king of Great Britain ſhall reſtore to the States General of the United Provinces, Trinquemale, as alſo all the other towns, forts, harbours, and ſettlements, which in the courſe of the preſent war, have been conquered, in any part of the world whatever, by the arms of his Britannic majeſty, or by thoſe of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and of which he might be in poſſeſſion; the whole in the condition in which they ſhall be found.

Art. VI. The States General of the United Provinces, promiſe and engage not to obſtruct the navigation of the Britiſh ſubjects in the eaſtern ſeas.

Art. VII. Whereas differences have ariſen between the Engliſh African company, and the Dutch Weſt India company, relative to the navigation on the coaſts of Africa, as alſo on the ſubject of Cape Apollonia; for preventing all cauſe of complaint between the ſubjects of the two nations upon thoſe coaſts, it is agreed that commiſſaries ſhall be named, on each ſide, to make ſuitable arrangements on theſe points.

Art. VIII. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic majeſty, as well as by thoſe of the States General, which are not included in the preſent treaty, neither under the head of ceſſions, nor under the head of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Art. IX. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions and evacuations to be made, it is agreed that the king of Great Britain ſhall cauſe Trinquemale to be evacuated, as well as all the towns, forts, and territories which have been taken by his arms, and of which he may be in poſſeſſion, excepting what is ceded to his Britannic majeſty by thoſe articles, at the ſame periods as the reſtitutions and evacuations ſhall be made between Great Britain and France. The States General ſhall reſtore at the ſame period the towns and territories which their arms may have taken from the Engliſh in the Eaſt Indies. In conſequence of which, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips which ſhall carry them, immediately after the ratification of theſe preliminary articles.

Art. X. His Britannic majeſty and their high mightineſſes the aforeſaid States General, promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in this preſent preliminary treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects: and the ſaid high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent articles.

Art. XI. The ratifications of the preſent preliminary articles, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Paris, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of one month, or ſooner, if it can be done,

done, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent articles.

In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten, their ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries, have ſigned with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our full powers, the preſent preliminary articles, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, the ſecond day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Leſtevenon van Berkenrode. (L.S.)
Mancheſter. (L.S.)
Brantſen. (L.S.)

The Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip, between his Britannic Majeſty, and the Moſt Chriſtian King. Signed at Verſailles, the 3d of September, 1783.

As publiſhed by Authority.

In the Name of the Moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. So be it.

BE it known to all thoſe whom it ſhall or may concern. The moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, archtreaſurer and elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent Prince Lewis the Sixteenth, by the grace of God, moſt Chriſtian king, being equally deſirous to put an end to the war, which for ſeveral years paſt afflicted their reſpective dominions, accepted the offer which their majeſties the emperor of the Romans, and the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, made to them, of their interpoſition, and of their mediation: but their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, animated with a mutual deſire of accelerating the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven ſo far bleſſed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by ſigning preliminary articles at Verſailles, the 20th of January in the preſent year. Their ſaid majeſties the king of Great Britain and the moſt Chriſtian king, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their imperial majeſties a ſignal proof of gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and ſalutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties. Their ſaid Imperial majeſties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their repreſentatives, viz. his majeſty the emperor of the Romans, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lord Florimond, Count Mercy-Argenteau, viſcount of Loo, baron of Crichegnée, knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy counſellor of ſtate to his imperial and royal apoſtolic majeſty, and his ambaſſador to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Prince Iwan Bariatinſkoy, lieutenant general of the forces of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, knight of the orders of St. Anne, and of the

Swediſh ſword, and her miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and the Lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counſellor of ſtate to her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and her miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. In conſequence, their ſaid majeſties the king of Great Britain, and the moſt Chriſtian king, have named and conſtituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and ſigning of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the king of Great Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lord George, duke and earl of Mancheſter, Viſcount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy counſellor to his Britannic majeſty, and his ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and the moſt Chriſtian king, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lord Charles Gravier, Count de Vergennes, baron of Welferding, &c. the king's counſellor in all his councils, commander in his orders, preſident of the royal council of finances, counſellor of ſtate military, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, and of his commands and finances: who, after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal, and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, ſubjects and vaſſals, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, without exception either of places or perſons; ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to the maintaining between themſelves, and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, this reciprocal friendſhip and intercourſe, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed, either by ſea or by land, for any cauſe, or under any pretence whatſoever: and they ſhall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occaſion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantage, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There ſhall be a general oblivion and amneſty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or ſince the commencement of the war which is juſt ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; the treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678, and 1679; of Ryſwick of 1697; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1738; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; and that of Paris of 1763, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty;

and for this purpoſe they were all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, as if they were herein inſerted word for word; and ſo they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenor, and religiouſly executed by both parties, in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty of peace.

Art. III. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, in ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty; each crown reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made, for the ſubſiſtance and maintainance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts and atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide: and ſureties ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained until their entire releaſe. And all ſhips, as well men of war as merchant ſhips, which may have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall likewiſe be reſtored *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. His majeſty the king of Great Britain is maintained in his right to the iſland of Newfoundland, and to the adjacent iſlands, as the whole were aſſured to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht; excepting the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which are ceded in full right by the preſent treaty to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

Art. V. His majeſty the moſt Chriſtian king, in order to prevent the quarrels which have hitherto ariſen between the two nations of England and France, conſents to renounce the right of fiſhing, which belongs to him in virtue of the aforeſaid article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonaviſta to Cape St. John, ſituated on the eaſtern coaſt of Newfoundland, in fifty degrees north latitude; and his majeſty the king of Great Britain conſents on his part, that the fiſhery aſſigned to the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, beginning at the ſaid Cape St. John, paſſing to the north, and deſcending by the weſtern coaſt of the iſland of Newfoundland, ſhall extend to the place called Cape Raye, ſituated in forty-ſeven degrees, fifty minutes latitude. The French fiſhermen ſhall enjoy the fiſhery which is aſſigned to them by the preſent article, as they had the right to enjoy that which was aſſigned to them by the treaty of Utrecht.

Art. VI. With regard to the fiſhery in the gulf of St. Laurence, the French ſhall continue to exerciſe it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

Art. VII.

Art. VII. The king of Great Britain reſtores to France the iſland of St. Lucia, in the condition it was in when it was conquered by the Britiſh arms: and his Britannic majeſty cedes and guaranties to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty the iſland of Tobago. The Proteſtant inhabitants of the ſaid iſland, as well as thoſe of the ſame religion, who ſhall have ſettled at St. Lucia, whilſt that iſland was occupied by the Britiſh arms, ſhall not be moleſted in the exerciſe of their worſhip: and the Britiſh inhabitants, or others who may have been ſubjects of the king of Great Britain in the aforeſaid iſlands, ſhall retain their poſſeſſions upon the ſame titles and conditions by which they have acquired them; or elſe they may retire in full ſecurity and liberty, where they ſhall think fit, and ſhall have the power of ſelling their eſtates, provided it be to ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and of removing their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except on account of debts, or of criminal proſecutions. The term limited for this emigration is fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty. And for the better ſecuring the poſſeſſions of the inhabitants of the aforeſaid iſland of Tobago, the moſt Chriſtian king ſhall iſſue letters patent, containing an abolition of the droit d'aubaine in the ſaid iſland.

Art. VIII. The moſt Chriſtian king reſtores to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada, and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat; and the fortreſſes of theſe iſlands ſhall be delivered up in the condition they were in when the conqueſt of them was made. The ſame ſtipulations inſerted in the preceding article ſhall take place in favour of the French ſubjects, with reſpect to the iſlands enumerated in the preſent article.

Art. IX. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the river Senegal, and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic; and his Britannic majeſty reſtores to France the iſland of Goree, which ſhall be delivered up in the condition it was in when the conqueſt of it was made.

Art. X. The moſt Chriſtian king, on his part, guaranties to the king of Great Britain the poſſeſſion of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

Art. XI. For preventing all diſcuſſion in that part of the world, the two high contracting parties ſhall, within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, name commiſſaries, who ſhall be charged with the ſettling and fixing of the boundaries of the reſpective poſſeſſions. As to the gum trade, the Engliſh ſhall have the liberty of carrying it on, from the mouth of the river St. John, to the bay and fort of Portendic incluſively. Provided that they ſhall not form any permanent ſettlement, of what nature ſoever, in the ſaid river St. John, upon the coaſt, or in the bay of Portendic.

Art. XII. As to the reſidue of the coaſt of Africa, the Engliſh and French ſubjects ſhall continue to reſort thereto, according to the uſage which has hitherto prevailed.

Art. XIII. The king of Great Britain reſtores to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty all the ſettlements which belonged to him at the beginning of the preſent war, upon the coaſt of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to ſurround Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters: and his Britannic majeſty engages to take ſuch meaſures as ſhall be in his power for ſecuring to the ſubjects of France in that part of India, as well as on the coaſt of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a ſafe, free, and independent trade, ſuch as was carried on by the French Eaſt India company, whether they exerciſe it individually, or united in a company.

Art. XIV. Pondicherry ſhall be in like manner delivered up and guarantied to France, as alſo Karikal: and his Britannic majeſty ſhall ſecure, for an additional dependency to Pondicherry, the two diſtricts of Velanour and Bahour; and to Karikal, the Four Magans bordering thereupon.

Art. XV. France ſhall re-enter into the poſſeſſion of Mahé, as well as of its factory at Surat; and the French ſhall carry on their trade, on this part of India, conformably to the principles eſtabliſhed in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

Art. XVI. Orders having been ſent to India by the high contracting parties, in purſuance of the ſixteenth article of the preliminaries, it is further agreed, that if, within the term of four months, the reſpective allies of their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties ſhall not have acceded to the preſent pacification, or concluded a ſeparate accommodation, their ſaid majeſties ſhall not give them any aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, againſt the Britiſh or French poſſeſſions, or againſt the ancient poſſeſſions of their reſpective allies, ſuch as they were in the year 1776.

Art. XVII. The king of Great Britain, being deſirous to give to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty a ſincere proof of reconciliation and friendſhip, and to contribute to render ſolid the peace re-eſtabliſhed between their ſaid majeſties, conſents to the abrogation and ſuppreſſion of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, inclufive, to this day.

Art. XVIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties ſhall name commiſſaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the baſis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements ſhall be ſettled and concluded within the ſpace of two years, to be computed from the firſt of January, in the year 1784.

Art. XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic majeſty, as well as by thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, which are not included in the preſent treaty, neither under the head of ceſſions, nor under the head of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without

out difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Art. XX. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the king of Great Britain ſhall cauſe to be evacuated the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done; St. Lucia, (one of the Charibee iſlands) and Goree in Africa, three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain ſhall in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done, enter again into the poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, and Montſerrat. France ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of the towns and factories which are reſtored to her in the Eaſt Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to ſerve as additional dependencies to Pondicherry, and to Karikal, ſix months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. France ſhall deliver up, at the end of the like term of ſix months, the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the Engliſh, or their allies, in the Eaſt Indies. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips which ſhall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

Art. XXI. The deciſion of the prizes and ſeizures made prior to the hoſtilities ſhall be referred to the reſpective courts of juſtice; ſo that the legality of the ſaid prizes and ſeizures ſhall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of juſtice of the nation which ſhall have made the capture, or ordered the ſeizures.

Art. XXII. For preventing the revival of the law-ſuits which have been ended in the iſlands conquered by either of the high contracting parties, it is agreed that the judgments pronounced in the laſt reſort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, ſhall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenor.

Art. XXIII. Their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects: and the ſaid high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

Art. XXIV. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Verſailles, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of a month, or ſooner, if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written ambaſſador extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hands,

in their names, and in virtue of our reſpective full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the third day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Gravier de Vergennes. (L.S.)
Mancheſter. (L.S.)

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Art. I. Some of the titles made uſe of by the contracting parties, whether in the full powers, and other inſtruments, during the courſe of the negociation, or in the preamble of the preſent treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed that no prejudice ſhould ever reſult therefrom to either of the ſaid contracting parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either ſide, upon occaſion of the ſaid negotiation, and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

Art. II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or, in any manner, prejudice either of the contracting powers; and that they ſhall conform, for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are in the practice and poſſeſſion of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French; the preſent treaty having, nevertheleſs, the ſame force and virtue as if the aforeſaid practice had been therein obſerved.

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written ambaſſador extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary of their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate articles, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Gravier de Vergennes. (L.S.)
Mancheſter. (L.S.)

DECLARATION.

THE king having entirely agreed with his moſt Chriſtian majeſty upon the articles of the definitive treaty, will ſeek every means which ſhall not only enſure the execution thereof, with his accuſtomed good faith and punctuality, but will beſides give, on his part, all poſſible efficacy to the principles which ſhall prevent even the leaſt foundation of diſpute for the future.

To this end, and in order that the fiſhermen of the two nations may not give cauſe for daily quarrels, his Britannic majeſty will take the moſt poſitive meaſures for preventing his ſubjects from interrupting, in any manner, by their competition, the fiſhery of the French, during the temporary exerciſe of it which is granted to them, upon the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland; and he will, for this purpoſe, cauſe the fixed ſettlements, which ſhall be formed there, to be removed.

His

His Britannic majeſty will give orders, that the French fiſhermen be not incommoded, in cutting the wood neceſſary for the repair of their ſcaffolds, huts, and fiſhing veſſels.

The thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, and the method of carrying on the fiſhery which has at all times been acknowledged, ſhall be the plan upon which the fiſhery ſhall be carried on there; it ſhall not be deviated from by either party; the French fiſhermen building only their ſcaffolds, confining themſelves to the repair of their fiſhing veſſels, and not wintering there; the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, on their part, not moleſting, in any manner, the French fiſhermen, during their fiſhing, nor injuring their ſcaffolds during their abſence.

The king of Great Britain, in ceding the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon to France, regards them as ceded for the purpoſe of ſerving as a real ſhelter to the French fiſhermen, and in full confidence that theſe poſſeſſions will not become an object of jealouſy between the two nations; and that the fiſhery between the ſaid iſlands, and that of Newfoundland, ſhall be limited to the middle of the channel.

With regard to India, Great Britain having granted to France every thing that can aſcertain and confirm the trade which the latter requires to carry on there, his majeſty relies with confidence on the repeated aſſurances of the court of Verſailles, that the power of ſurrounding Chandernagore with a ditch for carrying off the waters, ſhall not be exerciſed in ſuch a manner as to make it become an object of umbrage.

The new ſtate in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand reviſions and explanations of the ſubſiſting treaties; but an entire abrogation of thoſe treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into ſuch confuſion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In ſome of the treaties of this ſort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which enſure reciprocally, to the reſpective ſubjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, perſonal protections, and other advantages, which are not, and which ought not to be of a changeable nature, ſuch as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandiſe, variable from circumſtances of every kind.

When therefore the ſtate of the trade between the two nations ſhall be treated upon, it is requiſite to be underſtood, that the alterations which may be made in the ſubſiſting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preſerved on each ſide, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his majeſty has conſented to the appointment of commiſſaries, on each ſide, who ſhall treat ſolely upon this object.

In witneſs whereof, we his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary, being thereto duly authorized, have ſigned the preſent declaration,

claration, and cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be ſet thereto.

Given at Verſailles, the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Mancheſter. (L.S.)

COUNTER DECLARATION.

THE principles which have guided the king, in the whole courſe of the negotiations which preceded the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, muſt have convinced the king of Great Britain, that his majeſty has had no other deſign than to render it ſolid and laſting, by preventing, as much as poſſible, in the four quarters of the world, every ſubject of diſcuſſion and quarrel. The king of Great Britain undoubtedly places too much confidence in the uprightneſs of his majeſty's intentions, not to rely upon his conſtant attention to prevent the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon from becoming an object of jealouſy between the two nations.

As to the fiſhery on the coaſts of Newfoundland, which has been the object of the new arrangements ſettled by the two ſovereigns upon this matter, it is ſufficiently aſcertained by the fifth article of the treaty of peace ſigned this day, and by the declaration likewiſe delivered to-day, by his Britannic majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary; and his majeſty declares, that he is fully ſatisfied on this head.

In regard to the fiſhery between the iſland of Newfoundland, and thoſe of St. Pierre and Miquelon, it is not to be carried on, by either party, but to the middle of the channel; and his majeſty will give the moſt poſitive orders, that the French fiſhermen ſhall not go beyond this line. His majeſty is firmly perſuaded that the king of Great Britain will give like orders to the Engliſh fiſhermen.

The king's deſire to maintain the peace comprehends India as well as the other parts of the world; his Britannic majeſty may therefore be aſſured, that his majeſty will never permit that an object ſo inoffenſive, and ſo harmleſs, as the ditch, with which Chandernagore is to be ſurrounded, ſhould give any umbrage to the court of London.

The king, in propoſing new arrangements of commerce, had no other deſign than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever may be defective in the treaty of commerce ſigned at Utrecht, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen. The king of Great Britain may judge from thence, that his majeſty's intention is not in any wiſe to cancel all the ſtipulations in the above-mentioned treaty; he declares, on the contrary, from henceforth, that he is diſpoſed to maintain all the privileges, facilities and advantages expreſſed in that treaty, as far as they ſhall be reciprocal, or compenſated by equivalent advantages. It is to attain this end, deſired on each ſide, that commiſſaries are to be appointed to treat upon the ſtate of the trade between the two nations, and that a conſiderable ſpace of time is to be allowed for compleating their work. His majeſty hopes that this object will be purſued with the

the same good faith, and the same spirit of conciliation, which presided over the discussion of all the other points comprised in the definitive treaty; and his said majesty is firmly persuaded, that the respective commissaries will employ the utmost diligence for the completion of this important work.

In witness whereof, we the underwritten minister plenipotentiary of his most Christian majesty, being thereto duly authorized, have signed the present counter-declaration, and have caused the seal of our arms to be fixed thereto.

Given at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

Gravier de Vergennes. (L.S.)

WE, ambassador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and royal apostolic majesty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic majesty and his most Christian majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hand, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

Le Compte de Mercy Argenteau. (L.S.)

WE, ministers plenipotentiary of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, having acted as mediators in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace, signed this day at Versailles, between his Britannic majesty, and his most Christian majesty, with the two separate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as also with all the clauses, conditions and stipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of her Imperial majesty of all the Russias. In witness whereof, we have signed these presents with our hands, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Versailles, the third of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

Prince Iwan Bariatinskoy. (L.S.)
A. Marcoff. (L.S.)

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship between his Britannic Majesty, and the most Catholic King. Signed at Versailles, the 3d Day of September, 1783.

As published by Authority.

In the Name of the Most Holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. So be it.

BE it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most serene and most potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenbourg, arch-treasurer and elector of the holy Roman empire,

empire, &c. and the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince Charles the Third, by the grace of God, king of Spain, and of the Indies, &c. being equally deſirous to put an end to the war, which for ſeveral years paſt afflicted their reſpective dominions, accepted the offer which their majeſties the emperor of the Romans, and the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, made to them, of their interpoſition, and of their mediation: but their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, animated with a mutual deſire of accelerating the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, communicated to each other their laudable intention; which Heaven ſo far bleſſed, that they proceeded to lay the foundations of peace, by ſigning preliminary articles at Verſailles, the 20th of January in the preſent year. Their ſaid majeſties the king of Great Britain, and the Catholic king, thinking it incumbent upon them to give their imperial majeſties a ſignal proof of their gratitude for the generous offer of their mediation, invited them, in concert, to concur in the completion of the great and ſalutary work of peace, by taking part, as mediators, in the definitive treaty to be concluded between their Britannic and Catholic majeſties. Their ſaid Imperial majeſties having readily accepted that invitation, they have named, as their repreſentatives, viz. his majeſty the emperor of the Romans, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lord Florimond, Count Mercy-Argentau, viſcount of Loo, baron of Crichegnée, knight of the Golden Fleece, chamberlain, actual privy councellor of ſtate to his Imperial and royal apoſtolic majeſty, and his ambaſſador to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and her majeſty the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent lord, Prince Iwan Bariatinſkoy, lieutenant-general of the forces of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, knight of the orders of St. Anne and of the Swediſh ſword, and her miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and the Lord Arcadi de Marcoff, counſellor of ſtate to her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, and her miniſter plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. In conſequence, their ſaid majeſties the king of Great Britain, and the moſt Chriſtian king, have named and conſtituted for their plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and ſigning of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the king of Great Britain, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lord George, duke and earl of Mancheſter, viſcount Mandeville, baron of Kimbolton, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Huntingdon, actual privy counſellor to his Britannic majeſty, and his ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and the Catholic king, the moſt illuſtrious and moſt excellent Lord Peter Paul Abarca de Bolea Ximenès d'Urrea, &c. count of Aranda and Caſtel Florido, marquis of Torres, of Villanan and Rupit, viſcount of Rueda and Yoch, baron of the baronies of Gavin, Sietamo, Clamoſa, Eripol Trazmoz, La Mata de Caſtil-Viejo, Antillon La Almolda, Cortés, Jorva, St. Genis, Rabovillet, Arcau, and Ste. Colome de Farnés,

nés, lord of the Tenance and honour of Alcalatém, the valley of Rodélla, the caſtles and towns of Maella, Meſones, Tiurana, and Villa Plana, Taradel and Viladrau, &c. Rico-Hombre in Arragon by deſcent, grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs, knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and of that of the Holy Ghoſt, gentleman of the king's chamber in employment, captain general of his forces, and his ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian king; who, after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles.

Art. I. There ſhall be a chriſtian, univerſal and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, between their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, and between their heirs and ſucceſſors, kingdoms, dominions, provinces, countries, ſubjects, and vaſſals, of what quality or condition ſoever they be, without exception either of places or perſons; ſo that the high contracting parties ſhall give the greateſt attention to the maintaining between themſelves, and their ſaid dominions and ſubjects, that reciprocal friendſhip and intercourſe, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed, either by ſea or by land, for any cauſe or under any pretence whatſoever: and they ſhall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed, and endeavouring, on the contrary, to procure reciprocally for each other, on every occaſion, whatever may contribute to their mutual glory, intereſts, and advantage, without giving any aſſiſtance or protection, directly or indirectly, to thoſe who would do any injury to either of the high contracting parties. There ſhall be a general oblivion and amneſty of every thing which may have been done or committed, before or ſince the commencement of the war which is juſt ended.

Art. II. The treaties of Weſtphalia of 1648; thoſe of Madrid of 1667, and of 1670; thoſe of peace and of commerce of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; of Madrid of 1715; of Seville of 1729; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; the treaty of Madrid of 1750; and the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty; and for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, as well as all the treaties in general which ſubſiſted between the high contracting parties before the war, and particularly all thoſe which are ſpecified and renewed in the aforeſaid definitive treaty of Paris, in the beſt form, and as if they were herein inſerted word for word: ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenor, and religiouſly executed, by both parties, in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty of peace.

Art. III. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given, during the war, and to this day, ſhall be reſtored, without ranſom, in ſix weeks at lateſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the pre-

ſent treaty; each crown reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners, by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts, atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide: and ſureties ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire releaſe. And all ſhips, as well men of war as merchant ſhips, which may have been taken ſince the expiration of the terms agreed upon for the ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea, ſhall likewiſe be reſtored, *bona fide*, with all their crews and cargoes. And the execution of this article ſhall be proceeded upon immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

Art. IV. The king of Great Britain cedes, in full right to his Catholic majeſty, the iſland of Minorca. Provided that the ſame ſtipulations inſerted in the following article ſhall take place in favour of the Britiſh ſubjects, with regard to the above-mentioned iſland.

Art. V. His Britannic majeſty likewiſe cedes and guarantees, in full right to his Catholic majeſty, Eaſt Florida as alſo Weſt Florida. His Catholic majeſty agrees that the Britiſh inhabitants, or others who may have been ſubjects of the king of Great Britain in the ſaid countries, may retire in full ſecurity and liberty, where they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, and remove their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except on account of debts, or criminal proſecutions; the term limited for this emigration being fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty: but if, from the value of the poſſeſſions of the Engliſh proprietors, they ſhould not be able to diſpoſe of them within the ſaid term, then his Catholic majeſty ſhall grant them a prolongation proportionate to that end. It is further ſtipulated, that his Britannic majeſty ſhall have the power of removing from Eaſt Florida all the effects which may belong to him, whether artillery or other matters.

Art. VI. The intention of the two high contracting parties being to prevent as much as poſſible, all the cauſes of complaint and miſunderſtanding heretofore occaſioned by the cutting of wood for dying, or logwood; and ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements having been formed and extended, under that pretence, upon the Spaniſh continent; it is expreſsly agreed, that his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects ſhall have the right of cutting, loading and carrying away logwood, in the diſtrict lying between the rivers Wallis or Bellize, and Rio Hondo, taking the courſe of the ſaid two rivers for unalterable boundaries, ſo as that the navigation of them be common to both nations, to wit, by the river Wallis or Bellize, from the ſea, aſcending as far as oppoſite to a lake or inlet which runs into the land,

land, and forms an iſthmus, or neck, with another ſimilar inlet, which comes from the ſide of Rio-Nuevo or New-River; ſo that the line of ſeparation ſhall paſs ſtrait acroſs the ſaid iſthmus, and meet another lake formed by the water of Rio-Nuevo or New-River, at its current. The ſaid line ſhall continue with the courſe of the Rio-Nuevo, deſcending as far as oppoſite to a river, the ſource of which is marked in the map, between Rio-Nuevo and Rio-Hondo, and which empties itſelf into Rio-Hondo; which river ſhall alſo ſerve as a common boundary as far as its junction with Rio-Hondo; and from thence deſcending by Rio-Hondo to the ſea, as the whole is marked on the map which the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns have thought proper to make uſe of, for aſcertaining the points agreed upon; to the end, that a good correſpondence may reign between the two nations, and that the Engliſh workmen, cutters, and labourers may not treſpaſs from an uncertainty of the boundaries. The reſpective commiſſaries ſhall fix upon convenient places, in the territory above marked out, in order that his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects, employed in the felling of logwood, may, without interruption, build therein houſes and magazines neceſſary for themſelves, their families, and their effects; and his Catholic majeſty aſſures to them the enjoyment of all that is expreſſed in the preſent article; provided that theſe ſtipulations ſhall not be conſidered as derogating in any wiſe from his rights of ſovereignty. Therefore all the Engliſh, who may be diſperſed in any other parts, whether on the Spaniſh continent, or in any of the iſlands whatſoever, dependent on the aforeſaid Spaniſh continent, and for whatever reaſon it might be, without exception, ſhall retire within the diſtrict which has been above deſcribed, in the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications; and for this purpoſe, orders ſhall be iſſued on the part of his Britannic majeſty; and on that of his Catholic majeſty, his governors ſhall be ordered to grant to the Engliſh diſperſed every convenience poſſible for their removing to the ſettlement agreed upon by the preſent article, or for their retiring wherever they ſhall think proper. It is likewiſe ſtipulated, that if any fortifications ſhould actually have been heretofore erected within the limits marked out, his Britannic majeſty ſhall cauſe them all to be demoliſhed; and he will order his ſubjects not to build any new ones. The Engliſh inhabitants, who ſhall ſettle there for the cutting of logwood, ſhall be permitted to enjoy a free fiſhery for their ſubſiſtence, on the coaſts of their diſtrict above agreed on, or of the iſlands ſituated oppoſite thereto, without being in anywiſe diſturbed on that account; provided they do not eſtabliſh themſelves, in any manner, on the ſaid iſlands.

Art. VII. His Catholic majeſty ſhall reſtore to Great Britain the iſlands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the ſame condition they were in when they were conquered by the arms of the king of Spain. The ſame ſtipulations inſerted in the fifth article

article of this treaty ſhall take place in favour of the Spaniſh ſubjects, with regard to the iſlands mentioned in the preſent article.

Art. VIII. All the countries and territories, which may have been, or which may be conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic majeſty, as well as by thoſe of his Catholic majeſty, which are not included in the preſent treaty, neither under the head of ceſſions, nor under the head of reſtitutions, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Art. IX. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the two high contracting parties ſhall name commiſſaries to treat concerning new arrangements of commerce between the two nations, on the baſis of reciprocity and mutual convenience; which arrangements ſhall be ſettled and concluded within the ſpace of two years, to be computed from the firſt of January, 1784.

Art. X. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the king of Great Britain ſhall cauſe Eaſt Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. The king of Great Britain ſhall in like manner enter again into poſſeſſion of the iſlands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the ſpace of three months after the ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſooner, if it can be done. In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips which ſhall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

Art. XI. Their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, promiſe to obſerve ſincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and eſtabliſhed in the preſent treaty; and they will not ſuffer the ſame to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their reſpective ſubjects: and the ſaid high contracting parties guaranty to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty.

Art. XII. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, prepared in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged in this city of Verſailles, between the high contracting parties, in the ſpace of one month, or ſooner, if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty. In witneſs whereof, we the underwritten ambaſſadors extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, have ſigned with our hands, in their names, and by virtue of our reſpective full powers, the preſent definitive treaty, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the third day of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Le Compte d'Aranda. (L.S.)
Manchester. (L.S.)

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Art. I. Some of the titles made uſe of by the contracting parties, whether in the full powers, and other

other inſtruments, during the courſe of the negociation, or in the preamble of the preſent treaty, not being generally acknowledged, it has been agreed that no prejudice ſhould ever reſult therefrom to either of the ſaid contracting parties; and that the titles taken or omitted, on either ſide, upon occaſion of the ſaid negociation, and of the preſent treaty, ſhall not be cited, or quoted as a precedent.

Art. II. It has been agreed and determined, that the French language, made uſe of in all the copies of the preſent treaty, ſhall not form an example which may be alledged, or quoted as a precedent, or, in any manner, prejudice either of the contracting powers; and that they ſhall conform, for the future, to what has been obſerved, and ought to be obſerved, with regard to, and on the part of powers, who are in the practice and poſſeſſion of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in a different language from the French; the preſent treaty having, nevertheleſs, the ſame force and virtue as if the aforeſaid practice had been therein obſerved.

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written ambaſſador extraordinary, and miniſters plenipotentiary, of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, have ſigned the preſent ſeparate articles, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Le Compte d'Aranda. (L. S.)
Mancheſter. (L. S.)

DECLARATION.

THE new ſtate in which commerce may perhaps be found, in all parts of the world, will demand reviſions and explanations of the ſubſiſting treaties; but an entire abrogation of thoſe treaties, in whatever period it might be, would throw commerce into ſuch confuſion as would be of infinite prejudice to it.

In ſome of the treaties of this ſort there are not only articles which relate merely to commerce, but many others which enſue reciprocally, to the reſpective ſubjects, privileges, facilities for conducting their affairs, perſonal protections, and other advantages, which are not, and which ought not to be of a changeable nature, ſuch as the regulations relating merely to the value of goods and merchandize, variable from circumſtances of every kind.

When therefore the ſtate of the trade between the two nations ſhall be treated upon, it is requiſite to be underſtood, that the alterations which may be made in the ſubſiſting treaties are to extend only to arrangements merely commercial; and that the privileges and advantages, mutual and particular, be not only preſerved on each ſide, but even augmented, if it can be done.

In this view, his majeſty has conſented to the appointment of commiſſaries, on each ſide, who ſhall treat ſolely upon this object.

Done at Verſailles, the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Mancheſter. (L. S.)

COUNTER DECLARATION.

THE Catholic king, in propoposing new arrangements of commerce, has had no other deſign than to remedy, by the rules of reciprocity and mutual convenience, whatever may be defective in preceding treaties of commerce. The king of Great Britain may judge from thence, that the intention of his Catholic majeſty is not in any manner to cancel all the ſtipulations contained in the above-mentioned treaties; he declares, on the contrary, from henceforth, that he is diſpoſed to maintain all the privileges, facilities and advantages expreſſed in the old treaties, as far as they ſhall be reciprocal, or compenſated by equivalent advantages. It is to attain this end, deſired on each ſide, that commiſſaries are to be named to treat upon the ſtate of trade between the two nations, and that a conſiderable ſpace of time is to be allowed for compleating their work. His Catholic majeſty hopes that this object will be purſued with the ſame good faith, and with the ſame ſpirit of conciliation, which have preſided over the diſcuſſion of all the other points included in the definitive treaty; and his ſaid majeſty is equally confident, that the reſpective commiſſaries will employ the utmoſt diligence for the completion of this important work.

Done at Verſailles, the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Le Compte D'Aranda. (L.S.)

WE, ambaſſador plenipotentiary of his Imperial and royal apoſtolic majeſty, having acted as mediator in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace ſigned this day at Verſailles, between his Britannic majeſty and his Catholic majeſty, with the two ſeparate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as alſo with all the clauſes, conditions, and ſtipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of his Imperial and royal apoſtolic majeſty.

In witneſs whereof, we have ſigned theſe preſents with our hand, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, this third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Le Compte de Mercy Argenteau. (L.S.)

WE, miniſters plenipotentiary of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias, having acted as mediators in the work of pacification, declare that the treaty of peace, ſigned this day at Verſailles, between his Britannic majeſty and his Catholic majeſty, with the two ſeparate articles thereto annexed, and of which they form a part, as alſo with all the clauſes, conditions, and ſtipulations which are therein contained, was concluded by the mediation of her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias.

In witneſs whereof, we have ſigned theſe preſents with our hands, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the third of September, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

Prince Iwan Bariatinſkoy. (L.S.)
A. Marcoff. (L.S.)

The

The definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendſhip, between his Britannic Majeſty, and the United States of America, ſigned at Paris the 3d Day of September, 1783.

In the Name of the Moſt Holy and Undivided Trinity.

IT having pleaſed the divine Providence to diſpoſe the hearts of the moſt ſerene and moſt potent prince George the Third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburg, arch-treaſurer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all paſt miſunderſtandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correſpondence and friendſhip which they mutually wiſh to reſtore, and to eſtabliſh ſuch a beneficial and ſatisfactory intercourſe between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience as may promote and ſecure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this deſirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the proviſional articles ſigned at Paris on the 30th of November, 1782, by the commiſſioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inſerted in and to conſtitute the treaty of peace propoſed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the ſaid United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace ſhould be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majeſty ſhould be ready to conclude ſuch treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having ſince been concluded, his Britannic majeſty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the proviſional articles above-mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have conſtituted and appointed, that is to ſay, his Britannic majeſty on his part, David Hartley, Eſq. member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the ſaid United States on their part, John Adams, Eſq. late a commiſſioner of the United States of America at the court of Verſailles, late delegate in congreſs from the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, and chief juſtice of the ſaid ſtate, and miniſter plenipotentiary of the ſaid United States to their high mightineſſes the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Eſq. late delegate in congreſs from the ſtate of Pennſylvania, preſident of the convention of the ſaid ſtate, and miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Verſailles; and John Jay, Eſq. late preſident of congreſs, and chief juſtice of the ſtate of New York, and miniſter plenipotentiary from the ſaid United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and ſigning the preſent definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles:

Art. I. His Britannic majeſty acknowledges the ſaid United States, viz. New Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts Bay, Rhode Iſland

and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Laurence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philapeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-westernmost point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachiola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint River; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's River, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Laurence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively

tively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting ſuch iſlands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova Scotia.

Art. III. It is agreed that the people of the United States ſhall continue to enjoy unmoleſted the right to take fiſh of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; alſo in the Gulf of St. Laurence, and at all other places in the ſea where the inhabitants of both countries uſed at any time heretofore to fiſh. And alſo that the inhabitants of the United States ſhall have liberty to take fiſh of every kind on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland as Britiſh fiſhermen ſhall uſe (but not to dry or cure the ſame on that iſland), and alſo on the coaſts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majeſty's dominions in America; and that the American fiſhermen ſhall have liberty to dry and cure fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen iſlands and Labrador, ſo long as the ſame ſhall remain unſettled; but ſo ſoon as the ſame or either of them ſhall be ſettled, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid fiſhermen to dry or cure fiſh at ſuch ſettlement, without a previous agreement for that purpoſe with the inhabitants, proprietors, or poſſeſſors of the ground.

Art. IV. It is agreed that the creditors on either ſide ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in ſterling money of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

Art. V. It is agreed that congreſs ſhall earneſtly recommend it to the legiſlatures of the reſpective ſtates, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates, rights, and properties, which have been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects; and alſo of the eſtates, rights, and properties, of perſons reſident in diſtricts in the poſſeſſion of his majeſty's arms, and who have not borne arms againſt the ſaid United States; and that perſons of any other deſcription ſhall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to obtain the reſtitution of ſuch of their eſtates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiſcated; and that congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates a reconſideration and reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to render the ſaid laws or acts perfectly conſiſtent not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation which on the return of the bleſſings of peace ſhould univerſally prevail: and that congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral ſtates, that the eſtates, rights, and properties, of ſuch laſt mentioned perſons, ſhall be reſtored to them, they refunding to any perſons who may be now in poſſeſſion of the *bona fide* price (where any has been given), which ſuch perſons may have paid on purchaſing any of the ſaid lands, rights, or properties, ſince the confiſcation.

And it is agreed that all perſons who have any intereſt in confiſcated lands, either by debts, marriage ſettlements, or otherwiſe,

wife, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment in the proſecution of their juſt rights,

Art. VI. That there ſhall be no future confiſcations made, nor any proſecutions commenced againſt any perſon or perſons for or by reaſon of the part which he or they may have taken in the preſent war; and that no perſon ſhall on that account ſuffer any future loſs or damage either in his perſon, liberty, or property, and that thoſe who may be in confinement on ſuch charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, and the proſecutions ſo commenced be diſcontinued.

Art. VII. There ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majeſty and the ſaid United States, and between the ſubjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hoſtilities both by ſea and land ſhall from henceforth ceaſe; all priſoners on both ſides ſhall be ſet at liberty, and his Britannic majeſty ſhall, with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſing any deſtruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garriſons, and fleets, from the ſaid United States, and from every poſt, place and harbour, within the ſame; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and ſhall alſo order and cauſe all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the ſaid ſtates, or their citizens, which in the courſe of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith reſtored and delivered to the proper ſtates and perſons to whom they belong.

Art. VIII. The navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi, from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Art. IX. In caſe it ſhould ſo happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, ſhould have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the ſaid proviſional articles in America, it is agreed that the ſame ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring any compenſation.

Art. X. The ſolemn ratifications of the preſent treaty, expedited in good and due form, ſhall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the ſpace of ſix months, or ſooner, if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof we the under-ſigned, their miniſters plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, ſigned with our hands the preſent definitive treaty, and cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three.

David Hartley. (L. S.)
John Adams. (L. S.)
B. Franklin. (L. S.)
John Jay. (L. S.)

Treaty of perpetual Friendſhip and Alliance between the Honourable Eaſt-India Company and the Peſhwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, ſettled by Mr. David Anderſon *on the Part of the Honourable Company, in Virtue of the Powers delegated to him for that Purpoſe, by the Honourable the Governor General and Council, appointed by the King and Parliament of Great Britain, to direct and controul all the political Affairs of the Hon. Engliſh Eaſt India Company in India; and by Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia, as Plenipotentiary on the Part of the Peſhwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, Ballajee Pundit Nana Furnaveſe, and the whole of the Chiefs of the Mahratta Nation, agreeably to the following Articles, which ſhall be for ever binding on their Heirs and Succeſſors, and the Conditions of them to be invariably obſerved by both Parties.*

Art. I. IT is ſtipulated and agreed to between the Hon. the Engliſh Eaſt India company and the Peſhwa, through the mediation of Madhoo Row Scindia, that all countries, places, cities, and forts, including Baſſeen, &c. which have been taken from the Peſhwa, during the war that has ariſen ſince the treaty ſettled by Colonel Upton, and have come into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, ſhall be delivered up to the Peſhwa. The territories, forts, cities, &c. to be reſtored, ſhall be delivered within the ſpace of two months from the period when this treaty ſhall become complete (as hereafter deſcribed) to ſuch perſons as the Peſhwa, or his miniſter Nana Furnaveſe ſhall appoint.

Art. II. It is agreed between the Engliſh company and the Peſhwa, that Salſette, and three other iſlands, viz. Elephanta, Caranja, and Hog, which are included in the treaty of Colonel Upton, ſhall continue for ever in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. If any other iſlands have been taken in the courſe of the preſent war, they ſhall be delivered up to the Peſhwa.

Art. III. Whereas it was ſtipulated in the 4th article of the treaty of Col. Upton, "That the Peſhwa and all the chiefs of the Mahratta ſtate do agree to give the Engliſh company for ever all right and title to the city Baroach, as full and complete as ever they collected from the Moguls or otherwiſe, without retaining any claim of Chout, or any other claims whatever; ſo that the Engliſh company ſhall poſſeſs it without participation or claim of any kind." This article is accordingly continued in full force and effect.

Art. IV. The Peſhwa having formerly, in the treaty of Colonel Upton, agreed, by way of friendſhip, to give up the Engliſh a country of three lacks of rupees near Baroach, the Engliſh do now, at the requeſt of Madhoo Row Scindia, conſent to relinquiſh their claim to the ſaid country in favour of the Peſhwa.

Art. V. The country which Seeajee and Futty Sing Gwickwar gave to the Engliſh, and which is mentioned in the 7th article of the treaty with Col. Upton, being therein left in a ſtate of ſuſpence; the Engliſh, with a

view to obviate all future disputes, now agree, that it shall be restored, and it is hereby settled, that, if the said country be a part of the established territory of the Gwickwar, it shall be restored to the Gwickwar; and if it shall be a part of the Peshwa's territories, it shall be restored to the Peshwa.

Art. VI. The English engage, that having allowed Ragonaut Row a period of four months, from the time which this treaty shall become complete, to fix on a place of residence, they will not after the expiration of the said period afford him any support, protection, or assistance, nor supply him with money for his expences; and the Peshwa on his part engages, that if Ragonaut Row will voluntarily, and of his own accord, repair to Maha Rajah Madhoo Row Scindia, and quietly reside with him, the sum of 25,000 rupees per month shall be paid him for his maintenance, and no injury whatever shall be offered to him by the Peshwa, or any of his people.

Art. VII. The Hon. English East India company and the Peshwa being desirous that their respective allies shall be included in this peace, it is hereby mutually stipulated, that each party shall make peace with the allies of the other in the manner herein after specified.

Art. VIII. The territory which has long been the established jagheer of Seeajee Gwickwar, and Futty Sing Gwickwar, that is to say, whatever territory Futty Sing Gwickwar possessed at the commencement of the present war, shall hereafter for ever remain on the usual footing in his possession; and the said Futty Sing shall, from the date of this treaty being complete, pay for the future to the Peshwa the tribute as usual, previous to the present war; and shall perform such services, and be subject to such obedience as have long been established, and customary. No claims shall be made on the said Futty Sing, by the Peshwa, for the period that is past.

Art. IX. The Peshwa engages, that whereas the nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, having concluded a treaty with him, hath disturbed and taken possession of territories belonging to the English and their allies, he shall be made to relinquish them, and they shall be restored to the company, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn. All prisoners that have been taken on either side during the war, shall be released, and Hyder Ally Cawn shall be made to relinquish all such territories belonging to the English company, and their allies, as he may have taken possession of since the ninth of the month Ramzan, in the year 1180, being the date of his treaty with the Peshwa; and the said territories shall be delivered over to the English, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, within six months after this treaty being complete: and the English in such case agreed, that so long as Hyder Ally Cawn shall afterwards abstain from hostilities against them and their allies, and so long as he shall continue in friendship with the Peshwa, that they will, in no respect, act hostilely towards him.

Art. X. The Peshwa engages on

on his own behalf, as well as on behalf of the nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, Ragojee Bouſala, Syna Saheb Souba, and the nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, that they ſhall in every reſpect maintain peace towards the Engliſh and their allies the nabob Aſophul Dowlah Behader, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn Behader, and ſhall in no reſpect whatever give them any diſturbance. The Engliſh engage on their own behalf, as well as on the behalf of their allies the nabob Aſophul Dowlah, and the nabob Mahomed Ally Cawn, that they ſhall in every reſpect maintain peace towards the Peſhwa, and his allies the nabob Nizam Ally Cawn, Ragojee Bouſala, and Syna Saheb: and the Engliſh further engage on their own behalf, as well as on the behalf of their allies, that they will maintain peace alſo towards the nabob Hyder Ally Cawn, under the conditions ſpecified in the 9th article of this treaty.

Art. XI. The Hon. the Eaſt India company, and the Peſhwa mutually agree, that the veſſels of each ſhall offer no diſturbance to the navigation of the veſſels of the other: and the veſſels of each ſhall be allowed acceſs to the ports of the other, where they ſhall meet with no moleſtation, and the fulleſt protection ſhall be reciprocally afforded.

Art. XII. The Peſhwa, and the chiefs of the Mahratta ſtate, hereby agree, that the Engliſh ſhall enjoy the privilege of trade as formerly, in the Mahratta territories, and ſhall meet with no kind of interruption: and in the ſame manner, the Eaſt India company agree, that the ſubjects of the Peſhwa ſhall be allowed the privileges of trade without interruption in the territories of the Engliſh.

Art. XIII. The Peſhwa hereby engages, that he will not ſuffer any factories of other European nations to be eſtabliſhed in his territories, or thoſe of the chiefs dependent on him, excepting only ſuch as are already eſtabliſhed by the Portugueſe; and he will hold no intercourſe of friendſhip with any other European nations: and the Engliſh on their part agree, that they will not afford aſſiſtance to any nation of Decan, or Hindoſtan, at enmity with the Peſhwa.

Art. XIV. The Engliſh and the Peſhwa mutually agree, that neither will afford any kind of aſſiſtance to the enemies of the other.

Art. XV. The Hon. the governor-general and council of Fort William engage, that they will not permit any of the chiefs, dependents, or ſubjects of the Engliſh, the gentlemen of Bombay, Surat, or Madras, to act contrary, at any place, to the terms of this treaty. In the ſame manner the Peſhwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan engages, that none of the chiefs or ſubjects of the Mahratta ſtate ſhall act contrary to them.

Art. XVI. The honourable Eaſt India company, and the Peſhwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, having the fulleſt confidence in Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia Behader, they have both requeſted the ſaid Maha Rajah to be the mutual guarantee for the perpetual and invariable adherence of both parties to the conditions

conditions of this treaty; and the ſaid Madhoo Row Scindia, from a regard to the welfare of both ſtates, hath taken upon himſelf the mutual guarantee. If either of the parties ſhall deviate from the conditions of this treaty, the ſaid Maha Rajah will join the other party, and will to the utmoſt of his power, endeavour to bring the aggreſſor to a proper underſtanding.

Art. XVII. It is hereby agreed, that whatever territories, forts or cities in Guzzerat, were granted by Ragonaut Row to the Engliſh, previous to the treaty of Col. Upton, and have come into their poſſeſſion, the reſtitution of which was ſtipulated in the 7th article of the ſaid treaty, ſhall be reſtored, agreeable to the terms of the ſaid treaty.

This treaty, conſiſting of ſeventeen articles, is ſettled at Salbey, in the camp of Maha Rajah Subadar Madhoo Row Scindia, on the 4th of the month Jemmad ul Saany, in the year 1187 of the Hiegera, correſponding with the 17th of May, 1782, of the Chriſtian æra, by the ſaid Maha Rajah, and Mr. David Anderſon. A copy hereof ſhall be ſent, by each of the above-named perſons, to their reſpective principals at Fort William, and Poonah; and on both copies being returned, the one under the ſeal of the Hon. the Eaſt India company, and ſignature of the Hon. governor-general and council of Fort William, ſhall be delivered to Maha Rajah Madhoo Row Scindia Behader, and the other under the ſeal of the Peſhwa Madhoo Row Pundit Purdhan, and the ſignature of Ballagee Pundit Nana Furnaveſe, ſhall be delivered to Mr. Anderſon; this treaty ſhall be deemed complete and ratified, and the articles herein contained ſhall become binding on both the contracting parties.

(Written in the Mahratta character, by Ragoo Bhow Dewan.) "In all 17 articles, on the 4th of Jemmad ul Akher, or the 5th of Jeyt Adeck, in the Shukul Pattah, in the year 1182."

Subſcribed in the Mahratta character, by Mahajee Scindia, on the ſame day.

Agreed to what is above written,
(Signed) D. ANDERSON.
Witneſſes,
JAS. ANDERSON,
WM. BLAIN.

A true tranſlation,
J. ANDERSON,
Aſſiſtant to the Embaſſy.

"Subſcribed in the hand-writing of Nana Furnaveſe." Done by me Ballajee Inardine, on the 15th of Mohurrum, in the year 1183 (December 20, 1782) under the ſmall ſeal of the Peſhwa, ratified alſo by Scinda, the 21ſt of Rabbie ul Owal; counterpart ſubſcribed by Mr. Anderſon, the 24th of February, 1783.

Tranſcript of the Treaty between France *and the United States of* America, *together with the Ratification of the ſame by Congreſs.*

THE United States, aſſembled in congreſs, to all who ſhall ſee theſe preſents greeting. Whereas Benjamin Franklin, our miniſter plenipotentiary, by virtue of full powers veſted in him, has

has made, with Charles Gravier de Vergennes, counſellor of the king in all his councils, commander of his orders, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate, veſted alſo with full powers by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty for that purpoſe, concluded and ſigned a contract between his ſaid moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the United States of North America, in the terms following:

Contract between the King and the thirteen United States of North America, *concluded by Mr. de* Vergennes *and Dr.* Franklin.

As it has pleaſed the king to comply with the requeſts made to him in the name, and on the part of the United Provinces of North America, by aſſiſting them in the war and invaſion under which they have groaned during ſeveral years; and his majeſty, after having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the ſaid confederated provinces, on the 6th of February, 1778, having had the goodneſs to ſuccour them, not only by his ſea and land-forces, but alſo by means of advancing them money as bountifully as in its conſequence efficaciouſly, at a time when their affairs were in a very critical ſituation; it has been judged proper and neceſſary to fix the exact amount of theſe advances, the conditions upon which the king has made them, the different periods, at which the congreſs of the United States have agreed to pay them into his majeſty's royal treaſury; and finally, to regulate this matter ſo, that no difficulties may hereafter ariſe to interrupt that good harmony which his majeſty is reſolved to ſupport on his part with the United States. For the purpoſe, therefore, of accompliſhing ſo deſireable an end, and with a view of ſtrengthening thoſe bonds of amity and commerce which ſubſiſt between his majeſty and the United States: we Charles Gravier de Vergennes, &c. counſellor to the king and all his councils, commander of his orders, miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate to his command and finances, veſted with full powers by his majeſty; and we Benjamin Franklin, miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States of North America, veſted equally with full powers by the congreſs of the ſaid ſtates, after having each communicated our reſpective powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. It is agreed upon and certified, that the ſums advanced by his majeſty to the congreſs of the United States, under the title of a loan, in the years 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, and in the preſent year 1782, amount together to the ſum of eighteen millions of livres, of French money, as appears by the twenty-one receipts following, ſigned by the ſaid miniſter of the congreſs, and given by virtue of his full powers; namely,

1.—28 Feb. 1778		750,000
2.—19 May	-	750,000
3.— 3 Aug.	-	750,000
4.— 1 Nov.	-	750,000
		3,000,000

5.—10 June

5.—10 June,	1779	250,000
6.—16 Sept.	-	250,000
7.— 4 Oct.	-	250,000
8.—21 Dec.	-	250,000
		1,000,000
9.—29 Feb.	1780	750,000
10.—27 May	-	750,000
11.—21 June	-	750,000
12.— 3 Oct.	-	1,000,000
13.—27 Nov.	-	750,000
		4,000,000
14.—15 Feb.	1781	750,000
15.—15 May	-	750,000
16.—15 Aug.	-	750,000
17.— 1 Oct.	-	1,000,000
18.—15 Nov.	-	750,000
		4,000,000
19.—10 April,	1782	1,500,000
20.— 2 July	-	1,500,000
21.— 5	-	3,000,000
		6,000,000
Total		18,000,000

By which receipts, the said minister has promised, in the name of the congress, on the part of the thirteen United States, to cause to be paid and reimbursed to the king's royal treasury, on the 1st of January, 1788, at the house of his principal banker at Paris, the above sum, with the interest due thereon, at the rate of five per cent. per annum.

Art. II. Upon consideration, however, that the payment of so large a capital at one stipulated period, namely, the 1st of January, 1788, may be exceedingly inconvenient to the finances of the congress of the United States, and that it might, perhaps, be even impracticable, it has pleased his majesty on that account to release them from the tenor of those receipts given by their minister for the eighteen millions of livres, Tournois, mentioned in the preceding article; and he has consented that the reimbursement of the capital in yearly money to his royal treasury shall be made in twelve equal payments, of 1,500,000 livres each, and in twelve years, to begin the third year after the peace.

Art. III. Although the receipts of the minister of the congress of the United States, mention, that "the 18,000,000 of livres above mentioned, shall be paid into the royal treasury with five per cent. interest;" his majesty, desirous of giving a fresh proof to the said United States, of his friendship, has been pleased to make them a present of the arrears of interest to this day, and also to remit it from this time to the day of the date of the treaty of peace; a favour which the minister of congress acknowledges as proceeding purely from the king's bounty, and which he accepts in the name of the United States with the most profound and lively gratitude.

Art. IV. The payment of the said 18,000,000 of livres shall be made in ready money to his majesty's royal treasury at Paris, in twelve equal payments, and at the period stated in the second article above. The interest on the said sum, at the rate of five per cent. to run from the date of the treaty of peace; the payment of

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it ſhall be made at the time of each of the partial reimburſements of the capital, and ſhall diminiſh in proportion in the reimburſements; the congreſs are nevertheleſs at liberty to free themſelves from this obligation ſooner, by anticipating payments, in caſe the ſtate of their finances ſhould permit.

Art. V. Although the loan of 5,000,000 of the Dutch florins, granted by the States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, on the terms of the obligation paſſed on the 5th of November, 1781, has been made in his majeſty's name, and he has pledged himſelf for the payment of it; it is nevertheleſs acknowledged by theſe preſents, that the ſaid loan has been made in reality on account of, and for the ſervice of the United States of North America; and that the capital amounting, according to a moderate valuation, to the ſum of 10,000,000 livres Tournois, has been paid to the United States, agreeable to receipt given for the payment of the ſaid ſum by the underſigned miniſter of congreſs, on the 7th of laſt June.

Art. VI. By the ſaid convention of the 5th of November, 1781, it has pleaſed the king to promiſe and to engage himſelf to furniſh and to pay to the general office of the States General of the Netherlands the capital of the ſaid loan, together with the intereſt of five per cent. without any charge or deduction whatſoever to the lenders, ſo that the ſaid capital be entirely reimburſed within the ſpace of five years, the payments to be made at ten equal periods, the firſt to begin the ſixth year after the date of the loan, and from that time, during every year till the final payment of the ſaid ſum; but it is likewiſe acknowledged by the preſent act, that this engagement has been entered into by the king, on the entreaty of the underwritten miniſters of the United States, and upon the promiſe made by him in the name of the congreſs, and on the part of the thirteen United States to reimburſe and pay into the royal treaſury of his majeſty at Paris, the capital, intereſt, and expences of the ſaid loan, agreeable to the conditions and terms, fixed by the convention of the 5th of November, 1781.

Art. VII. It has been agreed upon and regulated in conſequence, that the ſaid ſum of ten millions of livres Tournois, making, at a moderate eſtimate, five millions of Dutch florins as above mentioned, ſhall be reimburſed and paid into his majeſty's royal treaſury at Paris, with the intereſt at five per cent. in ten equal payments of one million each, and at the ſeveral periods, the firſt of which ſhall be made on the 5th of November, 1787, and thus from year to year till the final payment of the ſaid ſum of ten millions, the intereſt diminiſhing in proportion with the partial payments of the capital. But from the regard which his majeſty bears to the United States, he has been pleaſed to take upon himſelf the expence of the commiſſion, and of banking, attending the ſaid loan, of which expence his majeſty makes a preſent to the ſaid United States; and their underwritten miniſter accepts,

cepts, with thanks, in the name of the congreſs, as an additional proof of his majeſty's generoſity, and of his friendſhip for the United States.

Art. VIII. With reſpect to the intereſt on the ſaid loan, as the king had engaged to pay, during the five years preceding the firſt reimburſement of the capital, four per cent. on the whole, into the general office of the States General of the Netherlands, annually, from the 5th of November, 1781, agreeable to the convention entered into on that day, the miniſter of congreſs acknowledges, that the reimburſements of the ſaid intereſt is due to his majeſty from the United States; and he engages, in the name of the ſaid ſtates, to cauſe the payment thereof to be made at the ſame rate into the royal treaſury of his majeſty; the intereſt of the firſt year to be paid on the 4th of next November, and ſo on annually during the five years preceding the firſt payment of the capital, fixed on as above, for the 5th of November, 1787.

The high contracting parties reciprocally bind themſelves to the faithful obſervance of this contract, the ratifications of which ſhall be exchanged within the ſpace of nine months from the date hereof, if poſſible. In faith of which, we the ſaid plenipotentiaries of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and of the thirteen United States of North America, by virtue of our reſpective powers, have ſigned theſe preſents, and have thereto put the ſeal of our arms.

Given at Verſailles, the 16th of July, 1782.

(Signed)
C. G. De Vergennes, (L. S.)
B. Franklin, (L. S.)

Be it known to all and every one, that we the ſaid United States aſſembled in congreſs, penetrated with the moſt lively ideas of the generoſity and affection manifeſted by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty in the above contract, have ratified and confirmed it; and by theſe preſents we do ratify and confirm the ſaid contract, and every article and clauſe therein. And we do by theſe preſents authoriſe our miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Verſailles, to remit our preſent act of ratification, in exchange for the ratification of the ſaid contract on the part of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

In faith of which we have cauſed our ſeal to be affixed hereunto, in preſence of his excellency Elias Bourdimot, preſident, this 22d of January, in the year of grace, 1783, and the 7th of our ſovereignty and independence.

The Petition *of the People called* Quakers.

To the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament.

Sheweth,

That your petitioners met in this their annual aſſembly, having ſolemnly conſidered the ſtate of the enſlaved negroes, conceive themſelves engaged in religious duty, to lay the ſuffering

ing ſituation of that unhappy people before you, as a ſubject loudly calling for the humane interpoſition of the legiſlature.

Your petitioners regret that a nation profeſſing the Chriſtian faith, ſhould ſo far counteract the principles of humanity and juſtice as by a cruel treatment of this oppreſſed race, and to fill their minds with prejudices againſt the mild and beneficent doctrines of the goſpel.

Under the countenance of the laws of this country, many thouſands of theſe our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, are held, as perſonal property, in cruel bondage; and your petitioners being informed, that a bill for the regulation of the African trade is now before the houſe, containing a clauſe which reſtrains the officers of the African company from exporting negroes; your petitioners, deeply affected with a conſideration of the rapine, oppreſſion, and bloodſhed attending this traffick, humbly requeſt that this reſtriction may be extended to all perſons whatſoever, or that the houſe would grant ſuch other relief in the premiſes, as in its wiſdom may ſeem meet.

Signed in and on behalf of our yearly meeting, held in London, the 16th day of 6th month, 1783.

Warrant by the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, for the Settlement of the Geneveſe in that Kingdom.

(L. S.)

(Signed) NUGENT TEMPLE.

To the Earl of Tyrone,—The Right Hon. John Beresford,—The Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, K. B.—The Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements,—The Right Hon. John Forſter,—The Right Hon. Luke Gardiner,—The Right Hon. Williams Wyndham Grenville,—The Right Hon. James Cuffe,—David La Touche, Eſq. jun.—Andrew Caldwel, Eſq.—Travers Hartley, Eſq.—Alexander Jaffray, Eſq.—And Meſſrs. G. Ringler,—E. Clavière,—Du Roveray,—E. Gaſe,—Grenus,—and D'Ivernois.

WHEREAS the ſieur D'Ivernois did, by his memorial of the 27th of September laſt, repreſent unto us; that, in conſequence of certain alterations which had taken place in the political conſtitution and government of the ſtate of Geneva, a conſiderable number of the citizens and inhabitants, attached to the bleſſings of a free government, were diſpoſed, under aſſurances of the enjoyment of certain privileges and protection, to ſettle themſelves in this kingdom, to bring with them their property, and to eſtabliſh here thoſe manufactures which had rendered the citizens of that ſtate ſo wealthy; and that the ſum of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, Britiſh money, would be neceſſary to enable the firſt thouſand emigrants to effect their purpoſe, of which a ſum, not exceeding one half, to be applied to defray the expence of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; and the remainder to be applied in the building or providing houſes for

their

their reception: and whereas we did lay the ſaid memorial before the lords of his majeſty's privy council, who, by their reſolution of the 27th day of September laſt, expreſſive of the importance of the object, and the advantages to be ſecured to this kingdom by the acceſſion of a body of reſpectable citizens, and to its commerce by the introduction of a manufacture ſo extenſive and beneficial, and by the immediate acquiſition of a very material addition to the national wealth, did unanimouſly requeſt, that his majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take the ſame into his royal conſideration, and to adopt ſuch meaſures in this caſe as to his majeſty's great wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet: and we having tranſmitted the ſaid memorial and reſolution to be laid before the king, his majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify his royal approbation of the deſign aforeſaid, founded upon principles ſo truly intereſting to juſtice and humanity; and of his royal diſpoſition to induce the ſaid merchants, artiſts, and manufacturers, citizens, or inhabitants of Geneva, to ſettle in Ireland, under the conviction, that by their civil and religious principles, their induſtry, and their loyalty, they would materially contribute to the advantage of this kingdom:

Theſe are, therefore, to pray and to empower you to conſult together, and to report unto us what agreements, regulations, warrants, and authorities will, in your opinion, be neceſſary and proper for carrying his majeſty's gracious intentions into execution, under the heads following, viz.

1ſt. For the grant of a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds to certain ſtate-officers, and to certain of the nobility and gentry of this realm, together with the ſix commiſſioners now in this kingdom from the Genevans—The ſaid ſum to be granted to them in truſt for the uſe of the Genevans ſettling in this country—whereof a ſum, not exceeding one half, is to be applied to the charges of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; to be diſtributed by the ſaid commiſſioners, in ſuch proportion as they ſhall think equitable, upon the conſideration of the circumſtances, the character, and the talents of each emigrant; and the remainder to be expended in the building a town, and ſettling them therein.

2dly. To conſider the rights, privileges, franchiſes, and immunities to be granted to the inhabitants of the ſaid new-intended town; and ſo ſoon as the ſaid general ſyſtem ſhall have been ſubmitted to, and approved of by us, then to prepare a draught of a charter, which will be referred to the conſideration of his majeſty's law ſervants for their opinion, and afterwards ſubmitted to his majeſty for his royal approbation, granting to the ſaid citizens of the New Geneva, the eſtabliſhment of magiſtrates, councils, or aſſembles, with powers for regulating their internal concerns in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt agreeable to the laws under which they lived happily in their own country, and as ſhall be agreeable to the cuſtoms and diſpoſitions of the people; obſerving nevertheleſs, that, in no inſtance whatſoever, ſuch municipal laws,

laws, or regulations, be repugnant to the laws of this kingdom; and, in case that it should be necessary to apply to parliament for farther powers for carrying such charters, or purposes into execution, then to prepare a draught, or scheme, of such bill, or bills, as may be necessary to be submitted to the legislature.

3dly. To consider in what manner a sufficient portion of land shall be secured to the said citizens of Geneva; to examine and recommend, with all expedition, a situation for their new town, and to consider and prepare every arrangement which may expedite the construction of it; and to report in what mode the persons arriving in this kingdom shall, from time to time, be accommodated, until the new town, or a sufficient portion thereof, shall be erected for their reception; as also, in what manner the said houses shall be distributed to individuals, or a sufficient ground to those who may wish to build at their own expence; and in what manner the freedom of the new town shall be secured to such persons (having been citizens or inhabitants of Geneva, and possessed of those qualifications of conduct and of morals upon which the success of this establishment must depend) as are not yet arrived or naturalized; so that, upon their arrival and naturalization, they shall be entitled to the benefits of the body corporate aforesaid.

And whereas young persons of rank and fortune, from all parts of Europe, resorted to the city of Geneva, to profit from the system of education established there, under professors of eminence in useful and liberal studies and accomplishments; and whereas a school or academy formed upon the same principles in this kingdom would forward his majesty's gracious dispositions for the encouragement of religion, virtue, and science, by improving the education and early habits of youth, and would remove the inducements to a foreign education; and being conducted with that attention to morality and virtue which hath distinguished the establishments in that city, may attract foreigners to reside in this kingdom for the like purpose, we do farther pray and empower you to consider and digest a plan for a school and academy of education to be established in the new colony, and to make a part of the constitution thereof, under such institution and regulations, and with such privileges, as may best contribute to the ends hereby proposed.

And we do pray and empower you, that, after having given these subjects in general the fullest consideration, you do report unto us a particular detail of what shall be thought most fitting to be granted and ordered for the advantage and encouragement of the Genevans settling in this kingdom aforesaid, and for the welfare and prosperity of the new colony, that the necessary representations thereupon may be laid before his majesty, without loss of time; so that every facility may be given to the adoption of every measure calculated to give the said citizens of Geneva the fullest proofs of his majesty's royal protection and regard.

Given, under our hand and seal of arms, at his majesty's castle of Dublin, the 4th day of April, 1783.

By his excellency's command,

S. HAMILTON.

The following letter was received by Mr. D'Ivernois, from Mr. Secretary Hamilton:

Dublin-Castle, Aug. 18, 1783.

Sir,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that he has signed a warrant to the proper officers to make out the draught of a commission, to be submitted to his majesty for his royal signature, appointing the several noblemen and gentlemen who are to be entrusted with the settlement in this kingdom of the colony of Genevans, as also the draught of a royal letter, granting the sum of 50,000l. to those commissioners for that purpose.

His excellency has also given farther directions to the prime serjeant, attorney, and solicitor general, to prepare a draught of a grant of a charter of incorporation for the said colony, and draught of such bills to be laid before the parliament at their next meeting, as shall be requisite for effecting the several purposes desired.

His excellency has at the same time commanded me to assure you of his cordial disposition to the new settlement, and of his intention to forward every measure which shall be necessary for the protection and encouragement of the colony, with as much dispatch as the necessary forms in a business of so much importance will admit.

I have the honour to be,
With great regard, Sir,
Your's, &c.

S. HAMILTON.

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in Common Council assembled, presented March 11*th*, 1783, *to the Lord Lieutenant* *.

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the lord mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council assembled, unanimously think it our indispensible duty at this time to approach your excellency with our sincere acknowledgments for your prudent and indefatigable regard to the honour and welfare of this country.

Your excellency's early attention to the removal of all doubts relative to the independency of the legislation, and jurisdiction of the parliament of Ireland, the general and œconomical reform introduced into several departments of the state, and the many great and apparent advantages we enjoy, and are likely to experience from your excellency's wise, firm, and virtuous administration, must at all times excite and demand the highest expressions of gratitude, and make us earnestly so-

* Earl Temple.

licitous

licitous for the continuance of your government over a people affectionate to your perſon, and truly ſenſible of your honourable intentions.

It has been juſtly obſerved, that all nations have experienced a period of exaltation, as well as of depreſſion.

From an ill-judging policy, this kingdom felt the latter; from the well-timed and liberal ſentiments which prevail, it is likely to obtain the former.

We aſſure your excellency, that the citizens expect the conſummation of this great buſineſs from a nobleman of independent fortune and principles, equally the friend of Great Britain and Ireland, and ſenſible their intereſts are the ſame; and they moſt firmly rely on your goodneſs, that nothing in your power will be wanting to ſecure to this nation the complete and perpetual enjoyment of conſtitutional and commercial freedom.

In that perſuaſion we cannot but repreſent to your excellency, that as the time is critical and important, no circumſtances whatſoever ſhould induce a change which might prejudice, but cannot benefit, this country; and your excellency muſt be convinced there are ſituations in which the yielding, even to the finer feelings of the mind (however amiable in private life) muſt be conſidered as political error, and a deſertion of public duty.

Your excellency will pleaſe to receive this addreſs, not as the ordinary and common compliment paid to perſons in your high ſtation, but as the language of freemen ſenſibly alarmed, who highly approve of your conduct and revere your virtues, and who will not behold with indifference the moment which ſhall terminate your excellency's adminiſtration.

In teſtimony whereof we have cauſed the common ſeal of the ſaid city to be hereunto affixed, this 7th day of March, 1783.

Which Addreſs being preſented to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, he was pleaſed to give the following Anſwer:

I am too ſenſible to this addreſs of affectionate regard, to anſwer it in the common expreſſions of good-will: my heart is indeed too full; I truly feel an honeſt pride in receiving ſuch a teſtimony of the ſenſe which the city of Dublin entertain of my zeal to promote that firſt object of my wiſhes, the conſtitutional and commercial freedom of Ireland. To ſuch an object I would gladly ſacrifice every private feeling; and as long as I can flatter myſelf that my exertions are acceptable to his majeſty, or may be ſerviceable to this kingdom, I will hope that no circumſtances will prevent me from continuing to you that proof of my intereſt in your proſperity, which an unremitting attention to the great lines of an honeſt government can ſo truly give. But in every ſituation, I never can forget how much I owe to your affection; and my conſtant prayer, my conſtant object will be, that the honour, pride, and happineſs of Ireland may be perpetual, and that it may be founded on the ſureſt baſis of a liberal and conſtitutional connexion with your ſiſter kingdom.

The Speech of his Excellency's the Lord Lieutenant of* Ireland *to both Houſes of Parliament, Oct.* 14, 1783.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is with more than ordinary ſatisfaction that in obedience to his majeſty's commands I meet you, in full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of thoſe conſtitutional and commercial advantages which have been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in your laſt parliament. The ſacred regard on the part of Great Britain to the adjuſtment made with Ireland at that period, has been abundantly teſtified by the moſt unequivocal proofs of ſincerity and good faith.

It will ever be my wiſh, as it is my duty, to promote the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and the uniting them in ſentiments as they are in intereſt; ſuch an union muſt produce the moſt ſolid advantages to both, and will give vigour and ſtrength to the empire.

I ſincerely congratulate you on the happy completion of his majeſty's anxious endeavours to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to his faithful people. The eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity is peculiarly favourable at this period, and will naturally give ſpirit and effect to your commercial purſuits. Both kingdoms are now enabled to deliberate with undivided attention on the ſureſt means of increaſing the proſperity, and reaping the certain fruits of reciprocal affection.

I have the higheſt ſatisfaction in acquainting you of the increaſe of his majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, by the birth of another princeſs.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you; from them you will be enabled to judge of the circumſtances of the kingdom; and I rely on your wiſdom and loyalty to make ſuch proviſion as ſhall be fitting for the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The miſeries of an approaching famine have been averted by the bleſſings of Divine Providence upon the meaſures which the Privy Council adviſed; the good effects which were ſoon viſible in the immediate reduction of the price of grain and the influx of a neceſſary ſupply to the market. Any temporary infringement of the laws to effect ſuch ſalutary ends, will, I doubt not, receive a parliamentary ſanction.

Among the many important objects which demand your attention, I recommend to your conſideration laws for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and for making a new eſtabliſhment of the poſt-office.

The linen manufacture being the ſtaple of your country, it is needleſs for me to recommend perſeverance in the improvement of that moſt important article.

The fiſhery on your coaſts will claim your attention as a promiſing ſource of wealth to this kingdom; and the encouragements granted to it will, no doubt, be regulated by you in the manner moſt likely to produce the beſt effect, and leaſt ſubject to fraud and impoſition.

The

* Earl of Northington.

The Proteſtant charter ſchools, an inſtitution founded in wiſdom and humanity, are alſo almoſt eminently intitled to your care.

I recommend likewiſe to your attention the propoſals adopted by government for providing an aſylum for the diſtreſſed Genevans. It well becomes the generoſity of the people of Ireland to extend their protection to the ingenious and induſtrious men, who may prove a valuable acquiſition to this country, which they have preferred to their own. But in forming this eſtabliſhment, you will doubtleſs conſider it as a part of your duty to avoid unneceſſary expence, and ultimately to ſecure the utmoſt advantages to your country.

I anticipate the greateſt national benefits from the wiſdom and temper of parliament, when I conſider that the general election has afforded you an opportunity of obſerving the internal circumſtances of the country, and of judging by what regulations you may beſt increaſe its induſtry, encourage its manufactures, and extend its commerce.

In the furtherance of objects ſo very deſirable to yourſelves, I aſſure you of every good diſpoſition on my part; ſenſible that in no manner I can better fulfil the wiſhes and commands of our gracious ſovereign, than by contributing to the welfare and happineſs of his loyal ſubjects. With an honeſt ambition of meriting your good opinion, and with the warmeſt hope of obtaining it, I have entered upon my preſent adminiſtration; and with ſentiments pure and diſintereſted towards you, I claim your advice, and firmly rely upon your ſupport.

Dublin Caſtle, Oct. 16.

The Houſes of Lords and Commons having reſolved upon humble addreſſes to his majeſty, the ſame, together with addreſſes from both houſes to the lord lieutenant, were this day preſented to his excellency, and, with his excellency's anſwers, are as follow:

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return our moſt humble thanks to your majeſty for thoſe gracious expreſſions we have received from the throne, of that tender concern and parental regard for the happineſs of this kingdom, which we have ever ſo happily experienced.

Impreſſed at all times with the deepeſt ſenſe of your majeſty's goodneſs, we moſt thankfully acknowledge, as a freſh inſtance of it, the placing us under the government of a nobleman, whoſe amiable character, whoſe integrity and abilities, afford every proſpect of national proſperity to the country over which he is to preſide.

The unequivocal proofs we have received from Great Britain of her ſacred regard for the adjuſt-

ment of our conſtitution and commerce, made and eſtabliſhed in the laſt parliament, not only afford us the fulleſt ſecurity of our conſtitutional and commercial rights, but muſt excite in us the warmeſt affection towards our ſiſter country, and ſtrengthen that union of ſentiment, as well as of intereſt, between the two kingdoms, upon which the power and happineſs of both ſo materially depend.

To contribute to give permanency to that union, we beg leave humbly to aſſure your majeſty, it will ever be the firſt wiſh of our hearts, as it will be the firſt object of our endeavours.

We beſeech your majeſty to accept our warmeſt congratulations at the ſucceſs which has attended your majeſty's anxious exertions to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to your faithful people, which muſt naturally give ſpirit and effect to our commercial purſuits. And whilſt it will enable both kingdoms to deliberate on the ſureſt means of increaſing our common proſperity, we ſhall give every attention in our power to promote ſuch meaſures as ſhall effectually ſecure to us the ſolid benefits that muſt ariſe from reciprocal affection.

The happy increaſe of your majeſty's royal family, by the birth of a princeſs, has afforded us all that heartfelt ſatisfaction, which we can never fail to experience upon every increaſe to your majeſty's domeſtic happineſs.

Conſcious of the wiſdom of thoſe meaſures adviſed by the Privy Council, which through the mercy of Divine Providence, have averted from the people the miſeries of impending famine, we ſhall gratefully concur in a parliamentary ſanction of the means purſued by government to prevent ſo dreadful a calamity.

We ſhall alſo moſt chearfully concur in regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, as well as forming an eſtabliſhment for the poſt-office.

The improvement of our linen manufacture muſt ever be a principal object of our regard.

We are too fully convinced of the extreme importance of the fiſhery on our coaſts, both to our national wealth and induſtry, not to beſtow upon it every attention on our part, which may beſt encourage ſo valuable a branch of our commerce, and beſt prevent thoſe frauds and impoſitions, which are ſo fatal to every infant undertaking.

We ſhall likewiſe conſider the Proteſtant charter-ſchools, from the humanity as well as wiſdom of the inſtitution, highly deſerving of our care.

We conceive the liberal intentions of government to provide an aſylum to the induſtrious and diſtreſſed Genevans, demand both our acknowledgments and warmeſt concurrence in every meaſure that may promote the ſettlement in this kingdom of ſo uſeful a body of men. But whilſt we ſhall endeavour to procure every advantage to our country from that ſettlement, we are likewiſe bound to prevent as far as poſſible every unneceſſary expence with which the meaſure might be attended.

We truſt that the preſent parliament will be diſtinguiſhed in the annals of their country for their wiſdom, temper, and moderation,

deration, and for the efficacy of their regulations, to increaſe the induſtry, encourage the manufactures, and extend the commerce of this kingdom.

Whilſt we ſhall endeavour to promote ſuch valuable and important objects to ourſelves, we ſhall moſt cordially conſider the intereſts of Great Britain as immediately connected with our own; and ever having experienced the paternal beneficence of our moſt gracious ſovereign, we beſeech your majeſty to accept the tribute of hearts deeply impreſſed with gratitude in earneſtly imploring the divine goodneſs long to continue your majeſty's auſpicious reign over a loyal, happy, and united people.

W. WATTS GAYER, } Cler. Parl.
EDW. GAYER, }

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Anſwer.

I will take the earlieſt opportunity of tranſmitting this dutiful and loyal addreſs to be laid before his majeſty.

To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your majeſty with ſentiments of the moſt unfeigned attachment to your royal perſon and government, and to offer to your majeſty our grateful thanks for the appointment of a nobleman to the government of this kingdom, whoſe juſtice, integrity, and abilities, afford the beſt founded expectations of national happineſs and proſperity under his adminiſtration.

The ſincerity and good faith of Great Britain, ſo abundantly teſtified by the ſacred regard ſhewn on her part to the adjuſtment of our conſtitution and commerce, demand our warmeſt acknowledgments, while we enjoy the full poſſeſſion of thoſe conſtitutional and commercial advantages which were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the laſt parliament.

We ſhall earneſtly concur in any meaſure that may confirm and ſtrengthen the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and their union, in ſentiment as well as in intereſt. From thence the moſt ſolid advantages muſt ariſe to both kingdoms, and vigour will be added to the ſtrength of the empire.

Already we feel the bleſſings of peace; and we intreat your majeſty to accept our humble thanks for the happy completion of your anxious endeavours to reſtore that ineſtimable bleſſing to your faithful people. We hope now to reap the fruits of our extended commerce, and in our deliberations, we ſhall look upon the increaſing proſperity of Great Britain with that regard, which muſt be the effect of reciprocal affection.

As affectionate ſubjects, deeply intereſted in the happineſs of our beloved ſovereign, we learn with the higheſt ſatisfaction the increaſe of that happineſs in the birth of another princeſs.

We muſt immediately inſpect the national accounts; and, happy in your majeſty's juſt reliance upon our loyalty, we will make ſuch proviſion as ſhall be fitting for the honourable ſupport of your majeſty's government, conſiſtently with the abilities of the nation.

We adore the mercy of Divine Providence in averting from this people the miſeries of impending famine; and we will chearfully concur in a parliamentary ſanction of thoſe wiſe and ſalutary meaſures, which government purſued by the advice of the Privy Council.

We ſhall loſe no time in the neceſſary manner for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and for making a new eſtabliſhment of the poſt-office.

We ſhall induſtriouſly perſevere in the improvement of our linen manufacture; nor ſhall we omit an attention to the fiſhery, that promiſing ſource of induſtry and wealth; and we ſhall endeavour to regulate the encouragements granted to it, ſo as to produce the beſt effects, and to prevent fraud and impoſition.

We ſhall likewiſe extend our care to the Proteſtant charter-ſchools.

We ſhall readily forward the liberal intentions of government to provide an aſylum for the diſtreſſed Genevans. Ingenious men have a claim to the protection of a generous nation.——But our own country is no leſs entitled to that care, which it is our duty to exert in avoiding unneceſſary expence, and ſecuring the utmoſt advantages from the ſettlement of the emigrants.

We truſt that the wiſdom and temper of this parliament will be manifeſted in all its proceedings; and we ſhall endeavour to profit by every opportunity which circumſtances have afforded us of obſerving the internal ſtate of the country, and judging what regulations may beſt encourage and extend its induſtry, manufactures and commerce.

Having conſtantly experienced the beneficence of our moſt gracious ſovereign in contributing to the welfare and happineſs of his faithful ſubjects, we lay at your majeſty's feet the tribute of grateful hearts, earneſtly beſeeching the divine goodneſs long to continue the bleſſings of your majeſty's auſpicious reign over a happy, united, and loyal people.

T. Ellis, Cler.Parl.Dom.Com.

His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Anſwer.

I will take the firſt opportunity of tranſmitting this dutiful and loyal addreſs to be laid before his majeſty.

To his Excellency Robert *Earl of* Northington, *Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of* Ireland.

The humble Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

WE, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament aſſembled, preſent to your excellency our warmeſt thanks for your moſt excellent ſpeech from the throne.

We

We beg leave to congratulate your excellency and ourſelves upon your appointment to the government of this kingdom, at a period peculiarly auſpicious to Ireland.

In the fulleſt reliance upon your excellency's wiſdom, juſtice, and integrity, we anticipate the advantages this kingdom muſt derive from your excellency's adminiſtration; and conſider your excellency's appointment to preſide in it as a freſh inſtance of his majeſty's paternal regard for the happineſs of his faithful people.

We are highly grateful for the warmth with which your excellency ſignifies your ſatisfaction at meeting us in the full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of thoſe conſtitutional and commercial rights, which were ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the laſt parliament.

We truſt that the unequivocal proofs given by Great Britain of her ſacred regard to the adjuſtment then made with Ireland, cannot fail to cement the union, and ſtrengthen the mutual confidence between two kingdoms, the true intereſts of which are and muſt ever be inſeparable.

We beg leave to ſhare with your excellency the ſatisfaction you expreſs at the ſucceſs of his majeſty's endeavours to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to his faithful people.

We ſhall, in purſuance of your excellency's wiſe and ſeaſonable advice, ſhew our readineſs to deliberate upon the meaſures pointed out by your excellency, as well for regulating the judicature of the court of admiralty, and the new eſtabliſhment of the poſt-office, as for promoting our commercial purſuits, and reaping the advantages to be derived from the reſtoration of public tranquility. Permit us to add, that the recommendation of thoſe meaſures by your excellency, affords the moſt convincing evidence of your reſpect for the rights, and your capacity to diſcern, and deſire to promote the intereſts of Ireland.

The meaſures purſued by government, by the advice of the Privy Council, to avert the miſeries of an impending famine, if not ſtrictly conformable to law, will appear, we doubt not, to have been urged by neceſſity, and ſo eſſential to the public good as to merit parliamentary indemnification.

We enjoy the higheſt pleaſure in every addition to the domeſtic happineſs of our gracious ſovereign, and participate in your excellency's ſatisfaction at the birth of another princeſs.

We truſt our well known and moſt ſincere loyalty to his majeſty, our confidence in the ſincerity and good faith of our ſiſter kingdom, and the ample means we have lately acquired of becoming a great and commercial people, will diſpoſe us to carry on our conſultations for his majeſty's honour and the good of our country, with that duty, temper, and unanimity, which can alone render them ſucceſsful, and perpetuate the harmony between the two kingdoms: and with the firmeſt reliance on your excellency's pure and diſintereſted intentions towards us, we ſhall, to the utmoſt of our power, ſupport the honour of his majeſty's govern-

government, and the eaſe of your excellency's adminiſtration.

W. WATTS GAYER, EDW. GAYER, } Cler. Parl.

His Excellency's Anſwer.

I return your lordſhips my ſincere thanks for the very honourable teſtimony of your good opinion, which it ſhall be my conſtant endeavour to improve. Be aſſured that my inclinations, as well as my duty, will ever intereſt me deeply in the proſperity and happineſs of Ireland.

To his Excellency Robert Henley, *Earl of* Northington, *Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of* Ireland.

The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

May it pleaſe your Excellency,

WE, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Ireland, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your excellency our ſincere thanks for your excellent ſpeech from the throne. We conſider it as a ſtrong proof of his majeſty's gracious attention to the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland, that he has been pleaſed to commit the government of this kingdom to your excellency, in whoſe firmneſs, juſtice, and integrity, we place the higheſt confidence that the powers of government will be directed to the true intereſts of the people.

We truſt that your excellency will lay before his majeſty the faithful and affectionate duty of his loyal ſubjects of Ireland, and repreſent their cordial regard to Great Britain in its full light, thereby ſtrengthening the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and uniting them inſeparably in ſentiment, as they are in intereſt.

We will aſſiduouſly apply ourſelves to the conſideration of the many important objects which your excellency has recommended to our attention. And we cannot refrain from acknowledging with gratitude the intereſt which your excellency takes in the proſperity of this kingdom, when in the very nature of thoſe objects we trace the juſt and generous ſpirit which points them out to us.

We will chearfully grant ſuch ſupplies, as after a proper inveſtigation of the national accounts, ſhall appear to be fitting for the honourable ſupport of his majeſty's government, conſidering the abilities of the country.

Convinced of your excellency's diſpoſition to promote the welfare and happineſs of this kingdom, we ſhall prove ourſelves not unworthy the confidence you are pleaſed to repoſe in us, by contributing our beſt endeavours to the eaſe and honour of your excellency's adminiſtration.

T. ELLIS, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

His Excellency's Anſwer.

I return you my cordial thanks for this very affectionate and obliging addreſs. It is my earneſt deſire to merit your confidence, and I ſhall anxiouſly endeavour to juſtify the favourable opinion you entertain

entertain of me by an unremitting attention to the welfare and happineſs of this kingdom.

The following is a Tranſlation of the Manifeſto publiſhed by order of the Empreſs of Ruſſia, *upon the Occaſion of her Troops entering the Peninſula of the* Crimea, *the* Cuban, *and the Iſland of* Taman; *which Countries are thereby declared to be annexed to her Imperial Majeſty's Dominions.*

WE Catherine the Second, by the Grace of God, Empreſs and Sole Monarch of all the Ruſſias, &c. &c. &c.

OUR laſt war againſt the Ottoman empire having been attended with the moſt ſignal ſucceſſes, we had certainly acquired the right of re-uniting to the territories of our empire the Crimea, of which we were in poſſeſſion: we, however, heſitated not to ſacrifice that, with many other conqueſts, to our ardent deſire of re-eſtabliſhing the public tranquillity, and of confirming the good underſtanding and friendſhip between our empire and the Ottoman Porte. This motive induced us to ſtipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, whom we had reduced by our arms; hoping to remove for ever, by this means, every cauſe of diſſenſion, and even of coolneſs between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte, expoſed too often to theſe inconveniencies by the form of government which then ſubſiſted among the Tartars.

Great as were our ſacrifices and efforts for realiſing thoſe hopes, they were ſoon, to our great regret, conſiderably diminiſhed. The reſtleſſneſs natural to the Tartars, fomented by inſinuations, the ſource of which is not unknown to us, cauſed them eaſily to fall into a ſnare laid by foreign hands, which had ſowed amongſt them the ſeeds of diſturbance and confuſion to ſuch a degree, as to induce them to labour for the weakening, and even the total ruin of an edifice which our beneficent cares had erected for the happineſs of that nation, by procuring them liberty and independence, under the authority of a chief elected by themſelves. Hardly was their khan eſtabliſhed according to this new form of government, before he ſaw himſelf deprived of all authority, and even obliged to deſert his country, to give place to an uſurper, who would again ſubject the Tartars to the yoke of a dominion, from which our beneficence had releaſed them. The greater part of them, as blind as they were ignorant, had ſubmitted to that uſurper; the reſt, thinking themſelves too weak to reſiſt, would infallibly have yielded to his yoke; and thus we ſhould have loſt the fruits of our victories, and the principal recompence for the ſacrifices which we willingly made at the laſt peace, if we had not inſtantly taken under our immediate protection ſuch of the well-diſpoſed Tartars, who, prizing the bleſſings of their new political exiſtence, lamented their being forced to ſubmit to the uſurper who had expelled their lawful khan. By thus effectually protecting them, we furniſhed them with the power and the means

means of chuſing a new khan, in the room of Sahib-Gheray, and of eſtabliſhing an adminiſtration analogous to this ſtate of affairs. It was to attain this end that our military forces were put in motion; that a conſiderable body of our troops were ordered, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of the ſeaſon, to enter the Crimea, where they were ſubſiſted at our expence, and obliged to exert the power of our army for the ſupport of the good cauſe, in order to recall ſuch of the Tartars as were eſtranged from it by their revolt. The public is not ignorant that a rupture between Ruſſia and the Ottoman Porte had very near enſued upon this occaſion; but, thanks to the Divine aſſiſtance, we diſpoſed matters in ſuch a manner, that the Ottoman Porte again acknowledged the independence of the Tartars, and the validity of the election of Schaghin-Gheray, their lawful ſovereign. Notwithſtanding all the inconveniencies above-mentioned, as long as we were ſuſtained and animated by the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the repoſe neceſſary to the advantage and preſervation of good neighbourhood with the Ottoman empire, we regarded the Crimea according to the tenour and letter of the treaties, as a free and independent country, confining ourſelf ſolely to appeaſing the troubles which prevailed amongſt them; from our love of peace we found in this conduct a ſufficient recompence for the great expences incurred by it; but we were ſoon undeceived in this reſpect by the freſh revolt occaſioned in the Crimea laſt year, the encouragement of which always flowed from the ſame ſource. We have been obliged in conſequence to have recourſe again to conſiderable armaments, and to cauſe troops to enter into the Crimea and the Cuban, whoſe preſence is become indiſpenſible for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the adjacent countries. The ſad experience of every day demonſtrates more clearly, that if the ſovereignty of the Ottoman Porte in the Crimea was a perpetual ſource of diſcord between our two empires, the independence of the Tartars expoſe us to ſubjects of contention no leſs numerous and important, ſince the long ſervitude to which that people have been accuſtomed, has rendered the greater part of the individuals incapable of valuing the advantages of the new ſituation procured for them by that independence of which we fought to give them the enjoyment; and which, laying us under the neceſſity of being always armed, occaſions not only great expences, but alſo expoſes our troops to inevitable and continual fatigues.

The efforts they made to extinguiſh the flame of diſcord, in ſuccouring the well-intentioned of that nation, expoſed them to the violences of the ſeditious and ill-intentioned, whom we were willing to leave unpuniſhed, in order to avoid even the ſhadow of an act of ſovereignty, ſo long as we could cheriſh the leaſt hope of at length reſtoring good order, and preventing by this means the eſſential intereſts of our empire from being injured.

But to our great regret all theſe meaſures, dictated ſolely by our love

love of humanity, tended only to bring upon us loſſes and damages, which we have the more ſenſibly at heart, as they affected our ſubjects. The loſs in men is not to be appreciated; we will not attempt to eſtimate it; that in money, according to the moſt moderate calculations, amounts to upwards of twelve millions of roubles. To theſe particulars is to be added another of the utmoſt importance, both in its object and with regard to its conſequences: we have juſt been informed, that the Porte has began to lay claim to the exerciſe of ſovereignty in the Tartar dominions, by ſending one of their officers, at the head of a detachment of troops, to the iſland of Taman, who has even proceeded to cauſe the officer to be publicly beheaded, who was ſent to him by the khan Schaghin-Gheray, with a commiſſion only to enquire of him what were the motives for his arrival in that iſland; and what evidently proves the nature of the miſſion of this commandant of the troops is, that he made no difficulty in declaring openly to the inhabitants of Taman, that he looked upon them as ſubjects of the Porte. This deciſive, though unexpected ſtep, convincing us of the inutility of the ſacrifices we had made upon the laſt peace, annuls in conſequence the engagements we had contracted, with the ſole intention of firmly eſtabliſhing the freedom and independence of the Tartars, and ſufficiently authorizes us to enter again into the enjoyment of thoſe rights which we had lawfully acquired by conqueſt; the more ſo, as it is the only means remaining for us to ſecure hereafter a ſolid and permanent peace between the two empires. Animated therefore with a ſincere deſire of confirming and maintaining the laſt peace concluded with the Porte, by preventing the continual diſputes which the affairs of the Crimea produced, our duty to ourſelf, and the preſervation of the ſecurity of our empire, equally demand our taking the firm reſolution to put an end, once for all, to the troubles in the Crimea; and for this purpoſe we reunite to our empire the peninſula of Crimea, the iſland of Taman, and all the Cuban, as a juſt indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained, and the expences we have been obliged to incur in maintaining the peace and welfare of theſe territories.

In declaring to the inhabitants of thoſe countries by the preſent manifeſto, that ſuch is our Imperial pleaſure, we promiſe them, for us and our ſucceſſors in the Imperial throne of Ruſſia, that they ſhall be treated upon an equality with our ancient ſubjects; and that, in taking them under our high protection, we will defend againſt all people their perſons, their eſtates, their temples, and the religion they profeſs; that they ſhall enjoy the moſt abſolute liberty of conſcience, without the leaſt reſtriction, in the public exerciſe of their worſhip and their ceremonies; and that not only the nation in general, but alſo each individual in particular, ſhall participate in all the advantages enjoyed by our ancient ſubjects. But we alſo expect, from the gratitude of our new ſubjects, that,

touched with these favours, they will be sensible of the value of this fortunate revolution, which removes them from a convulsed state of disturbances and dissensions to one of entire security and perfect tranquillity under the protection of the laws; and that, striving to imitate the submission, zeal, and fidelity of those who have long had the happiness of living under our government, they will render themselves worthy of our imperial favour, beneficence, and protection. Given at our imperial residence of St. Petersburgh, the 8th of April, in the year of Grace 1783, and in the 21st year of our reign.

(Signed with her Imperial majesty's own hand)

CATHERINE. (L. S.)

Heads of the principal Acts *of* Parliament *passed during the present Session.*

AN act for allowing the importation of goods from Europe in neutral ships into the islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines; and of goods the produce or manufacture of the said islands, and of Tobago and St. Lucia, from thence into this kingdom, in such ships, upon payment of the British plantation duties, for a limited time; for permitting certain goods, the produce of those islands, secured in warehouses in this kingdom, to be taken out, on payment of the British plantation duties, and to cancel certain bonds entered into for payment of the duties due thereon; for further continuing certain temporary acts for the encouragement of trade; and to repeal an act, made in the 22d year of his majesty's reign, for allowing the importation of goods the growth of St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, into any of his majesty's dominions in Europe or America.

An act to repeal so much of two acts, as prohibits trade and intercourse with the United States of America.

An act for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majesty's courts in that kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of his majesty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain.

An act to discharge and indemnify the united company of merchants of England trading to the East Indies, from all damages, interest, and losses, in respect to their not making regular payment of certain sums due, and to become due, to the public, and to allow further time for such payment; and to enable the company to borrow a certain sum of money; and to make a dividend of 4l. per cent. to the proprietors at Midsummer, 1783.

An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between

tween the ſubjects of his majeſty's dominions and the inhabitants of the ſaid United States.

An act for the better regulation of the office of the paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces, and the more regular payment of the army; and to repeal an act, intituled, "An act for the better regulation of the office of paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces."

An act for appointing and enabling commiſſioners further to examine, take, and ſtate the public accounts of the kingdom.

An act for the more effectual preventing the illegal importation of foreign ſpirits, and for putting a ſtop to the private diſtillation of Britiſh made ſpirituous liquors; for explaining ſuch part of the act, impoſing a duty upon male ſervants, as relates to the right of appeal from the juſtices of the peace; to amend and rectify a miſtake in an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, with reſpect to the removal of tea from one part of the kingdom to other parts thereof; and for preventing vexatious actions againſt officers of exciſe acting in purſuance of the authority given by exciſe ſtatutes.

An act for eſtabliſhing certain regulations in the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer.

An act for granting relief to the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, by allowing further time for the payment of certain ſums due, and to become due to the public, and by advancing to the ſaid company, on the terms therein mentioned, a certain ſum of money to be raiſed by loans or exchequer bills; and to enable the ſaid company to make a dividend of four pounds per cent. to the proprietors at Chriſtmas, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty-three; and to regulate the future payment of debentures of drawbacks on Eaſt India goods.

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CHARACTERS.

Character of Elizabeth, *Queen of* England; *from the Hiſtory of* Philip *the Third, King of* Spain, *by* R. Watſon, *L. L. D. &c. &c.*

THIS great princeſs, whoſe reign was ſo long and proſperous, had through her whole life enjoyed uninterrupted health, which ſhe had been careful to preſerve by regular exerciſe, and the ſtricteſt temperance. But towards the end of the preceding year, having been ſeized with a cold, which confined her for ſeveral days, ſhe found her ſtrength conſiderably impaired; and, in the hopes of deriving benefit from a change of air, ſhe removed from Weſtminſter to Richmond; but there ſhe grew daily worſe, could neither ſleep nor eat as uſual, and though her pulſe was regular, ſhe complained of a burning heat in her ſtomach, and a perpetual thirſt. Both her looks and ſpirits had from the beginning been greatly affected; buſineſs of every kind had become an intolerable burthen to her; and at length ſhe ſunk into a deep melancholy, expreſſing the anguiſh of her mind by tears and groans, and obſtinately refuſing nouriſhment, as well as all the medicines which the phyſicians preſcribed for her recovery. This melancholy might have entirely proceeded from her bodily indiſpoſition, although, from ſome late diſcoveries, there is ground to believe that it was greatly heightened, if not principally occaſioned, by remorſe and grief conceived on account of her having ordered the execution of her favourite, the Earl of Eſſex. But to whatever cauſe her dejection of mind was owing, it preyed upon her exhauſted frame, and in a few weeks put a period to her life, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

It is not ſurpriſing that we meet with ſuch contradictory deſcriptions of the character of this princeſs in the cotemporary hiſtorians, whoſe paſſions were too much inflamed to ſuffer them to juge impartially of her character: but it ſhould ſeem impoſſible for any perſon, who is not blinded by prejudice, to refuſe her a place among the moſt illuſtrious princes of whom we read either in ancient or in modern times.

She was not indeed exempt from the imperfections that are incident to humanity, and ſhe was ſubject to ſeveral of thoſe weakneſſes which characteriſe her ſex. She cannot be vindicated from the imputation of female vanity, and

the love of admiration on account of her exterior accompliſhments. We ſhould have loved her more if ſhe had been more gentle and indulgent, leſs imperious and violent, or more candid and ſincere. From natural temper, her paſſions of every kind were ſtrong and vehement, and, among her courtiers, they ſometimes betrayed her into improprieties; but they were almoſt never permitted to influence her public conduct, which was uniformly regulated by the principles of prudence, and a regard for the public good; even her ambition was controlled and governed by theſe principles, of which ſhe gave a rare and ſignal proof, when ſhe refuſed to accept of the ſovereignty of the United Provinces. Her penetration and ſagacity, her prudence and foreſight, her intrepidity in the midſt of danger, her activity and vigour, her ſteadineſs and perſeverance, and her wiſe œconomy, which prompted her to ſave every unneceſſary expence, however ſmall, while it permitted and enabled her to undergo the greateſt, when neceſſity required; theſe qualities in her character, which are acknowledged by her enemies, as well as her admirers, no prince, of whom we read in hiſtory, appears to have poſſeſſed in a more eminent degree.

Few princes have been placed in ſo difficult circumſtances, or have had ſo many, and ſuch formidable enemies to oppoſe; yet almoſt no prince ever enjoyed a reign ſo long and proſperous. While the neighbouring nations were almoſt continually involved in the calamities of war, ſhe was able, notwithſtanding the unremitted attempts of her foreign enemies, and her popiſh ſubjects, to preſerve her dominions in almoſt uninterrupted peace. Nor did her own ſubjects only reap the fruits of her great abilities, but her friends were every where ſupported and protected by her power; while her enemies, though poſſeſſed of much greater reſources, were either checked and reſtrained, or humbled and overcome: without her judicious interpoſition, the reformation in Scotland muſt have been extinguiſhed; a race of popiſh princes muſt have inherited the crown of that kingdom; and the difference of religion there, and in England, joined to the hereditary right of the Scottiſh princes to the Engliſh throne, whilſt it muſt have proved a copious ſource of diſcord, would long have prevented the union of two nations, which muſt have often been unhappy while they remained divided, and were, by nature, deſtined to be one. Nor were the benefits which mankind derived from her wiſe and active reign confined to Britain; but it is likewiſe probable, that without her aid and her exertions, the proteſtants in France muſt have been extirpated; the beſt and greateſt of the French monarchs muſt have been excluded from the throne; France itſelf muſt have ſunk under the Spaniſh yoke; the republic of the United Provinces muſt have been cruſhed in its infancy; and an overgrown and enormous power eſtabliſhed, which muſt have overwhelmed the liberties of Europe, and prolonged the reign of ignorance, bigotry, and ſuperſtition.

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Character of the Mareſchal Leſdiguieres, *from the ſame Author.*

ALTHOUGH fortune ſometimes raiſes the worthleſs and the weak to the higheſt offices, yet it muſt have been ſingular merit that, in times productive of great characters, could exalt a private gentleman of a very narrow fortune, to the firſt dignity of a great kingdom that can be enjoyed by a ſubject. Francis de Bonne, with a patrimony of fifty crowns a year, roſe to the ſtation of conſtable of France, in oppoſition to many rivals of noble birth and great power. He was of an agreeable aſpect, a mild temper, and eaſy manners; qualities which were not indeed very ſhining in themſelves, but which contributed not a little to raiſe the mareſchal Leſdiguieres to ſituations in which he had opportunities of diſplaying the greateſt talents and virtues *. His underſtanding was manly and ſolid; he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the virtues of political and martial courage; and, though he was ſuſceptible both of friendſhip and love, his ruling paſſion was ambition. The Duke of Savoy cultivated the friendſhip of this man with uncommon attention, and practiſed with unwearied diligence all his addreſs in order to gain ſo important an acquiſition. To the mareſchal Leſdiguieres he ſhewed all the reſpect due to a crowned head. If he received him at Turin, it was with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. If he addreſſed him in writing, he beſtowed on him the endearing and flattering appellations of "good neighbour, and faithful friend." He conſulted him on every occaſion: and the mareſchal returned his confidence and aſſiduities with the ſincereſt fidelity and affection. The attachment of Leſdiguieres to Charles Emanuel was well known to the court of Spain, and they endeavoured to counteract its effects by operating on his natural ambition. The king and queen of France, at the inſtigation of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, attempted to ſeduce him from the intereſts of Savoy, by calling him to court in order to be inveſted with the privileges and rank of a duke and peer. And, that he might be enabled to ſupport the magnificence of that character, the king of Spain offered him any ſum of money he ſhould be pleaſed to demand, to be paid in any part of Europe. Theſe allurements failing of ſucceſs, a ſupply of money was offered ſufficient to raiſe and maintain for a year, an army of forty thouſand men, with a ſuitable train of artillery, to be employed in making himſelf maſter of Savoy. Of this duchy the Duke of Monteleon, in name of the Spaniſh monarch, offered him the inveſtiture, on condition of his aſſiſting the Spaniards to conquer Piedmont. This temptation having been alſo reſiſted, Monteleon engaged Louis to tranſmit to the mareſchal the moſt peremptory orders to abſtain from levying troops, and on no pretext whatever to move to the aſſiſtance of the Duke of Savoy. Theſe orders were in vain reiterated and enforced, at the deſire of the feeble

* Amelot de la Houſſaie.

court of Paris, by the authority of the parliament of Grenoble. Lesdiguieres, in a letter to the king, represented to his majesty, in a firm though respectful tone, that his duty called him to restore the dignity of France in Italy, by fulfilling the engagements of that kingdom to the Duke of Savoy, and chastising the perfidy and insolence of Spain. And he added, that, however treacherous counsels might beguile the good intentions of his majésty for a time, he did not despair of his present conduct meeting one day with the approbation of his sovereign.

Character of the Spaniards; *from the same Author.*

A WAR with the Saracens, prolonged, with few intervals, for eight hundred years, nourished in the Spaniards a vigour of character, a love of their country, and a passion for glory. The necessity of continually engaging, formed as many heroes as there were men in each city: military renown was the great object of their vows; and the tombs of the deceased were adorned with a number of obelisks equal to that of the enemy they had slain in battle *. While they lived exposed to continual dangers they acquired that gravity of deportment, that deliberate valour, that perseverance and vigilance which still distinguish the Spanish nation. Before the ambitious and warlike reigns of Ferdinand, the emperor, and Philip II. the sagacity and vigilance of the Spaniards appeared formidable to the other nations of Europe †. These reigns continued to call forth and exercise the spirit of the nation, and to support, if not to heighten, that national character which had been formed by the wars with the Moors. And this national character still shone forth with undiminished lustre after the imprudence of the court, and exhausted resources, had undermined the foundations of the grandeur of the empire. As prosperous war rouses the genius of a nation, the glory of letters would have corresponded to that of the Spanish arms, had not the progress of taste and knowledge been checked by the tyranny of the inquisition, and that despotism which was introduced into the government. But although these circumstances have prevented among the Spaniards the growth of sound philosophy, in their poetry, history, romances, and even their commentaries on the sacred scriptures, as well as on Aristotle, whose metaphysical notions were deemed so orthodox by the Catholic church, we recognize that boldness and invention, that subtlety and refinement which were conspicuous for ages in the military and political conduct of Spain.

Thus, that power of genius and valour among his subjects, which

* Johannes Genesius Sepulveda de Rebus Gestis, Caroli V. lib. 1.

† Machiavel says, in his Account of the State of France, that the French were afraid of the Spaniards on account of their sagacity and vigilance. It is true, that this account was written after Ferdinand had begun to reign: but it was before the exertions of that prince could have stamped on the minds of his subjects, a national character.

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at once adorned and disgraced the feeble reign of Philip III. seems deducible from a train of moral causes, as obvious in their existence as powerful in their nature. But when the reader revolves what is left on record concerning ancient Spain, he will be inclined perhaps to subscribe to the opinion of an ingenious writer, that the characters of nations as well as families, are influenced by accidents antecedent to birth *, and particularly by climate, acting either immediately with powerful energy on the fabric of their being, or as a local circumstance leading to a variety of action in the œconomy of civil life. At all times, valour and genius have ennobled the character of the Spaniards. Not the robust German, impelled by the fury of a savage religion, displayed such enthusiasm in arms and contempt of death, as shone forth in the invincible resolution of the inhabitants of Numantia, Astapa, and Saguntum. A greater hero than Viriatus is not to be found in the history of ancient Rome †. Between the times of the Scipios and those of Augustus, there intervened a period of two hundred years. During this long space, Spain maintained a contest with the policy and disciplined valour of Rome: and it seemed uncertain which masters the world was to obey, the Spaniards or the Romans. The destiny of Rome to give law to the nations finally subdued all resistance, and Spain had the glory of being the last that yielded to the Roman yoke. But it was the fortune of the vanquished to receive literature and refinement from the conquerors of the world: and in return, Trajan added lustre to the Roman purple; and the names of Quintilian, Martial, Mela, Seneca, Lucan, and Florus, appeared in the list of Latin authors.

Character of King James *the Second, from Mrs.* M. Graham's *History of* England.

IT was said by the witty Duke of Buckingham, that "Charles the Second might do well if he would," and that "James would do well if he could:" an observation which says little for the understanding of James, but a great deal for his heart; and with all the blemishes with which his public character is stained, he was not deficient in several qualities necessary to compose a good sovereign. His industry in business was exemplary, he was frugal of the public money, he cherished and extended the maritime power of the empire, and his encouragement of trade was attended with such success, that, according to the observation of the impartial historian Ralph, as the frugality of his administration helped to increase the number of malecontents, so his extreme attention to trade was not less alarming to the whole body of the Dutch than his

* Essay on the History of Mankind, &c. by Dr. Dunbar.

† This man, who had resisted the Roman arms for twenty years, and who was deemed invincible, was at last insidiously cut off by the Romans, who bribed his body guards.

reſolution not to ruſh into a war with France was mortifying to their ſtadtholder.

In domeſtic life, the character of James, though not irreproachable, was comparatively good: it is true, he was in a great meaſure tainted with that licentiouſneſs of manners, which, at this time, pervaded the whole ſociety, and which reigned triumphant within the circle of the court; but he was never carried into any exceſſes which trenched deeply on the duties of ſocial life; and if the qualities of his heart were only to be judged by his conduct in the different characters of huſband, father, maſter, and friend, he might be pronounced a man of a very amiable diſpoſition. But thoſe who know not how to forgive injuries, and can never pardon the errors, the infirmities, the vices, or even the virtues of their fellow-creatures, when in any reſpect they affect perſonal intereſt or inclination, will arm againſt them the ſenſibility of every humane mind, and can never expect from others that juſtice and commiſeration which themſelves have never exerciſed. But whilſt we execrate that rancorous cruelty with which James, in the ſhort hour of triumph, perſecuted all thoſe who endeavoured to thwart his ambitious hopes, it is but juſtice to obſerve, that the rank vices of pride, malice, and revenge, which ſo deeply blacken his conduct, whilſt he figured in the ſtation of preſumptive heir to the crown, and afterwards in the character of ſovereign on the ſucceſsful quel-

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the whole period of his life, from his return from Ireland to the day of his death, was ſpent in the exerciſe of the firſt chriſtian virtues, viz. patience, fortitude, humility, and reſignation. Brettonneau, his biographer, records, that he always ſpoke with an extreme moderation of the individuals who had acted the moſt ſucceſsfully in his diſfavour; that he reproved thoſe who mentioned their conduct with ſeverity; that he read, even with a ſtoical apathy, the bittereſt writings which were publiſhed againſt him; that he regarded the loſs of empire as a neceſſary correction for the miſdemeanors of his life, and even rebuked thoſe who expreſſed any concern for the iſſue of events which he reſpected as ordinations of the divine will. According to the ſame biographer, James was exact in his devotion, moderate even to abſtinence; in his life, full of ſentiments of the higheſt contrition for paſt offences; and, according to the diſcipline of the Romiſh church, was very ſevere in the auſterities which he inflicted on his perſon. As this prince juſtly regarded himſelf as a martyr to the Catholic faith, as his warmeſt friends were all of this perſuaſion, as his converſation in his retirement at St. Germains, was entirely in a great meaſure confined to prieſts and devotees, it is natural that his ſuperſtition ſhould increaſe with the increaſe of religious ſentiment; and as he had made uſe of his power and authority, whilſt in England, to enlarge the number of proſelytes to popery, ſo in a private ſtation he laboured inceſſantly by prayer, exhortation, and example, to con-

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firm the piety of his popiſh adherents, and to effect a reformation in thoſe who ſtill continued firm to the doctrines of the church of England. He viſited the monks of la Trappe once a year, the ſevereſt order of religioniſts in France; and his conformity to the diſcipline of the convent was ſo ſtrict and exact, that he impreſſed thoſe devotees with ſentiments of admiration at his piety, humility, and conſtancy. Thus having ſpent twelve years with a higher degree of peace and tranquillity than he had ever experienced in the moſt triumphant part of his life, he was ſeized with a palſy in September, 1701, and after languiſhing fifteen days, died in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, having filled up the interval, between his firſt ſeizure and final exit, with the whole train of religious exerciſes enjoined on ſimilar occaſions by the church of Rome, with ſolemn and repeated profeſſions of his faith, and earneſt exhortations to his two children, the youngeſt of whom was born in the ſecond year of his exile, to keep ſtedfaſt to the religion in which they had been educated. Theſe precepts and commands have acted with a force ſuperior to all the temptations of a crown, and have been adhered to with a firmneſs which obliges an hiſtorian to acknowledge the ſuperiority which James's deſcendants, in the nice points of honour and conſcience, have gained over the character of Henry the Fourth, who, at the period when he was looked up to as the great hero of the proteſtant cauſe, made no ſcruple to accept a crown on the diſgraceful terms of abjuring the principles of the reformation, and embracing the principles of a religion, which, from his early infancy, he had been taught to regard as idolatrous and prophane.

The dominion of error over the minds of the generality of mankind is irreſiſtible. James, to the laſt hour of his life, continued as great a bigot to his political as his religious errors: he could not help conſidering the ſtrength and power of the crown as a circumſtance neceſſary to the preſervation and happineſs of the people; and, in a letter of advice, which he wrote to his ſon, whilſt he conjures him to pay a religious obſervance to all the duties of a good ſovereign, he cautions him againſt ſuffering any entrenchment on royal prerogative. Among ſeveral heads, containing excellent inſtructions on the art of reigning happily and juſtly, he warns the young prince never to attempt to diſquiet his ſubjects in their property or their religion; and, what is very remarkable, to his laſt breath he perſiſted in aſſerting, that he never intended to ſubvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and an equality of privilege to his catholic ſubjects. As there is great reaſon to believe this aſſertion to be true, it ſhews, that the deluſion was incurable under which the king laboured, by the truſt he had put in the knaviſh doctrines of lawyers and prieſts; and that neither himſelf, nor his proteſtant abetters, could fathom the conſequences of that enlarged ſyſtem of toleration which he endeavoured to eſtabliſh.

Deſcription of the Rejangs *in the Iſland of* Sumatra, *extracted from the Hiſtory of that Iſland, by* W. Marſden, *F R. S. late Secretary to the Preſident and Council of* Fort Marlborough.

THEY are placed in what may be called a central ſituation, not geographically, but with reſpect to the encroachments of foreign manners and opinions, introduced by the Malays, from the north, and Javans from the ſouth; which gives them a claim to originality, ſuperior to that of moſt others. They are a people whoſe form of government and whoſe laws extend, with very little variation, over a conſiderable part of the iſland, and principally that portion where the connexions of the Engliſh lie. There are traditions of their having formerly ſent forth colonies to the ſouthward; and in the country of Paſſummah, the ſite of their villages is ſtill pointed out; which would prove that they have formerly been of more conſideration than they can boaſt at preſent. They have a proper language, and a perfect written character, that is become of general uſe in many remote diſtricts. Theſe advantages point out the Rejang people as an eligible ſtandard of deſcription; and a motive equally ſtrong that induces me to adopt them as ſuch, is, that my ſituation and connexions on the iſland, led me to a more intimate and minute acquaintance with their laws and manners, than with thoſe of any other claſs. I muſt premiſe however that the Malay cuſtoms having made their way, in a greater or leſs degree, to every part of Sumatra, it will be totally impoſſible to diſcriminate, with entire accuracy, thoſe which are original, from thoſe which are borrowed: and of courſe, what I ſhall ſay of the Rejangs, will apply for the moſt part, not only to the Sumatrans in general, but may ſometimes be, in ſtrictneſs, proper to the Malays alone, and by them taught to the higher rank of country people.

The country of the *Rejangs* is divided, to the north-weſt, from the kingdom of *Anac Soongey* (of which *Moco Moco* is the capital) by the ſmall river of *Oori*, near that of *Cattown*; which laſt, with the diſtrict of *Laboon* on its banks, bounds it on the north or inland ſide. The country of *Mooſee*, where *Palembang* river takes its riſe, forms its limit to the eaſtward. *Bencoolen* river, preciſely ſpeaking, confines it on the ſouth-eaſt; though the inhabitants of the diſtrict called *Lemba*, extending from thence to *Silebar*, are entirely the ſame people, in manners and language. The principal rivers, beſides thoſe already mentioned, are *Laye*, *Pally*, and *Soongeylamo*; on all of which the Engliſh have factories, the reſident or chief being ſtationed at *Laye*.

The perſons of the inhabitants of the iſland, though differing conſiderably in diſtricts remote from each other, may in general be comprehended in the following deſcription; excepting the Acheneſe, whoſe commixture with the Moors of the weſt of India, has diſtinguiſhed them from the other Sumatrans.

They are rather below the middle ſtature; their bulk is in proportion;

portion; their limbs are for the moſt part ſlight, but well ſhaped, and particularly ſmall at the wriſts and ankles. Upon the whole they are gracefully formed, and I ſcarcely recollect to have ever ſeen one deformed perſon, of the natives *. The women, however, have the prepoſterous cuſtom of flattening the noſes, and compreſſing the heads of children newly born, whilſt the ſkull is yet cartilaginous, which increaſes their natural tendency to that ſhape. I could never trace the origin of the practice, or learn any other reaſon for moulding the features to this uncouth appearance, but that it was an improvement of beauty in their eſtimation. Captain Cook takes notice of a ſimilar operation at the iſland of *Ulietea*. They likewiſe pull out the ears of infants, to make them ſtand erect from the head. Their eyes are uniformly dark and clear, and among ſome, eſpecially the ſouthern women, bear a ſtrong reſemblance to the Chineſe, in the peculiarity of formation ſo generally obſerved of that people. Their hair is ſtrong, and of a ſhining black; the improvement of both which qualities it probably owes, in great meaſure, to the conſtant and early uſe of coco-nut oil, with which they keep it moiſt. The men frequently cut their hair ſhort, not appearing to take any pride in it; the women encourage theirs to a conſiderable length, and I have known many inſtances of its reaching the ground. The men are beardleſs, and have chins ſo remarkably ſmooth, that were it not for the Malay prieſts diſplaying a little tuft, we ſhould be apt to conclude that nature had refuſed them this token of manhood. It is the ſame in reſpect to other parts of the body, with both ſexes; and this particular attention to their perſons, they eſteem a point of delicacy, and the contrary an unpardonable neglect. The boys, as they approach to the age of puberty, rub their chins, upper lips, and thoſe parts of the body that are ſubject to ſuperfluous hair, with *chunam*, (quick lime) eſpecially of ſhells, which deſtroys the roots of the incipient beard. The few pilæ that afterwards appear, are plucked out from time to time with tweezers, which they always carry about them for that purpoſe. Were it not for the numerous and very reſpectable authorities, from which we are aſſured that the natives of America are naturally beardleſs, I ſhould think that the common opinion on that ſubject had been raſhly adopted, and that their appearing thus at a mature age, was only the conſequence of an early practice, ſimilar to that obſerved among the Sumatrans. Even now I muſt confeſs that it would remove ſome ſmall degree of doubt from my mind, could it

* Ghirardini, an Italian painter, who touched at Sumatra on his way to China in 1698, obſerves of the Malays,

Son di perſona tanto ben formata
Quanto mai finger ſan pittori induſtri.

He ſpeaks in high terms of the country, as being beautifully picturesque.

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be aſcertained that no ſuch cuſtom prevails *. Their complexion is properly yellow, wanting the red tinge that conſtitutes a tawny or copper colour. They are in general lighter than the Meſtees, or half breed, of the reſt of India; thoſe of the ſuperior claſs, who are not expoſed to the rays of the ſun, and particularly their women of rank, approaching to a great degree of fairneſs. Did beauty conſiſt in this one quality, ſome of them would ſurpaſs our brunettes in Europe. The major part of the females are ugly, and many of them even to diſguſt, yet there are thoſe among them, whoſe appearance is ſtrikingly beautiful; whatever compoſition of perſon, features, and complexion, that ſentiment may be the reſult of.

The fairneſs of the Sumatrans, comparatively with other Indians, ſituated as they are, under a perpendicular ſun, where no ſeaſon of the year affords an alternative of cold, is, I think, an irrefragable proof, that the difference of colour in the various inhabitants of the earth, is not the immediate effect of climate. The children of Europeans born in this iſland are as fair, and perhaps in general fairer, than thoſe born in the country of their parents. I have obſerved the ſame of the ſecond generation, where a mixture with the people of the country has been avoided. On the other hand, the offſpring and all the deſcendants of the Guinea and other African ſlaves imported there, continue in the laſt inſtance as perfectly black as in the original ſtock. I do not mean to enter into the merits of the queſtion which naturally connects with theſe obſervations; but ſhall only remark, that the ſallow and aduſt countenances, ſo commonly acquired by Europeans who have long reſided in hot climates, are more aſcribable to the effect of bilious diſtempers, which almoſt all are ſubject to in a greater or leſs degree, than of their expoſure to the influence of the weather, which few but ſeafaring people are liable to, and of which the impreſſion is ſeldom permanent. From this circumſtance I have been led to conjecture that the general diſparity of complexions in different nations, might *poſſibly* be owing to the more or leſs copious ſecretion, or redundance of that juice, rendering the ſkin more or leſs dark according to the qualities of the bile prevailing in the conſtitutions of each. But I fear ſuch an hypotheſis would not ſtand the teſt of experiment, as it muſt follow, that upon diſſection, the contents of a negro's gall bladder, or at leaſt the extravaſated bile, ſhould uniformly be found black. Perſons ſkilled in anatomy will determine whether it is poſſible that the qualities of any animal ſecretion can ſo far affect the

* It is allowed by travellers that the Patagonians have tufts of hair on the upper lip and chin. Captain Carver ſays, that among the tribes he viſited, the people made a regular practice of eradicating their beards with pincers. At Bruſſels is preſerved, along with a variety of ancient and curious ſuits of armour, that of Montezuma king of Mexico, of which the vizor, or maſk for the face, has remarkably large whiſkers; an ornament which thoſe Americans could not have imitated, unleſs nature had preſented them with the model.

frame,

frame, as to render their conſequences liable to be tranſmitted to poſterity in their full force.

The ſmall ſize of the inhabitants, and eſpecially of the women, may be in ſome meaſure owing to the early communication between the ſexes; though, as the inclinations which lead to this intercourſe are prompted here by nature ſooner than in cold climates, it is not unfair to ſuppoſe that being proportioned to the period of maturity, this is alſo ſooner attained, and conſequently that the earlier ceſſation of growth of theſe people, is agreeable to the laws of their conſtitution, and not occaſioned by a premature and irregular appetite.

Perſons of ſuperior rank encourage the growth of their handnails, particularly thoſe of the fore and little fingers, to an extraordinary length; frequently tinging them red, with the expreſſed juice of a ſhrub called *eeni*; as they do the nails of their feet alſo, to which, being always uncovered, they pay as much attention as to their hands. The hands of the natives, and even of the half breed, are always cold to the touch; which I cannot account for otherwiſe than by a ſuppoſition, that from the leſs degree of elaſticity in the ſolids, occaſioned by the heat of the climate, the internal action of the body, by which the fluids are put in motion, is leſs vigorous, the circulation is proportionably languid, and of courſe the diminiſhed effect is moſt perceptible in the extremities, and a coldneſs there is the natural conſequence.

The natives of the hills, through the whole extent of the iſland, are ſubject to thoſe monſtrous wens from the throat, which have been obſerved of the Vallaiſans, and the inhabitants of other mountainous diſtricts in Europe. It has been uſual to attribute this affection to the badneſs, thawed ſtate, mineral quality, or other peculiarity of the waters; many ſkilful men having applied themſelves to the inveſtigation of the ſubject. My experience enables me to pronounce without heſitation, that the diſorder, for ſuch it is, though it appears here to mark a diſtinct race of people *(orang goonong)*, is immediately connected with the hilline's of the country, and of courſe, if the circumſtances of the water they uſe contribute thereto, it muſt be only ſo far as the nature of the water is affected by the inequality or height of the land. But on Sumatra neither ſnow nor other congelation is ever produced, which militates againſt the moſt plauſible conjecture that has been adopted concerning the Alpine goitres. From every reſearch that I have been enabled to make, I think I have reaſon to conclude, that the complaint is owing, among the Sumatrans, to the fogginеſs of the air in the vallies between the high mountains, where, and not on the ſummits, the natives of theſe parts reſide. I before remarked, that between the ranges of hills, the *caboot* or denſe miſt was viſible for ſeveral hours every morning; riſing in a thick, opaque and well defined body, with the ſun, and ſeldom quite diſperſed till after noon. This phænomenon, as well as that of the wens, being peculiar to the regions of the hills, affords a preſumption that they may

be connected; excluſive of the natural probability that a cold vapor, groſs to an uncommon degree, and continually enveloping the habitations, ſhould affect with tumors the throats of the inhabitants. I cannot pretend to ſay how far this ſolution may apply to the caſe of the goitres, but I recollect it to have been mentioned, that the only method of curing theſe people, is by removing them from the vallies to the clear and pure air on the tops of the hills; which ſeems to indicate a ſimilar ſource of the diſtemper with what I have pointed out. The Sumatrans do not appear to attempt any remedy for it, the wens being conſiſtent with the higheſt health in other reſpects.

The perſonal difference between the Malays of the coaſt, and the country inhabitants, is not ſo ſtrongly marked but that it requires ſome experience to diſtinguiſh them. The latter, however, poſſeſs an evident ſuperiority in point of ſize and ſtrength, and are fairer complexioned, which they probably owe to their ſituation, where the atmoſphere is colder; and it is generally obſerved, that people living near the ſea ſhore, and eſpecially when accuſtomed to navigation, are darker than their inland neighbours. Some attribute the diſparity in conſtitutional vigour, to the more frequent uſe of opium among the Malays, which is ſuppoſed to debilitate the frame; but I have noted that the Leemoon and Batang Aſſy gold traders, who are a colony of that race ſettled in the heart of the iſland, and who cannot exiſt a day without opium, are remarkably hale and ſtout; which I have known to be obſerved with a degree of envy by the opium-ſmokers of our ſettlements. The inhabitants of Paſſummah alſo, are deſcribed as being more robuſt in their perſons, than the planters of the low country.

The original clothing of the Sumatrans is the ſame with that found by navigators among the inhabitants of the South Sea iſlands, and now generally called by the name of Otaheitean cloth. It is ſtill uſed among the Rejangs for their working dreſs, and I have one in my poſſeſſion, procured from theſe people, conſiſting of a jacket, ſhort drawers, and a cap for the head. This is the inner bark of a certain ſpecies of tree, beat out to the degree of fineneſs required; approaching the more to perfection, as it reſembles the ſofter kind of leather, ſome being nearly equal to the moſt delicate kid-ſkin; in which character it ſomewhat differs from the South Sea cloth, as that bears a reſemblance rather to paper, or to the manufacture of the loom. The country people now conform in a great meaſure to the dreſs of the Malays, which I ſhall therefore deſcribe in this place, obſerving that much more ſimplicity ſtill prevails among the former, who look upon the others as coxcombs who lay out all their ſubſtance on their backs, whilſt, in their turns, they are regarded by the Malays with contempt, as unpoliſhed ruſtics.

A man's dreſs conſiſts of the following parts. A cloſe waiſt-coat, without ſleeves, but having a neck like a ſhirt, buttoned cloſe up to the top, with buttons, often, of gold filagree. This is peculiar to the Malays. Over this they wear the *badjoo*, which reſembles a morn-

a morning gown, open at the neck, but faſtened cloſe at the wriſts and half way up the arm, with nine buttons to each ſleeve. The badjoo worn by young men is open in front no farther down than the boſom, and reaches no lower than the waiſt, whereas the others hang looſe to the knees, and ſometimes to the ancles. They are made uſually of blue or white cotton cloth; for the better ſort, of chintz, and for great men, of flowered ſilks. The *cayen ſarrong* is not unlike a Scot's highlander's plaid in appearance, being a piece of party colored cloth about ſix or eight feet long, and three or four wide, ſewed together at the ends; forming, as ſome writers have deſcribed it, a wide ſack without a bottom. This is ſometimes gathered up, and ſlung over the ſhoulder like a ſaſh, or elſe folded and tucked about the waiſt and hips; and in full dreſs it is bound on by the belt of the *creeſe* (dagger), which is of crimſon ſilk, and wraps ſeveral times round the body, with a loop at the end, in which the ſheath of the creeſe hangs. They wear ſhort drawers, reaching half way down the thigh, generally of red or yellow taffeta. There is no covering to their legs or feet. Round their heads they faſten, in a particular manner, a fine, coloured handkerchief, ſo as to reſemble a ſmall turban; the country people uſually twiſting a piece of white or blue cloth for this purpoſe. The crown of their head remains uncovered, except on journies, when they wear a *toodong* or umbrella-hat, which completely ſcreens them from the weather.

The women have a kind of bodice, or ſhort waiſtcoat rather, that defends the breaſts, and reaches to the hips. The cayen ſarrong, before deſcribed, comes up as high as the armpits, and extends to the feet, being kept on ſimply by folding and tucking it over, at the breaſt, except when the *talle-pending*, or zone, is worn about the waiſt, which forms an additional and neceſſary ſecurity. This is uſually of embroidered cloth, and ſometimes a plate of gold or ſilver, about two inches broad, faſtening in the front with a large claſp of filagree or chaſed work, with ſome kind of precious ſtone, or imitation of ſuch, in the center. The badjoo, or upper gown, differs little from that of the men, buttoning in the ſame manner at the wriſts. A piece of fine, thin, blue cotton cloth, about five feet long, and worked or fringed at each end, called a *ſalendang*, is thrown acroſs the back of the neck, and hangs down before; ſerving alſo the purpoſe of a veil to the women of rank when they walk abroad. The handkerchief is carried, either folded ſmall in the hand, or at length over the ſhoulder. There are two modes of dreſſing the hair, one termed *coondye*, and the other *ſangoll*. The firſt reſembles much the faſhion in which we ſee the Chineſe women repreſented in paintings, and which I conclude they borrowed from thence, where the hair is wound circularly over the center of the head, and faſtened with a ſilver bodkin or pin. In the other mode, which is more general, they give the hair a ſingle turn as it hangs behind, and then doubling it up, they paſs it croſswiſe, under a few hairs ſeparated from the reſt,

reſt, on the back of the head, for that purpoſe. A comb, often of tortoiſeſhell, and ſometimes filagreed, helps to prevent it from falling down. The hair of the front, and of all parts of the head, is of the ſame length, and when looſe, hangs together behind, with moſt of the women, in very great quantity. It is kept moiſt with oil, commonly of the coco-nut, but thoſe perſons who can afford it make uſe of an empyreumatic oil extracted from gum Benjamin, as a grateful perfume. They wear no covering, except ornaments of flowers, which, on particular occaſions, are the work of much labour and ingenuity. The head dreſſes of the dancing girls by profeſſion, who are uſually Javans, are very artificially wrought, and as high as any modern Engliſh lady's cap, yielding only to the feathered plumes of the year 1777. It is impoſſible to deſcribe in words theſe intricate and fanciful matters, ſo as to convey a juſt idea of them. The flowers worn in undreſs are, for the moſt part, ſtrung in wreaths, and have a very neat and pretty effect, without any degree of gaudineſs, being uſually white or pale yellow, ſmall, and frequently only half blown. Thoſe generally choſen for theſe occaſions, are the *boongoo-tanjong* and *boongo-melloor*: the *boongo-choompaco* is uſed to give the hair a fragrance, but is concealed from the ſight. They ſometimes combine a variety of flowers in ſuch a manner as to appear like one, and fix them on a ſingle ſtalk; but theſe, being more formal, are leſs elegant, than the wreaths.

Among the country people, particularly in the ſouthern countries, the virgins (*orang gaddees*, or goddeſſes, as it is uſually pronounced) are diſtinguiſhed by a fillet which goes acroſs the front of the hair, and faſtens behind. This is commonly a thin plate of ſilver, about half an inch broad: thoſe of the firſt rank have it of gold, and thoſe of the loweſt claſs have their fillet of the leaf of the *neepah* tree. Beſides this peculiar ornament, their ſtate of pucelage is denoted by their having rings or bracelets of ſilver or gold on their wriſts. Strings of coins round the neck are univerſally worn by children, and the females, before they are of an age to be clothed, have, what may not be inaptly termed, a modeſty-piece, being a plate of ſilver in the ſhape of a heart, hung before by a chain of the ſame metal, paſſing round the waiſt. The young women in the country villages manufacture themſelves the cloth that conſtitutes the principal, and often the only part of their dreſs, or the cayen ſarrong, and this reaches from the breaſt no lower than the knees. Thoſe worn by the Malay women, and men alſo, come from the Bugguefs iſlands to the eaſtward, and with them extend as low as the feet; but here, as in other inſtances, the more ſcrupulous attention to appearances does not accompany the ſuperior degree of real modeſty.

Both ſexes have the extraordinary cuſtom of filing and otherwiſe diſfiguring their teeth, which are naturally very white and beautiful, from the ſimplicity of their food. For a file, they make uſe of a ſmall whetſtone, and the patients lie on their back during the operation. Many, particularly the women of the Lampoon Country,

try, have their teeth rubbed down quite even with the gums; others have them formed in points, and some file off no more than the outer coat and extremities, in order that they may the better receive and retain the jetty blackness, with which they almost universally adorn them. The black used on these occasions is the empyreumatic oil of the coco-nut shell. When this is not applied, the filing does not, by destroying what we term the enamel, diminish the whiteness of the teeth. The great men sometimes set theirs in gold, by casing, with a plate of that metal, the under row; and this ornament, contrasted with the black dye, has, by lamp or candle light, a very splendid effect. It is sometimes indented to the shape of the teeth, but more usually quite plain. They do not remove it either to eat or sleep.

At the age of about eight or nine, they bore the ears of the female children; which is a ceremony that must necessarily precede their marriage. This they call *betenday*, as they call filing their teeth *bedabong*; both which operations are regarded in the family, as the occasions of a festival. They do not here, as in some of the adjacent islands, (of *Neas* in particular) increase the aperture of the ear to a monstrous size, so as in many instances to be large enough to admit the hand, the lower parts being stretched till they touch the shoulders. Their ear-rings are mostly of gold filagree, fastening, not with a clasp, but in the manner of studs.

Difference in Character between the Malays, *and other* Sumatrans; *from the same Author.*

THE Malay and native Sumatran differ more in the features of their mind than in those of their person. Although we know not that this island, in the revolutions of human grandeur, ever made a distinguished figure in the history of the world, (for the Acheneſe, though powerful in the sixteenth century, were very low in point of civilization) yet the Malay inhabitants have an appearance of degeneracy, and this renders their character totally different from that which we conceive of a savage, however justly their ferocious spirit of plunder on the eastern coast, may have drawn upon them that name. They seem rather to be sinking into obscurity, though with opportunities of improvement, than emerging from thence, to a state of civil or political importance. They retain a strong share of pride, but not of that laudable kind which restrains men from the commission of mean and fraudulent actions. They possess much low cunning and plausible duplicity, and know how to dissemble the strongest passions and most inveterate antipathy, beneath the utmost composure of features, till the opportunity of gratifying their resentment offers. Veracity, gratitude, and integrity, are not to be found in the list of their virtues, and their minds are almost totally strangers to the sentiments of honour and infamy. They are jealous and vindictive. Their courage is desultory,

ſultory, the effect of a momentary enthuſiaſm, which enables them to perform deeds of incredible deſperation; but they are ſtrangers to that ſteady magnanimity, that cool heroic reſolution in battle, which conſtitutes in our idea the perfection of this quality, and renders it a virtue *. Yet it muſt be obſerved, that from an apathy almoſt paradoxical, they ſuffer under ſentence of death, in caſes where no indignant paſſions could operate to buoy up the mind to a contempt of puniſhment, with aſtoniſhing compoſure and indifference; uttering little more on theſe occaſions, than a proverbial ſaying, common among them, expreſſive of the inevitability of fate —"*apoo boolee booat?*" To this ſtoiciſm, their belief in predeſtination, and very imperfect idea of a future, eternal exiſtence, doubtleſs contribute.

Some writer has remarked, that a reſemblance is uſually found, between the diſpoſition and qualities of the beaſts proper to any country, and thoſe of the indigenous inhabitants of the human ſpecies, where an intercourſe with foreigners has not deſtroyed the genuineneſs of their character. The Malay may be compared to the buffalo and the tiger. In his domeſtic ſtate, he is indolent, ſtubborn, and voluptuous as the former, and in his adventurous life, he is inſidious, blood-thirſty, and rapacious as the latter. Thus the Arab is ſaid to reſemble his camel, and the placid Gentoo his cow.

The original Sumatran, though he partakes in ſome degree of the Malay vices, and partly from the contagion of example, poſſeſſes many excluſive virtues; but they are more properly of the negative than the poſitive kind. He is mild, peaceable, and forbearing, unleſs his anger be rouſed by violent provocation, when he is implacable in his reſentments. He is temperate and ſober, being equally abſtemious in meat and drink. The diet of the natives is moſtly vegetable; water is their only beverage; and though they will kill a fowl or a goat for a ſtranger, whom perhaps they never ſaw before, nor ever expect to ſee again, they are rarely guilty of that extravagance for themſelves; not even at their feſtivals (*bimbang*), where there is a plenty of meat, do they eat much of any thing but rice. Their hoſpitality is extreme, and bounded by their ability alone. Their manners are ſimple; they are generally, except among the chiefs, devoid of the Malay cunning and chicane; yet endued with a quickneſs of apprehenſion, and on many occaſions diſcovering a conſiderable degree of penetration and ſagacity. In reſpect to women, they are remarkably continent, without any ſhare of inſenſibility. They are modeſt; particularly guarded in their expreſſions; courteous in their behavior; grave in their deportment, being ſeldom or never excited to laughter; and patient to a great degree. On the other hand, they are litigious;

* In the hiſtory of the Portugueſe wars in this part of the eaſt, there appears ſome exception to this remark, and particularly in the character of *Lacſmanna*, who was truly a great man, and moſt conſummate warrior.

indolent;

indolent; addicted to gaming; diſhoneſt in their dealings with ſtrangers, which they eſteem no moral defect; ſuſpicious; regardleſs of truth; mean in their tranſactions; ſervile; though cleanly in their perſons, dirty in their apparel, which they never waſh. They are careleſs and improvident of the future, becauſe their wants are few, for though poor, they are not neceſſitous; nature ſupplying with extraordinary facility, whatever ſhe has made requiſite for their exiſtence. Science and the arts have not, by extending their views, contributed to enlarge the circle of their deſires; and the various refinements of luxury, which in poliſhed ſocieties become neceſſaries of life, are totally unknown to them *.

Account of the Inhabitants of the Batta *Country, in the Iſland of* Sumatra, *from the ſame Author.*

THE *Battas* are in their perſons rather below the ſtature of the *Malays*, and their complexions are fairer; which may perhaps be owing to their diſtance from the ſea, an element they do not at all frequent.

Their dreſs is commonly of a ſpecies of cotton cloth, which they manufacture themſelves, ſtrong, harſh, and of mixed colours, the moſt prevalent being a browniſh red, and blue nearly approaching to black. They are fond of adorning it with ſtrings of beads. The covering of the head is uſually the bark of a tree. The young women wear rings of tin in their ears, often to the number of fifty in each.

The food of the lower people is *jaggong* (maize), and ſweet potatoes; the *rajas* and great men only, indulging themſelves in ordinary with rice. Some mix them together. It is on public occaſions alone that they kill cattle for food; but not being very dainty in their appetites, they do not ſcruple to eat part of a dead buffalo, aligator, or other animal, which they happen to meet with. Their rivers do not abound with fiſh; which is the caſe with moſt in the iſland, owing to their rapidity and frequent falls †; yet no ſea-coaſt teems with greater abundance or variety. Their *horſes* they eſteem the moſt luxurious food, and for this purpoſe feed them with great care, giving them grain, and rubbing them well down. They abound in this country, and the Europeans get many good ones from thence; but not the fineſt, as theſe are reſerved for their feſtivals.

Some excellent ſpecies of tim-

* The *Macaſſar* and *Bugueſs* people, who come annually in their *praws* from *Celebes* to trade at Sumatra, are looked up to by the inhabitants, as their ſuperiors in manners. The Malays affect to copy their ſtyle of dreſs, and frequent alluſions to the feats and atchievements of theſe people are made in their ſongs. Their reputation for courage, which certainly ſurpaſſes that of all other people in the eaſtern ſeas, acquires them this flattering diſtinction. They alſo derive part of the reſpect paid them, from the richneſs of the cargoes they import, and the ſpirit with which they ſpend the produce in gaming cock-fighting, and opium-ſmoking.

† Some of the ſouth eaſtern rivers are an exception. *Siak* is noted for a trade in fiſh roes, cured there, and called *trobo*.

ber, particularly the camphire, (the wood in general of the country being light, porous, and prone to decay) are in plenty here, and their houſes are all built with frames of wood, and boarded; with roofs of ejoo, a vegetable ſubſtance that reſembles coarſe horſe-hair. They uſually conſiſt of one large room, which is entered by a trap-door in the middle. Their towns are called "*campong*," in which the number of houſes ſeldom exceeds twenty; but oppoſite to each, is a kind of open building, that ſerves to ſit in, during the day, and for the unmarried men to ſleep in at night; and theſe together form a kind of ſtreet. There is alſo to each *campong* a *balli*, (as it is called by the Malays) or town hall, for the tranſaction of public buſineſs, feſtivals, and the reception of ſtrangers, whom they entertain with hoſpitality and frankneſs. At the end of this building is a place divided off, from whence the women ſee the public ſpectacles of fencing and dancing; and below that is a kind of orcheſtra for the muſic.

The men are allowed to marry as many wives as they pleaſe, or can afford, and to have half a dozen is not uncommon. Each of theſe ſit in a different part of the large room, and ſleep expoſed to the others; not being ſeparated by any partition, or diſtinction of apartments. Yet the huſband finds it neceſſary to allot to each of them their ſeveral fire-places, and cooking utenſils, where they dreſs their victuals ſeparately, and prepare his in turns. How is this domeſtic ſtate, and the ſlimſineſs of ſuch an imaginary barrier, to be reconciled with our ideas of the furious, ungovernable paſſions of love and jealouſy, ſuppoſed to prevail in an eaſtern *haram?* Or muſt cuſtom be allowed to ſuperſede all other influence, both moral and phyſical? In other reſpects they differ little in their cuſtoms relating to marriage from the reſt of the iſland. The parents of the girl always receive a valuable conſideration (in buffalos or horſes) from the perſon to whom ſhe is given in marriage; which is returned when a divorce takes place againſt the man's inclination. The daughters, as elſewhere, are looked upon as the riches of the fathers.

The condition of the women appears to be little better than that of ſlaves. They alone, beſide the domeſtic duties, work in the rice plantations. Theſe are prepared in the ſame mode as in the reſt of the iſland; except that in the central parts, the country being clearer, the plough, drawn by buffalos, is more uſed. The men, when not engaged in war, their favorite occupation, lead an idle, inactive life, paſſing the day in playing on a kind of a flute, crowned with garlands of flowers; among which the *globe amaranthus*, a native of the country, moſtly prevails. Their muſic is ſomewhat preferable to that of the other Sumatrans.

They are much addicted to gaming, and the practice is under no kind of reſtraint, until it deſtroys itſelf, by the ruin of one of the parties. When a man loſes more money than he is able to pay, he is confined and ſold as a ſlave; which is almoſt the only mode by which they become ſuch. A generous

nerous winner will ſometimes releaſe his unfortunate adverſary, upon condition of his killing a horſe, and making a public entertainment.

A favorite diverſion with theſe people is horſe-racing. They uſe no ſaddle; the bit of the bridle is of iron, and has ſeveral joints; the head-ſtall and reins of rattan: in other parts the reins are of ejoo, and the bit of wood. They are ſaid likewiſe to hunt the deer on horſeback.

They have, as was obſerved in another place, a language and written character peculiar to themſelves; and the Malay has there made leſs progreſs than in any part of the iſland. It is remarkable, that the proportion of the people who know how to read and write, is much greater than of thoſe who do not; an advantage ſeldom obſerved in ſuch uncivilized parts of the world, and not always found in the more poliſhed.

Their crimes againſt the order of ſociety are not numerous. Theft is almoſt unknown among them; being ſtrictly honeſt in their dealings with each other. Pilfering, indeed, from ſtrangers, when not reſtrained by the laws of hoſpitality †, they are tolerably expert in, and think no moral offence; becauſe they do not perceive that any ill reſults from it. Adultery, in the men, is puniſhed with death; but the women are only diſgraced, by having their heads ſhaved, and are ſold for ſlaves; which in fact they were before. The diſtribution of juſtice in this caſe, is, I think, perfectly ſingular. It muſt proceed from their looking upon women as mere paſſive ſubjects. "Can you put butter near to a fire, ſay the *Hindoo* ſages, and ſuppoſe that it will not melt?" The men alone they regard as poſſeſſing the faculties of free agents, who may control their actions, or give way to their paſſions, as they are well or ill inclined. Lives, however, are in all caſes redeemable, if the convict, or his relations, have property ſufficient; the quantum being in ſome meaſure at the diſcretion of the injured party.

But their moſt extraordinary, though perhaps not the moſt ſingular cuſtom, remains yet to be deſcribed. Many old writers had furniſhed the world with accounts of *anthropophagi*, or man-eaters, and their relations, true or falſe, were, in thoſe days, when people

† Mr. Miller gives the following inſtances of their hoſpitality in the reception of ſtrangers.—"The *raja* of *Terimbaroo*, being informed of our intentions to come there, ſent his ſon, and between thirty and forty men, armed with lances and matchlock guns, to meet us; who eſcorted us to their campong, beating gongs, and firing their guns all the way. The raja received us in great form, and with civility ordered a buffalo to be killed, and detained us a day. When we proceeded on our journey, he ſent his ſon and a number of armed people with us for our guard. Having made the accuſtomed preſents, we left *Terimbaroo*, and proceeded to *Samaſſam*; the raja of which place, attended by ſixty or ſeventy men, well armed, ſoon met us, and eſcorted us to his campong, where he had prepared a houſe for our reception, and treated us with great hoſpitality and reſpect."

were addicted to the marvellous, univerſally credited. In the ſucceeding age, when a more ſceptical and ſcrutinizing ſpirit prevailed, ſeveral of theſe aſſerted facts were found, upon ſubſequent examination, to be falſe; and men, from a biaſs inherent in our nature, run into the oppoſite extreme. It then became eſtabliſhed as a philoſophical truth, capable almoſt of demonſtration, that no ſuch race of people ever did, or could exiſt. But the varieties, inconſiſtencies, and contradictions of human manners, are ſo numerous and glaring, that it is ſcarce poſſible to fix any general principle that will apply to all the incongruous races of mankind; or even to conceive an irregularity which ſome or other of them have not given into. The voyages of our late famous circumnavigators, the authenticity of whoſe aſſertions is unimpeachable, have already proved to the world, that human fleſh is eaten by the ſavages of *New Zealand*; and I can, with eqûal confidence, though not with equal weight of authority, aſſure the public, that it is alſo, at this day, eaten on the iſland of *Sumatra* by the *Batta* people; and by them only. Whether or not the horrible cuſtom prevailed more extenſively, in antient times, I cannot take upon me to aſcertain; but the ſame old hiſtorians, who mention it as practiſed by the *Battas*, and whoſe accounts were undeſervedly looked upon as fabulous, relate it alſo of many others of the eaſtern people, and thoſe of the iſland of *Java* in particular, who, ſince that period, may have become more humanized *.

They do not eat human fleſh, as a means of ſatisfying the cravings of nature, owing to a deficiency of other food; nor is it ſought after as a gluttonous delicacy, as it would ſeem among the *New Zealanders*. The *Battas* eat it as a ſpecies of ceremony; as a mode of ſhewing their deteſtation of crimes, by an ignominious pu-

* Mention is made of the *Battas* and their cuſtoms, by the following writers. Nicoli de Conti, 1449, Ramuſio. "The Sumatrans are gentiles. The people of *Batach* eat human fleſh, and uſe the ſkulls of their enemies inſtead of money; and he is accounted the greateſt man who has the moſt of theſe in his houſe."—Odoardus Barboſa, 1519, Ramuſio. "In *Aru* (which is contiguous to *Batta*) they eat human fleſh."—Mendez Pinto, in 1539, was ſent on an embaſſy to the king of the *Battas*.—Beaulieu, 1622. "Inland people independent, and ſpeak a language different from the Malayan. Idolaters, and eat human fleſh. Never ranſom priſoners, but eat them with pepper and ſalt. Have no religion, but ſome polity."—De Barros, 1558. "The gentiles retreated from the Malays to the interior part of the iſland. Thoſe who live in that part oppoſite to Malacca, are called *Battas*. They eat human fleſh, and are the moſt ſavage and warlike people of the iſland. Thoſe which inhabit to the ſouth are called *Botumas*, and are more civilized."—Captain Hamilton. "The inhabitants of *Delley* (on a river which runs from the *Batta* country) are ſaid to be cannibals." "Vartomanus, in 1504, writes that the *Javans* were man-eaters, before that traffick was had with them by Chineſe, which the people ſaid was no more than an hundred years. The ſame cuſtom has been attributed to the *Gueos*, inland of Cambodia, and alſo to the inhabitants of the *Carnicobar* iſlands.

niſhment;

niſhment; and has a horrid indication of revenge and inſult to their unfortunate enemies. The objects of this barbarous repaſt, are the priſoners taken in war; and offenders convicted and condemned for capital crimes. Perſons of the former deſcription may be ranſomed or exchanged, for which they often wait a conſiderable time; and the latter ſuffer only when their friends cannot redeem them by the cuſtomary fine of twenty *beenchangs*, or eighty dollars. Theſe are tried by the people of the tribe where the fact was committed, but cannot be executed till their own particular *raja*, or chief, has been acquainted with the ſentence; who, when he acknowledges the juſtice of the intended puniſhment, ſends a cloth to cover the delinquent's head, together with a large diſh of ſalt and lemons. The unhappy object, whether priſoner of war, or malefactor, is then tied to a ſtake; the people aſſembled throw their lances at him from a certain diſtance, and when mortally wounded, they run up to him, as if in a tranſport of paſſion; cut pieces from the body with their knives; dip them in the diſh of ſalt and lemon juice; ſlightly broil them over a fire prepared for the purpoſe; and ſwallow the morſels with a degree of ſavage enthuſiaſm. Sometimes (I preſume according to the degree of their animoſity and reſentment) the whole is devoured; and inſtances have been known, where, with barbarity ſtill aggravated, they tear the fleſh from the carcaſe with their mouths. To ſuch a depth of depravity may man be plunged, when neither religion nor philoſophy enlighten his ſteps! All that can be ſaid in extenuation of the horror of this diabolical ceremony, is, that no view appears to be entertained of torturing the ſufferers; of increaſing or lengthening out the pangs of death; the whole fury is directed againſt the corſe; warm indeed with the remains of life, but paſt the ſenſation of pain. I have found a difference of opinion in regard to their eating the bodies of their enemies *ſlain* in battle. Some perſons long reſident there, and acquainted with their proceedings, aſſert that it is not cuſtomary; but as one or two particular inſtances have been given by other people, it is juſt to conclude, that it ſometimes takes place, though not generally. It was ſuppoſed to be with this intent that *raja Neabin* maintained a long conflict for the body of Mr. Nairne, a moſt reſpectable gentleman, and valuable ſervant of the India Company, who fell in an attack upon the campong of that chief, in the year 1775 *.

Character

* I find that ſome perſons ſtill doubt the reality of the fact, that human fleſh is any where eaten by mankind, and think that the proofs hitherto adduced are inſufficient to eſtabliſh a point of ſo much moment in the hiſtory of the ſpecies. It is objected to me, that I never was an eye witneſs of a *Batta* feaſt of this nature, and that my authority for it is conſiderably weakened by coming through a ſecond or perhaps a third hand. I am ſenſible of the weight of this reaſoning, and am not anxious to force any man's belief, much leſs to deceive him by pretences to the higheſt degree of certainty, when my relation can only lay claim

Character of Luther, *by Biſhop* Atterbury; *extracted from his "Anſwer to ſome Conſiderations on the Spirit of* Martin Luther, *&c."*

MARTIN Luther's life was a continual warfare; he was engaged againſt the united forces of the Papal world, and he ſtood the ſhock of them bravely both with courage and ſucceſs. After his death, one would have expected that generous adverſaries ſhould have put up their pens, and quitted at leaſt ſo much of the quarrel as was perſonal. But, on the contrary, when his doctrines grew too ſtrong to be taken by his enemies, they perſecuted his reputation; and by the venom of their tongues ſufficiently convinced the world, that the religion they were of allowed not only prayers for the dead, but even curſes too. Among the reſt that have engaged in this unmanly deſign, our author appears: not indeed after the bluſtering rate of ſome of the party, but with a more calm and better diſſembled malice: he has charged his inſtrument of revenge with a ſort of white powder, that does the ſame baſe action, though with leſs noiſe. It is cruel thus to interrupt the peace of the dead; and Luther's ſpirit has reaſon to expoſtulate with this man, as once the ſpirit of Samuel did with Saul—"Why haſt thou diſquieted me, to bring me up?" He knows the ſequel of the ſtory: the anſwer that was given was no very pleaſing one; it only afforded the enquirer an account of his own diſcomfiture. Let us ſee whether this diſturber of Luther's aſhes will have any better fortune.

claim to the next degree. I can only ſay, that I thoroughly believe the fact myſelf, and that my conviction has ariſen from the following circumſtances, ſome of leſs, ſome of more authority. It is, in the firſt place, a matter of general and uncontroverted notoriety in the iſland: I have talked on the ſubject with natives of the country, who acknowledge the practice, and become aſhamed of it when they have reſided among more humanized people: it has been my chance to have had no leſs than three brothers, chiefs of the ſettlement of *Natal* and *Tappanooly*, where there is daily intercourſe with the *Battas*, and who all aſſure me of the truth of it: the ſame account I have had from other gentlemen who had equal, or ſuperior opportunities of knowing the cuſtoms of the people; and all their relations agree in every material point: a reſident of *Tappanooly* (Mr. Bradley) fined a *raja* a few years ſince, for having a priſoner eaten too cloſe to the company's ſettlement: Mr. Alexander Hall made a charge in his public accounts of a ſum paid to a *raja* in the country, to induce him to ſpare a man whom Mr. Hall had ſeen preparing for a victim: Mr. Charles Miller, in the journal before quoted, ſays, "In the *ſappeou*, or houſe where the *raja* receives ſtrangers, we ſaw a man's ſkull hanging up, which the rajah told us was placed there as a trophy, it being the ſkull of an enemy they had taken priſoner, whoſe body (according to the cuſtom of the *Battas*) they had eaten about two months before. Thus the experience of later days is found to agree with the uniform teſtimony of old writers; and though I am aware that each and every of theſe proofs, taken ſingly, may admit of ſome cavil, yet in the aggregate I think they amount to ſatisfactory evidence, and ſuch as may induce any perſon not very incredulous to admit it as a fact, that human fleſh is eaten by inhabitants of *Sumatra*, as we have poſitive authority it is by inhabitants of *New Zealand*.

The

The method of the pamphlet is every way insufficient; and let the spirit of Martin Luther be as evil as it is supposed to be, yet the proof of this would not blast any one single truth of that religion he professed. But to take off all seeming objections, and stop the mouths of the most unreasonable gainsayers, I have examined even this little pretence too; and find, upon a faithful enquiry, that Luther's life was led up to those doctrines he preached, and his death was the death of the righteous. Were I not confined by the character of an answer merely to wipe off the aspersions that are brought, I could swell this book to twice the bulk, by setting out that best side of Luther which our author, in the picture he has given us of him, has, contrary to the method of painters, thrown into shade, that he might place a supposed deformity or two the more in view. He was a man certainly of high endowments of mind, and great virtues: he had a vast understanding, which raised him up to a pitch of learning unknown to the age in which he lived; his knowledge in scripture was admirable, his elocution manly, and his way of reasoning with all the subtilty that those honest plain truths he delivered would bear: his thoughts were bent always on great designs, and he had a resolution fitted to go through with them: the assurance of his mind was not to be shaken or surprised; and that παῤῥησία of his (for I know not what else to call it) before the Diet at Worms, was such as might have become the days of the Apostles. His life was holy; and, when he had leisure for retirement, severe: his virtues active chiefly, and homilitical, not those lazy sullen ones of the cloyster. He had no ambition but in the service of God: for other things, neither his enjoyment nor wishes ever went higher than the bare conveniences of living. He was of a temper particularly averse to covetousness, or any base sin: and charitable even to a fault, without respect to his own occasions. If among this crowd of virtues a failing crept in, we must remember that an Apostle himself has not been irreprovable: if in the body of his doctrine one flaw is to be seen; yet the greatest lights of the church, and in the purest times of it, were, we know, not exact in all their opinions. Upon the whole, we have certainly great reason to break out in the phrase of the Prophet, and say—"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth glad tidings!"

Character of Augustus Hervey, *late Earl of* Bristol; *from the Gentleman's Magazine for December* 1783.

"Haud dubiè illa ætate nemo unus erat vir quo magis innixa res nostra staret."
Liv.

THE active zeal and diligent assiduity with which the Earl of Bristol served [in the navy], had for some years impaired a constitution, naturally strong, by exposing it to the unwholesomeness of a variety of climates, and the infirmities incident to constant fatigue of body and anxiety of mind. His family, his friends, his profession, and his country, lost him in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The detail of the merits of such a man cannot be unintereſting, either to the profeſſion he adorned, or the country which he ſerved; and the remembrance of his virtues muſt be pleaſing to thoſe who were honoured with his eſteem. As every hour, and every ſituation of his life, afforded freſh opportunities for the exerciſe of ſuch virtues, they were beſt known to thoſe who ſaw him moſt; but, however ſtrong and perfect their impreſſion, they can be but inadequately deſcribed by one who long enjoyed the happineſs of his friendſhip, and advantage of his example, and muſt ever lament the privation of his ſociety.

He engaged in the ſea ſervice before he was ten years old. The quickneſs of his parts, the deciſion of his temper, the excellence of his underſtanding, the activity of his mind, the eagerneſs of his ambition, his indefatigable induſtry, his unremitting diligence, his correct and extenſive memory, his ready and accurate judgment, the promptitude, clearneſs, and arrangement with which his ideas were formed, and the happy perſpicuity with which they were expreſſed, were advantages peculiar to himſelf. His early education under Captain William Hervey and Admiral Byng (two of the beſt officers of their time), with his conſtant employment in actual ſervice, from his firſt going to ſea till the cloſe of the laſt war, had furniſhed ample matter for experience, from which his penetrating genius and juſt obſervation had deduced that extenſive and ſyſtematic knowledge of minute circumſtances and important principles which is neceſſary to form an expert ſeaman and a ſhining officer. With the moſt conſummate profeſſional ſkill, he poſſeſſed the moſt perfect courage that ever fortified a heart, or brightened a character; he loved enterprize, he was cool in danger, collected in diſtreſs, decided in difficulties, ready and judicious in his expedients, and perſevering in his determinations; his orders, in the moſt critical ſituations, and for the moſt various objects, were delivered with a firmneſs and preciſion which ſpake a confidence in their propriety, and facility in their execution; that enſured a prompt and ſucceſsful obedience in thoſe to whom they were addreſſed.

Such was his character as an officer, which made him deſervedly conſpicuous in a profeſſion, as honourable to the individual, as important to the publick. Nor was he without thoſe qualifications and abilities which could give full weight to the ſituation in which his rank and connections had placed him in civil life. His early entrance into his profeſſion had indeed deprived him of the advantages of a claſſical education. This defect was, however, more than balanced by the leſs ornamental, but more ſolid, inſtruction of the ſchool he ſtudied in. As a member of parliament, he was an eloquent, though not a correct ſpeaker; thoſe who differed from him in politicks confeſſed the extent of his knowledge, the variety of his information, and the force of his reaſoning, at the ſame time that they admired the ingenuity with which he applied them to the ſupport of his opinions.

He was not more eminent for those talents by which a country is served, than distinguished by those qualities which render a man useful, respected, esteemed, and beloved in society. In the general intercourse of the world, he was an accomplished gentleman and an agreeable companion; his manners were noble as his birth, and engaging as his disposition; he was humane, benevolent, compassionate, and generous: his humanity was conspicuous in his profession; when exercised towards the seamen, the sensibility and attention of a commander they adored, was the most flattering relief that could be afforded to the sufferings or distresses of those who served with him; when exerted towards her enemies, it did honour to his country, by exemplifying, in the most striking manner, that generosity which is the peculiar characteristic, and most distinguished virtue, of a brave, free, and enlightened people. In other situations, his liberality was extensive without ostentation, and generally bestowed where it would be most felt and least seen, upon modest merit and silent distress. His friendships were warm and permanent beyond the grave, extending their influence to those who shared the affections, or enjoyed the patronage of their objects. His resentment was open, and his forgiveness sincere. It was the effect, perhaps the weakness, of an exalted mind, that with him an injury which he had forgiven was as strong a claim to his protection as a favour received could be to his gratitude.

This bright picture is not without its shades; he had faults; the impetuosity of his nature, and the eagerness with which he pursued his objects, carried him, sometimes, lengths not justifiable; and the high opinion he justly entertained of his own parts made him too easily the dupe and prey of interested and designing persons, whom his cooler judgment would have detested and despised, had they not had cunning enough to discover and flatter his vanity, and sufficient art to avail themselves of abilities which they did not possess. But let it be remembered, that his failings were those of a warm temper and unguarded disposition; his virtues those of an heart formed for every thing amiable in private, every thing great in public life.

Extracts from Dr. Foart Simmons's *Account of the Life and Writings of the late Dr.* William Hunter.

"William Hunter was born on the 23d of May, 1718, at Kilbride, in the county of Lanerk. He was the seventh of ten children of John and Agnes Hunter, who resided on a small estate in that parish, called Long Calderwood, which had long been in the possession of his family. His great-grandfather, by his father's side, was a younger son of Hunter of Hunterston, chief of the family of that name.

At the age of fourteen his father sent him to the college of Glasgow. In this seminary he passed five years, and by his prudent behaviour and diligence acquired the esteem of the profes-

sors,

ſors, and the reputation of being a good ſcholar.

His father had deſigned him for the church; but the idea of ſubſcribing to articles of faith, was ſo repugnant to the liberal mode of thinking he had already adopted, that he felt an inſuperable averſion to his theological purſuits. In this ſtate of mind he happened to become acquainted with Dr. Cullen, the preſent celebrated profeſſor at Edinburgh, who was then juſt eſtabliſhed in practice at Hamilton, under the patronage of the Duke of Hamilton. Dr. Cullen's converſation ſoon determined him to lay aſide all thoughts of the church, and to devote himſelf to the profeſſion of phyſic.

His father's conſent having been previouſly obtained, Mr. Hunter, in 1737, went to reſide with Dr. Cullen. In the family of this excellent friend and preceptor he paſſed nearly three years, and theſe, as he has been often heard to acknowlege, were the happieſt years of his life. It was then agreed, that he ſhould go and proſecute his medical ſtudies at Edinburgh and London, and afterwards return to ſettle at Hamilton, in partnerſhip with Dr. Cullen.

Speaking to me of the manners and diſpoſition of his friend at this period, Dr. Cullen obſerved, that his converſation was remarkably lively and agreeable, and his whole conduct at the ſame time more ſtrictly and ſteadily correct than that of any other young perſon he had ever known. The ſame chearfulneſs and the ſame regard for prudence accompanied him through life.

He ſet out for Edinburgh in November, 1740, and continued there till the following ſpring, attending the lectures of the medical profeſſors, and amongſt others thoſe of the late Dr. Alexander Monro, who many years afterwards, in alluſion to this circumſtance, ſtyled himſelf his *old maſter*.

Mr. Hunter arrived in London in the ſummer of 1741, and took up his reſidence at Mr. afterwards Dr. Smellie's, who was at that time an apothecary in Pall Mall. He brought with him a letter of recommendation to his countryman Dr. James Douglas, from Mr. Foulis, printer at Glaſgow, who had been uſeful to the doctor in collecting for him different editions of Horace. Dr. Douglas was then intent on a great anatomical work on the bones, which he did not live to complete, and was looking out for a young man of abilities and induſtry whom he might employ as a diſſector. This induced him to pay particular attention to Mr. Hunter, and finding him acute and ſenſible, he deſired him to make him another viſit. A ſecond converſation confirmed the doctor in the good opinion he had formed of Mr. Hunter, and without any farther heſitation he invited him into his family to aſſiſt in his diſſections, and to ſuperintend the education of his ſon.

Mr. Hunter having accepted Dr. Douglas's invitation, was by his friendly aſſiſtance enabled to enter himſelf as a ſurgeon's pupil at St. George's Hoſpital, under Mr. James Wilkie, and as a diſſecting pupil under Dr. Frank Nichols, who at that time taught anatomy with conſiderable reputation. He likewiſe attended a courſe

courſe of lectures on experimental philoſophy by Dr. Deſaguliers.

Of theſe means of improvement he did not fail to make a proper uſe. He ſoon became expert in diſſection, and Dr. Douglas was at the expence of having ſeveral of his preparations engraved. But before many months had elapſed, he had the misfortune to loſe this excellent friend.

The death of Dr. Douglas made no change of his ſituation. He continued to reſide with the doctor's family, and to purſue his ſtudies with the ſame diligence as before.

In 1743, he communicated to the Royal Society an eſſay on the Structure and Diſeaſes of articulating Cartilages. This ingenious paper, on a ſubject which till then had not been ſufficiently inveſtigated, affords a ſtriking teſtimony of the rapid progreſs he had made in his anatomical inquiries.

As he had it in contemplation to teach anatomy, his attention was directed principally to this object; and it deſerves to be mentioned, as an additional mark of his prudence, that he did not precipitately engage in this attempt, but paſſed ſeveral years in acquiring ſuch a degree of knowledge, and ſuch a collection of preparations as might inſure him ſucceſs.

Dr. Nichols, to whom he communicated his ſcheme, and who declined giving lectures about that time in favour of the late Dr. Lawrence, did not give him much encouragement to proſecute it. But at length an opportunity preſented itſelf for the diſplay of his abilities as a teacher.

A ſociety of navy ſurgeons had an apartment in Covent Garden, where they engaged the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe to deliver a courſe of lectures on the operations of ſurgery. Mr. Sharpe continued to repeat this courſe, till finding that it interfered too much with his other engagements, he declined the taſk in favour of Mr. Hunter, who gave the ſociety ſo much ſatisfaction, that they requeſted him to extend his plan to anatomy, and at firſt he had the uſe of their room for his lectures. This happened in the winter of 1746.

He is ſaid to have experienced much ſolicitude when he began to ſpeak in public, but the applauſe he met with ſoon inſpired him with courage; and by degrees he became ſo fond of teaching, that for many years before his death he was never happier than when employed in delivering a lecture.

The profits of his two firſt courſes were conſiderable; but by contributing to the wants of different friends, he found himſelf at the return of the next ſeaſon obliged to defer his lectures for a fortnight, merely becauſe he had not money enough to defray the neceſſary expence of advertiſements.

In 1747, he was admitted a member of the corporation of ſurgeons, and in the ſpring of the following year, ſoon after the cloſe of his lectures, he ſet out in company with his pupil, Mr. James Douglas, on a tour through Holland to Paris.

His lectures ſuffered no interruption by this journey, as he returned to England ſoon enough to prepare for his winter courſe, which began about the uſual time.

At

At first he practised both surgery and midwifery, but to the former of these he had always an aversion. His patron, Dr. James Douglas, had acquired considerable reputation in midwifery, and this probably induced Mr. Hunter to direct his views chiefly to the same line of practice. His being elected one of the surgeon men-midwives first to the Middlesex, and soon afterwards to the British Lying-in Hospital, assisted in bringing him forward in this branch of his profession, in which he was recommended by several of the most eminent surgeons of that time, who respected his anatomical talents, and wished to encourage him.

But these were not the only circumstances that contributed to his success. He owed much to his abilities, and much to his person and manner, which eminently qualified him for the practice of midwifery.

In 1750, he seems to have entirely relinquished his views in surgery, as in that year he obtained the degree of doctor of physic from the university of Glasgow, and began to practise as a physician. About this time he quitted the family of Mrs. Douglas, and went to reside in Jermyn-street.

In the summer of 1751 he revisited his native country, for which he always retained a cordial affection."

"After this journey to Scotland, to which he devoted only a few weeks, he was never absent from London, unless his professional engagements, as sometimes happened, required his attendance at a distance from the capital.

In 1755, on the resignation of Dr. Layard, one of the physicians of the British Lying-in Hospital, we find the governors of that institution voting their "thanks to Dr. Hunter for the services he had done the hospital, and for his continuing in it as one of the physicians;" so that he seems to have been established in this office without the usual form of an election. The year following he was admitted a licentiate of the royal college of physicians, and soon afterwards was elected a member of the medical society. His history of an Aneurism of the Aorta appears in the first volume of their Observations and Inquiries published in 1757.

His other papers in the second volume are, 1. An account of a diseased Tibia, which shews that a callus will supply the place of a bone, and preserve the length and firmness of a limb, when the greatest part of the original bone is become useless, or thrown out by exfoliation; and, 2. Remarks on the Symphysis of the Ossa Pubis, which he describes as a composition of two cartilages and a ligament, somewhat like the connecting substance between the bodies of the vertebræ.

In the fourth volume he relates a case, which served to confirm his own and M. de Haller's theory concerning the insensibility of tendons; and in that and the fifth volumes he communicated his Observations on the Retroverted Uterus. This disease, although it had been mentioned by M. Gregoire in his lectures at Paris, and M. Peyrlhe, the learned author of a History of Surgery, thinks he has discovered some traces of it in the writings of the ancients, was certainly

tainly not underſtood till Dr. Hunter deſcribed it, firſt in his lectures in 1754, and afterwards in one of the volumes of the work in queſtion, ſince which it has been generally known.

The ſixth volume, which is now in the preſs, will contain three papers, written by Dr. Hunter.

In 1762, we find him warmly engaged in controverſy, ſupporting his claim to different anatomical diſcoveries, in a work entitled Medical Commentaries, the ſtyle of which is correct and ſpirited. As an excuſe for the tardineſs with which he brought forth this work, he obſerves in his introduction, that it required a good deal of time, and he had little to ſpare; that the ſubject was unpleaſant, and therefore he was very ſeldom in the humour to take it up.

In this publication he confined himſelf chiefly to a diſpute with the preſent learned profeſſor of anatomy, at Edinburgh, concerning injections of the teſticle, the ducts of the lachrymal gland, the origin and uſe of the lymphatic veſſels, and abſorption by veins. He likewiſe defended himſelf againſt a reproach thrown upon him by profeſſor Monro, ſenior, by giving a conciſe account of a controverſy he was involved in with Mr. Pott, concerning the diſcovery of the Hernia Congenita. It was not long before Mr. Pott took occaſion to give the public his account of the diſpute; and, in reply, Dr. Hunter added a ſupplement to his commentaries.

No man was ever more tenacious than Dr. Hunter of what he conceived to be his anatomical rights. This was particularly evinced in the year 1780, when his brother communicated to the Royal Society a diſcovery he had made twenty-five years before, relative to the ſtructure of the placenta, the communication between it and the uterus, and the vaſcularity of the ſpongy chorin.

At the next meeting of the ſociety, a letter was read, in which Dr. Hunter put in his claim to the diſcovery in queſtion. This letter was followed by a reply from Mr. John Hunter, and here the diſpute ended.

In 1762, when our preſent amiable queen became pregnant, Dr. Hunter was conſulted; and two years afterwards he had the honour to be appointed phyſician extraordinary to her majeſty. In courts, where intereſt too often prevails over merit, appointments of this ſort are not always conferred on perſons of the greateſt abilities. But it is certain, that Dr. Hunter owed his nomination to this important office ſolely to his own well-earned reputation; and his aſſiduity and uniform ſucceſs in the diſcharge of it, ſhewed how well he deſerved it.

About this time, his avocations were ſo numerous, that he became deſirous of leſſening his fatigue; and having noticed the ingenuity and aſſiduous application of the late Mr. William Hewſon, F. R. S. who was then one of his pupils, he engaged him firſt as an aſſiſtant, and afterwards as a partner in his lectures. This connexion continued till the year 1770, when ſome diſputes happened, which terminated in a ſeparation. Mr. Hewſon was ſucceeded

ceeded in the partnerſhip by Mr. Cruikſhank, whoſe anatomical abilities are deſervedly reſpected.

In 1767, Dr. Hunter was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and the year following, communicated to that learned body obſervations on the bones, commonly ſuppoſed to be elephants bones, which have been found near the river Ohio, in America.—

This was not the only ſubject of natural hiſtory on which Dr. Hunter employed his pen; for in a ſubſequent volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, we find him offering his remarks on ſome bones found in the rock of Gibraltar, and which he proves to have belonged to ſome quadruped. In the ſame work likewiſe, he publiſhed an account of the nylghau, an Indian animal, not deſcribed before, and which, from its ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, promiſed to be an uſeful acquiſition to this country.

In 1768, Dr. Hunter became a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and the ſame year, at the inſtitution of a Royal Academy of Arts, he was appointed by his majeſty to the office of profeſſor of anatomy. This appointment opened a new field for his abilities, and he engaged in it, as he did in every other purſuit of his life, with unabating zeal. He now adapted his anatomical knowledge to the objects of painting and ſculpture, and the novelty and juſtneſs of his obſervations proved at once the readineſs and extent of his genius.

In January 1781, he was unanimouſly elected to ſucceed the late Dr. John Fothergill, as preſident of the medical ſociety. He was one of thoſe to whom we are indebted for its eſtabliſhment, and our grateful acknowledgements are due to him for his zealous endeavours to promote the liberal views of the inſtitution, by rendering it a ſource of mutual improvement, and thus making it ultimately uſeful to the public.

As his name and talents were known and reſpected in every part of Europe, ſo the honours conferred on him were not limited to his own country. In 1780, the Royal Medical Society at Paris elected him one of their foreign aſſociates; and in 1782, he received a ſimilar mark of diſtinction from the Royal Academy of Sciences in that city.

The moſt ſplendid of Dr. Hunter's medical publications, was the anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus. The appearance of this work, which had been begun ſo early as the year 1751, (at which time ten of the thirty-four plates it contains were completed) was retarded till the year 1775, only by the author's deſire of ſending it into the world with fewer imperfections.

This great work is dedicated to the king. In his preface to it, we find the author very candidly acknowledging that in moſt of the diſſections he had been aſſiſted by his brother, Mr. John Hunter, "whoſe accuracy—he adds—in anatomical reſearches is ſo well known, that to omit this opportunity of thanking him for that aſſiſtance would be in ſome meaſure to diſregard the future reputation of the work itſelf." He likewiſe confeſſes his obligations to the ingenious artiſts who made the

the drawings and engravings, "but particularly to Mr. Strange, not only for having by his hand ſecured a ſort of immortality to two of the plates, but for having given his advice and aſſiſtance in every part, with a ſteady and diſintereſted friendſhip."

The plates are not all of them equally intereſting or beautiful, but I believe their accuracy has never been diſputed. The four firſt engravings by Strange and Ravenet, and thoſe of the ovum in early pregnancy, by Worlidge, are juſtly admired for their elegance.

An anatomical deſcription of the gravid uterus was a work which Dr. Hunter had in contemplation to give the public. He had likewiſe long been employed in collecting and arranging materials for a hiſtory of the various concretions that are formed in the human body.

Amongſt Dr. Hunter's papers have been found two introductory lectures, which are written out ſo fairly, and with ſuch accuracy, that he probably intended no farther correction of them before they ſhould be given to the world. In theſe lectures Dr. Hunter traces the hiſtory of anatomy from the earlieſt to the preſent times, along with the general progreſs of ſcience and the arts. He conſiders the great utility of anatomy in the practice of phyſic and ſurgery; gives the ancient diviſions of the different ſubſtances compoſing the human body, which for a long time prevailed in anatomy; points out the moſt advantageous mode of cultivating this branch of natural knowledge; and concludes with explaining the particular plan of his own lectures.

Beſides theſe manuſcripts, he has alſo left behind him a conſiderable number of caſes of diſſection: moſt of them relate to pregnant women, and they are written with tolerable accuracy.

The ſame year in which the tables of the gravid uterus made their appearance, Dr. Hunter communicated to the Royal Society, an Eſſay on the Origin of the Venereal Diſeaſe. In this paper he attempted to prove, that this dreadful malady was not brought from America to Europe, by the crew of Columbus, as had been commonly ſuppoſed, altho' it made its firſt appearance about that period.

After this paper had been read to the Royal Society, Dr. Hunter, in a converſation with the late Dr. Muſgrave, was convinced that the teſtimony on which he placed his chief dependence was of leſs weight than he had at firſt imagined, as many of Martyr's letters afford the moſt convincing proofs of their having been written a conſiderable time after the period of their dates. He therefore very properly laid aſide his intention of giving his eſſay to the public.

In the year 1777, Dr. Hunter joined with Mr. Watſon in preſenting to the Royal Society a ſhort account of the late Dr. Maty's illneſs, and of the appearances on diſſection; and the year following, he publiſhed his Reflections on the Section of the Symphyſis Pubis.—

We muſt now go back a little into the order of time to deſcribe the origin and progreſs of Dr. Hunter's

Hunter's muſeum, without ſome account of which the hiſtory of his life would be very incomplete.

When he began to practiſe midwifery, he was deſirous of acquiring a fortune ſufficient to place him in eaſy and independent circumſtances. Before many years had elapſed, he found himſelf in poſſeſſion of a ſum adequate to his wiſhes in this reſpect, and this he ſet apart as a reſource of which he might avail himſelf whenever age or infirmities ſhould oblige him to retire from buſineſs. I have heard him ſay, that he once took a conſiderable ſum from this fund for the purpoſes of his muſeum, but that he did not feel himſelf perfectly at eaſe till he had reſtored it again. After he had obtained this competency, as his wealth continued to accumulate, he formed a laudable deſign of engaging in ſome ſcheme of public utility, and at firſt had it in contemplation to found an anatomical ſchool in this metropolis. For this purpoſe, about the year 1765, during the adminiſtration of Mr. Grenville, he preſented a memorial to that miniſter, in which he requeſted the grant of a piece of ground in the Mews, for the ſcite of an anatomical theatre. Dr. Hunter undertook to expend ſeven thouſand pounds on the building, and to endow a profeſſorſhip of anatomy in perpetuity. This ſcheme did not meet with the reception it deſerved. In a converſation on this ſubject ſoon afterwards with the Earl of Shelburne, his lordſhip expreſſed a wiſh that the plan might be carried into execution by ſubſcription, and very generouſly requeſted to have his name ſet down for a thouſand guineas. Dr. Hunter's delicacy would not allow him to adopt this propoſal. He choſe rather to execute it at his own expence, and accordingly purchaſed a ſpot of ground in Great Windmill-ſtreet, where he erected a ſpacious houſe, to which he removed from Jermyn-ſtreet in 1770.

In this building, beſides a handſome amphitheatre and other convenient apartments for his lectures and diſſections, there was one magnificent room, fitted up with great elegance and propriety as a muſeum.

Of the magnitude and value of his anatomical collection, ſome idea may be formed, when we conſider the great length of years he employed in the making of anatomical preparations, and in the diſſection of morbid bodies, added to the eagerneſs with which he procured additions from the collections of Sandys, Hewſon, Falconar, Blackall, and others, that were at different times offered for ſale in this metropolis. His ſpecimens of rare diſeaſes were likewiſe frequently increaſed by preſents from his medical friends and pupils, who, when any thing of this ſort occurred to them, very juſtly thought they could not diſpoſe of it more properly than by placing it in Dr. Hunter's muſeum. Speaking of an acquiſition in this way, in one of his publications, he ſays, "I look upon every thing of this kind which is given to me, as a preſent to the public; and conſider myſelf as thereby called upon to ſerve the public with more diligence."

Before his removal to Windmill-ſtreet, he had confined his collection

collection chiefly to ſpecimens of human and comparative anatomy, and of diſeaſes; but now he extended his views to foſſils, and likewiſe to the promotion of polite literature and erudition.

In a ſhort ſpace of time he became poſſeſſed of "the moſt magnificent treaſure of Greek and Latin books that has been accumulated by any perſon now living, ſince the days of Mead."—

A cabinet of ancient medals contributed likewiſe much to the richneſs of his muſeum. A deſcription of part of the coins, in this collection, ſtruck by the Greek free cities, has lately been publiſhed by the doctor's learned friend Mr. Combe. In a claſſical dedication of this elegant volume to the queen, Dr. Hunter acknowledges his obligations to her majeſty. In the preface, ſome account is given of the progreſs of the collection, which has been brought together ſince the year 1770, with ſingular taſte, and at the expence of upwards of twenty thouſand pounds.

In 1781, the muſeum received a valuable addition of ſhells, corals, and other curious ſubjects of natural hiſtory, which had been collected by the late worthy Dr. Fothergill, who gave directions by his will, that his collection ſhould be appraiſed after his death, and that Dr. Hunter ſhould have the refuſal of it, at five hundred pounds under the valuation. This was accordingly done, and Dr. Hunter purchaſed it for the ſum of twelve hundred pounds.

The fame of this muſeum ſpread throughout Europe. Few foreigners, diſtinguiſhed for their rank or learning, viſited this metropolis, without requeſting to ſee it. Men of ſcience, of our own country, always had eaſy acceſs to it. Conſidered in a collective point of view, it is perhaps without a rival.

Dr. Hunter, at the head of his profeſſion, honoured with the eſteem of his ſovereign, and in poſſeſſion of every thing that his reputation and wealth could confer, ſeemed now to have attained the ſummit of his wiſhes. But theſe ſources of gratification were embittered by a diſpoſition to the gout, which harraſſed him frequently during the latter part of his life, notwithſtanding his very abſtemious manner of living.

On Saturday the 15th of March, 1783, after having for ſeveral days experienced a return of a wandering gout, he complained of great head-ach and nauſea. In this ſtate he went to bed, and for ſeveral days felt more pain than uſual, both in his ſtomach and limbs.

On the Thurſday following, he found himſelf ſo much recovered, that he determined to give the introductory lecture to the operations of ſurgery. It was to no purpoſe that his friends urged to him the impropriety of ſuch an attempt. He was determined to make the experiment, and accordingly delivered the lecture; but towards the concluſion, his ſtrength was ſo exhauſted, that he fainted away, and was obliged to be carried to bed by two ſervants. The following night and day his ſymptoms were ſuch as indicated danger; and on Saturday morning, Mr. Combe, who made him an early viſit, was alarmed on being told by Dr. Hunter himſelf,

ſelf, that during the night, he had certainly had a paralytic ſtroke. As neither his ſpeech nor his pulſe were affected, and he was able to raiſe himſelf in bed, Mr. Combe encouraged him to hope that he was miſtaken. But the event proved the doctor's idea of his complaint to be but too well founded; for from that time till his death, which happened on Sunday the 30th of March, he voided no urine, without the aſſiſtance of the catheter, which was occaſionally introduced by his brother; and purgative medicines were adminiſtered repeatedly, without procuring a paſſage by ſtool. Theſe circumſtances, and the abſence of pain, ſeemed to ſhew that the inteſtines and urinary bladder had loſt their ſenſibility and power of contraction; and it was reaſonable to preſume, that a partial palſy had affected the nerves diſtributed to thoſe parts.

The latter moments of his life exhibited an inſtance of philoſophical calmneſs and fortitude that well deſerves to be recorded. Turning to his friend Mr. Combe, "If I had ſtrength enough to hold a pen—ſaid he—I would write how eaſy and pleaſant a thing it is to die."

By his will, the uſe of his muſeum, under the direction of truſtees, devolves to his nephew, Matthew Baillie, B. A. and in caſe of his death, to Mr. Cruikſhank, for the term of thirty years, at the end of which period, the whole collection is bequeathed to the univerſity of Glaſgow.

The ſum of eight thouſand pounds ſterling is left as a fund for the ſupport and augmentation of the collection.

The truſtees are, Dr George Fordyce, Dr. David Pitcairne, and Mr. Charles Combe, to each of whom Dr. Hunter has bequeathed an annuity of twenty pounds, for thirty years; that is, during the period in which they will be executing the purpoſes of the will.

Dr. Hunter has likewiſe bequeathed an annuity of one hundred pounds to his ſiſter, Mrs. Baillie, during her life, and the ſum of two thouſand pounds to each of her two daughters. The reſidue of his eſtate and effects goes to his nephew.

On Saturday the 5th of April, his remains were interred in the rector's vault of St. James's church, Weſtminſter.

Of the perſon of Dr. Hunter, it may be obſerved, that he was regularly ſhaped, but of a ſlender make, and rather below a middle ſtature.

There are ſeveral good portraits of him extant. One of theſe is in an unfiniſhed painting by Zoffani, who has repreſented him in the attitude of giving a lecture on the muſcles at the Royal Academy, ſurrounded by a groupe of academicians. Of the engraved prints of him which have appeared, I give the preference to that executed by Collyer, from the portrait by Chamberlin, in the Council Chamber of the Royal Academy. It exhibits an accurate and ſtriking reſemblance of his features.

His manner of living was extremely ſimple and frugal, and the quantity of his food was ſmall as well as plain. He was an early riſer, and when buſineſs was over, was conſtantly engaged in his anatomical

tomical purſuits, or in his muſeum.

There was ſomething very engaging in his manner and addreſs; and he had ſuch an appearance of attention to his patients, when he was making his inquiries, as could hardly fail to conciliate their confidence and eſteem. In conſultation with his medical brethren, he delivered his opinions with diffidence and candour. In familiar converſation he was chearful and unaſſuming.

All who knew him, allow that he poſſeſſed an excellent underſtanding, great readineſs of perception, a good memory, and a ſound judgment. To theſe intellectual powers he united uncommon aſſiduity and preciſion, ſo that he was admirably fitted for anatomical inveſtigation.

As a teacher of anatomy, he has been long and deſervedly celebrated. He was a good orator, and having a clear and accurate conception of what he taught, he knew how to place in diſtinct and intelligible points of view the moſt abſtruſe ſubjects of anatomy and phyſiology. Among other methods of explaining and illuſtrating his doctrines, he uſed frequently to introduce ſome appoſite ſtory or caſe that had occurred to him in his practice, and few men had acquired a more intereſting fund of anecdotes of this kind, or related them in a more agreeable manner. He had the talent of infuſing much of his ardour into his pupils, and if anatomical knowledge is more diffuſed in this country than formerly, we are indebted for this, in a great meaſure, to his exertions.

To him, likewiſe, we owe much of the moderation and caution which now prevail amongſt diſcreet and intelligent practitioners of midwifery, in the uſe of inſtruments.

The munificence he diſplayed in the cauſe of ſcience, has likewiſe a claim to our applauſe. Perſons of an invidious turn of mind, who ſeek to depreciate his merit in this reſpect, may perhaps endeavour to trace the motive by which he was actuated, and aſcribe to vanity what deſerves rather to be conſidered as a commendable love of fame. It is certain, that Dr. Hunter ſacrificed no part of his time or his fortune to voluptuouſneſs, to idle pomp, or to any of the common objects of vanity that influence the purſuits of mankind in general. He ſeems to have been animated with a deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in thoſe things which are in their nature laudable; and being a bachelor, and without views for eſtabliſhing a family, he was at liberty to indulge his inclination. Let us, therefore, not withhold the praiſe that is due to him; and at the ſame time let it be obſerved, that his temperance, his prudence, his perſevering and eager purſuit of knowledge, conſtitute an example which we may with advantage to ourſelves, and to ſociety, endeavour to imitate."

Character of Lord Robert Manners, *late Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the* Reſolution, *of* 74 *Guns.*

IN a country, like this, which has long laboured under the calamities of war, it is but natural to look back upon the events

by which it was terminated, and to make ſome enquiry after thoſe to whom we are indebted for the return of peace; and this not with the view of informing ourſelves whether the conditions by which it was obtained, were or were not adequate to our ſituation, but with a grateful remembrance of thoſe, without whoſe ſignal courage and vigorous exertions, we might not have been able to have inſiſted on any conditions whatſoever.

The victory gained by the Britiſh fleet, on the 12th of April, 1782, was unqueſtionably of the greateſt importance to this kingdom, and in the higheſt degree contributed to our preſent repoſe: thoſe brave men, therefore, who then fell in the ſervice of their country, claim our moſt grateful remembrance, and all the honourable teſtimony which the living can pay to departed worth.

Among theſe was LORD ROBERT MANNERS, a young nobleman, remarkable for his military genius, and the many excellent endowments both of his perſon and mind: in the following pages, it is my deſign to lay before the public, ſome anecdotes of this heroic young commander, who fell in their ſervice; ſacrificing the eaſe of his former ſituation, the indulgences of a ſplendid fortune, and the pleaſures of private ſociety, to the dangers of a perilous element, and the honourable hazards of a military life.

LORD ROBERT MANNERS was the youngeſt ſon of the late Marquis of Granby, by the Lady Frances Seymour, daughter of Charles, Duke of Somerſet: he was born on the 5th of February, 1758, and placed with his brother, the preſent Duke of Rutland, at Eton School, in which great ſeminary of education, he acquired a competent knowledge of the claſſic authors, for which he ever after retained an excellent taſte, and beſtowed many hours in the peruſal of their moſt admired compoſitions: his mind, however, was found to be active, vigorous, and enterpriſing, and his genius evidently military; his intreaties, when he was fourteen years old, prevailed over the apprehenſions of his grandfather, the late Duke of Rutland, and obtained his permiſſion to enter upon his profeſſion in the navy, giving that the preference to the land ſervice, to which he might be conceived to have had an hereditary bias, as his father ſo long commanded the army of Great-Britain, with ſingular reputation.

So early a dedication of himſelf to the ſeverity of naval diſcipline, and ſo full a reſignation of all the pleaſures which his age and rank might have led him to expect, in places where he was admired for his accompliſhments, and beloved for his diſpoſition, is of itſelf a ſubject of no inferior praiſe, and ought to be diſtinguiſhed from the reluctant compliance of thoſe, who are called into danger, by the urgency of their circumſtances, or the importunity of their friends: this alone might ſecure him from the oblivion which waits upon the many millions who in every century take their turns upon this ſtage of human life, and depart undiſtinguiſhed by the performance of any actions, eminently great or good.

The firſt three voyages of LORD ROBERT

ROBERT were made to Newfoundland, with Lord Schuldham, to whose care he was committed, and under whom he served as a midshipman; after which, he went in the same capacity to the Mediterranean, in a frigate, and visited many of the different courts of Italy; on his return to England, he was appointed Lieutenant on board the Ocean, a 90-gun ship, commanded by Captain Lafory, in which rank he was present at the action of the 27th of July, off Ushant, under Admiral Keppel, who, a few days after the action, took him to his own ship.

His next appointment was to a lieutenancy on board the Alcide, in which he served in the action off Gibraltar, when Lord Rodney gained a complete victory over the Spanish fleet, commanded by Don Juan de Langara; and immediately after this, LORD ROBERT was appointed Captain of the Resolution, which ship he commanded in nine separate actions, before that glorious but fatal one, which put a period to his life.

There is perhaps but little to be gathered from this account of his various promotions, and the steps of an almost certain advancement, in the line of his profession; but it is necessary to remark, what all with whom he sailed are unanimous in declaring, that LORD ROBERT was equally excellent, if not equally conspicuous, in the inferior stations, as in the more exalted; a continual attention to his duty, joined with a real knowledge of the service, were his claims to promotion, and a constant care and precision in the discharge of his subordinate stations, were the great causes of his speedy progress to the rank of a commander.

LORD ROBERT, in his return from Gibraltar, in the Resolution, engaged and took the Prothée, a French line-of-battle ship, going to the East-Indies: the Resolution was then ordered into America, and continued there till Lord Rodney sent for her to the West-Indies: at St. Eustatius, the Mars, a Dutch frigate, struck to the Resolution; after which, she was detached, with the squadron under Lord Hood, to cruize off Martinique.

Some time after this, in an engagement between Admiral Greaves and the French fleet, off Martinique, on a confusion of signals, which prevented the rear of our fleet coming to action; LORD ROBERT broke the line of battle, bore his ship into the centre of the enemy, and so narrowly escaped in this dangerous attempt, that a part of his hat was struck off by a grape-shot.

In one of the three engagements off St. Kitt's, (in all which he was eminently distinguished) he, together with Captain Cornwallis, supported the commander of his division, Commodore Affleck, with such unshaken fortitude and perseverance, that those three ships beat off the whole French fleet, and protected the rest of their own; a circumstance which Lord Hood mentions in his letter to the Admiralty, with high terms of eulogium.

His last action was that memorable one on the 12th of April, when the Resolution engaged very desperately nine or ten of the enemy, in breaking through their

line, which ſhe did the third ſhip to the admiral; it was in this attempt that LORD ROBERT had both his legs ſhattered, and his right arm broken at the ſame inſtant, the former by a cannon-ſhot, and the latter by a ſplinter: his mind however, remained unſubdued; for neither at that, nor at any future period, neither when he was under the moſt painful operations, nor when he became ſenſible of his approaching fate, did he betray one ſymptom of fear or regret.

"Non laudis Amor nec Gloriæ ceſſit
"Pulſa metu——"

It was with great reluctance he ſuffered himſelf to be carried to the ſurgeon's apartment, and he objected to the amputation of his leg, becauſe he had conceived it would prevent his continuance on board his ſhip; but being aſſured to the contrary, his objections ceaſed, and he permitted the ſurgeon to proceed: at this time all his thoughts and enquiries were directed to the event of the day, which being ſoon after announced to him, every conſideration of his own misfortune was ſuſpended, and he both felt and expreſſed the greateſt joy and exultation in a victory ſo important to his country, and ſo fatal to himſelf.

Being perſuaded to return to England, he was removed on board the Andromache frigate; but before he quitted the Reſolution, he ordered every man, whoſe good conduct had been remarkable during his command, to come into his cabin, where he thanked him for his attention to his duty, and gave each a preſent of money, as a token of his particular regard: on his leaving his ſhip, he aſked whether the colours of thoſe which had ſtruck to the Reſolution, during his command, were in his baggage, but ſuddenly recollecting himſelf, and being conſcious that his motives for the queſtion might be imputed to vanity and oſtentation, he begged leave to retract it, hoping that an idea ſo weak, would be buried in oblivion: it was natural for a young hero to make ſuch an enquiry, and his reflection on having made it, would have done honour to the oldeſt.

LORD ROBERT's behaviour, during the ſhort remainder of his life, was ſingularly great; his converſation was chearful, and his mind ſerene; his fortitude never forſook him; he betrayed no ſigns of impatience, nor ſuffered his reſignation to be broken by ineffectual wiſhes, or melancholy regret: theſe he left to his ſurvivors, who deeply feel them; he had given himſelf to the ſervice of his country, and forbore to indulge any fruitleſs expectations of living, when the purpoſes of life were completed, and the meaſure of his glory filled up: his attention to the lives of his ſeamen, had made him previouſly acquainted with the nature of his own caſe, and the fatal ſymptoms that ſo frequently follow; before theſe appeared, he was buſied in planning future regulations and improvements on board his ſhip; and afterwards, he himſelf firſt acquainting his ſurgeon with their appearance, he prepared for his approaching fate with the utmoſt calmneſs and compoſure of mind; and having ſettled his worldly affairs, with his accuſtomed regularity

larity and dispatch, he ended a life of glory with resignation and prayer.

So fell this brave young nobleman, on the 24th day of April, 1782, having, at the age of twenty-four years, served his country in eleven general actions:

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum Fata,
"neque ultra
"Esse sinent"——— VIRGIL.

His eulogium was loudly uttered in the grief and lamentation of the whole navy; victory appeared too dearly bought, while they considered the price which was paid for it; and indeed, such was the attention of this nobleman to the welfare of his seamen, as well as to the order and regularity of the fleet; such was his skill to find out, and resolution to reform abuses; that the loss of such a commander may be regretted, when the victory in which he fell shall cease to be mentioned.

The person of LORD ROBERT MANNERS was worthy of such a mind; he was tall and graceful; strong and active; his features were regular, and his countenance beautiful, without effeminacy; his eyes were large, dark, and most expressive; his complexion inclined to brown, with much colour, which remained unimpaired by the West-India climate; indeed, his whole appearance commanded love and respect, and was a strong indication of superior merit.

LORD ROBERT possessed, in an eminent degree, the happy art of gaining the affections of his men, while he preserved the strictest discipline among them; nor is this his greatest praise; for while he was admired by the officers of every rank, for his affability and engaging deportment, he was trusted by the highest in command, and consulted by many, who judged his great skill and attention in the line of his profession, more than balanced their longer experience.

The bravery of LORD ROBERT was accompanied by a disposition tender and merciful; his obligations to use severity were punishments to himself; and he was always unhappy in feeling the necessity of bestowing correction; yet his lenity was always judicious, and seldom ineffectual: he had once the opportunity of pronouncing pardon on thirteen offenders; (who were a part of sixty-four, condemned in several ships for mutiny) on which occasion, his feelings overcame his power of utterance: he began with representing to them (who were ignorant of the intended grace) the nature of their crime, and the punishment due to it; but when he came to speak of the offered mercy, he partook of their sensations, and could only deliver it by bursting into tears: it is but just to remark, that these men were truly sensible of the worth of such a commander, and were afterwards conspicuous for their good behaviour among the best seamen of the navy.

LORD ROBERT, however he possessed the virtue, was without the weakness of a tender disposition; he was grave, prudent and reserved, never speaking his opinion but upon sure grounds, and then at proper times, in the company of his select friends, or when truth and justice called upon him to res-

cue an action or a character from ſuſpicion, or reproach; yet his reſerve was not of that kind which damped his love for ſociety; he was of a convivial turn; generous, condeſcending, and benevolent; emulating the humanity as well as bravery of his father, and his father's houſe.

His chief ſtudy was that of his profeſſion, in which he read and perfectly underſtood the moſt approved authors, not neglecting other kinds of reading, in ſome of which he was peculiarly and wonderfully verſed; ſome indeed which might be thought foreign to his purſuits, if any can be ſo thought, to the vigorous and comprehenſive mind which he poſſeſſed: in ſhort, he ſeemed to be deficient in no qualification which might render him the beſt private friend, and one of the greateſt and ableſt officers, this or any other country has produced.

To crown all his virtues, he had that of unaffected diffidence, being perfectly modeſt in his opinion of himſelf, and an enemy to all oſtentation: he never liſtened to his own praiſe, but either forbad any to ſpeak of the honour he ſo well deſerved, or withdrew from the applauſe, which he could not ſuppreſs: this diſpoſition continued to the laſt, when he converſed with the ſame unaffected eaſe; and wiſhing to write to a friend, he made uſe of his left hand, and gave him an account of his ſituation in terms brief, eaſy and affecting, becauſe moſt unaffected, diſcovering the greateſt magnanimity of ſoul, by not taking any pains to have it diſcovered by others.

Nor is this eulogium to be conſidered as proceeding from any partial regard, or prepoſſeſſion; the teſtimony of public gratitude, which was voted in the Houſe of Commons, is a ſufficient proof of the national ſenſe of his merit; but the many private relations of his virtues, could they be univerſally diffuſed, would place him in a ſtill ſtronger point of view; theſe are given by men whoſe teſtimony is voluntary and diſintereſted, whoſe experience could not be deceived, and whoſe eminence in their profeſſion muſt entitle them to every degree of credit and attention.

Such is the character of Lord Robert Manners; and theſe anecdotes of him I have related from the beſt authority. Thoſe who knew him, will, I am ſure, think themſelves indebted to me for the intention; and thoſe who did not, little apology will, I hope, be wanted, for making them acquainted with the worth of a brave and heroic young nobleman, who was an ornament to their country, and died in its defence.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

A Letter from William Herſchel, *Eſq. F. R. S. to Sir* Joſeph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S. From the 73d Vol. of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

SIR,

BY the obſervations of the moſt eminent aſtronomers in Europe it appears, that the new ſtar, which I had the honour of pointing out to them in March, 1781, is a primary planet of our ſolar ſyſtem. A body ſo nearly related to us by its ſimilar condition and ſituation, in the unbounded expanſe of the ſtarry heavens, muſt often be the ſubject of the converſation, not only of aſtronomers, but of every lover of ſcience in general. This conſideration then makes it neceſſary to give it a name, whereby it may be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the planets and fixed ſtars.

In the fabulous ages of ancient times the appellations of Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, were given to the planets, as being the names of their principal heroes and divinities *. In the preſent more philoſophical æra, it would hardly be allowable to have recourſe to the ſame method, and call on Juno, Pallas, Apollo, or Minerva, for a name to our new heavenly body. The firſt conſideration in any particular event, or remarkable incident, ſeems to be its chronology: if in any future age it ſhould be aſked, *when* this laſt-found planet was diſcovered? It would be a very ſatisfactory anſwer to ſay, "in the reign of king George the Third." As a philoſopher then, the name of Georgium Sidus preſents itſelf to me, as an appellation which will conveniently convey the information of the time and country where and when it was brought to view. But as a ſubject of the beſt of kings, who is the liberal protector of every art and ſcience; as a native of the country from whence this illuſtrious family was called to the Britiſh throne; as a member of that ſociety, which flouriſhes by the diſtinguiſhed liberality of its royal patron; and, laſt of all, as a perſon now more immediately under the protection of this excellent monarch, and owing every thing to his unlimited bounty; I cannot but wiſh to take this op-

* M. de la Lande's Aſt. § 639.

portunity

portunity of expreſſing my ſenſe of gratitude, by giving the name Georgium Sidus,

Georgium Sidus
——jam nunc aſſueſce vocari.
VIRG. Georg.

to a ſtar, which (with reſpect to us) firſt began to ſhine under his auſpicious reign.

By addreſſing this letter to you, Sir, as preſident of the Royal Society, I take the moſt effectual method of communicating that name to the literati of Europe, which I hope they will receive with pleaſure. I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Sir,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,
W. HERSCHEL.

On the Diameter and Magnitude of the Georgium Sidus; *with a Deſcription of the dark and lucid Diſk and Periphery Micrometers. By* William Herſchel, *Eſq. F. R. S. From the ſame Work.*

IT is not only of the greateſt conſequence to the aſtronomer, but alſo gives the higheſt pleaſure to every intelligent perſon, to have a juſt idea of the dimenſions of the ſolar ſyſtem, and the heavenly bodies that belong to it. As far then as they fall within the reach of our inſtruments, they ought carefully to be examined and meaſured by all the various methods we can invent. Almoſt every ſort of micrometer is liable to ſome inconveniences and deceptions: it will, however, often happen, that we may correct the errors of one inſtrument by the oppoſite defects of another. The meaſures of the diameter of the Georgium Sidus, which were delivered in my firſt paper, differ conſiderably from each other. However, if we ſet aſide the three firſt, on a ſuppoſition (as I have hinted before) that every minute object, which is much ſmaller than what we are frequently uſed to ſee, will at firſt ſight appear leſs than it really is; and take a mean of the remaining obſervations, we ſhall have $4'' 36\frac{1}{2}'''$ for the diameter of the planet. On comparing the meaſures then with this mean, we find but two of them that differ ſomewhat more than half a ſecond from it; the reſt are almoſt all within a quarter of a ſecond of that meaſure. This agreement, in the dimenſions of any other planet, would appear very conſiderable; but not being ſatisfied, when I thought it poſſible to obtain much more accurate meaſures, I employed the lamp-micrometer in preference to the former. The firſt time I uſed it upon this occaſion I perceived, that if, inſtead of two lucid points, we could have an intire lucid diſk to reſemble the planet, the meaſures would certainly be ſtill more compleat. The difficulty of dilating and contracting a figure that ſhould always remain a circle, appeared to me very conſiderable, though nature, with her uſual ſimplicity, holds out to us a pattern in the iris of the eye, which, ſimple as it appears, is not one of the leaſt admirable of her inimitable works. However, I recollected, that it was not abſolutely requiſite to have every inſenſible degree of magnitude; ſince, by changing the diſtance, I

could

could without much inconvenience make every little intermediate gradation between a ſet of circles of a proper ſize, that might be prepared for the purpoſe. Intending to put this deſign into practice, I contrived the following apparatus.

A large lanthorn, of the conſtruction of thoſe ſmall ones that are uſed with my lamp-micrometer*, muſt have a place for three flames in the middle, which is neceſſary, in order that we may have the quantity of light required, by lighting one, two, or all of them. The grooves, inſtead of braſs ſliding doors, muſt be wide enough to admit a paſteboard, and three or four thickneſſes of paper. I prepared a ſet of circles, cut out in paſte-board, increaſing by tenths of an inch from two inches to five in diameter, and theſe were made to fit into the grooves of the lamp. A good number of pieces, ſome of white, others of light blue paper, of the ſame ſize with the paſteboards, were alſo cut out, and ſeveral of them oiled, to render them more tranſparent. The oiled papers ſhould be well rubbed, that they may not ſtain the dry papers when placed together. This apparatus being ready, we are to place behind the paſteboard circle, next to the light, one, two, or more, either blue or white, dry or oiled, papers; and by means of one or more flames, to obtain an appearance perfectly reſembling the diſk we would compare it with. It will be found, that more or leſs altitude of the object, and higher or lower powers of the inſtrument, require a different aſſortment of papers and lights, which muſt by no means be neglected: for if any fallacy can be ſuſpected in the uſe of this apparatus, it is in the degree of light we muſt look for it. In a few experiments I tried with theſe lucid diſks, where I placed ſeveral of them together, and illuminated them at once, it was found, that but very little more light will make a circle appear of the ſame ſize with another, which is one, or even two tenths of an inch leſs in diameter. A well known and ſtriking inſtance of this kind of deception is the moon, juſt before or after the conjunction, where we may ſee how much the luminous part of the diſk projects above the reſt.

The method of uſing the artificial diſks is the ſame which has been deſcribed with the lamp-micrometer, of which this apparatus may be called a branch. We are only to obſerve, that the planet we would meaſure ſhould be cauſed to go either juſt under, or juſt over, the illuminated circle. It may indeed alſo be ſuffered to paſs acroſs it; but in this caſe, the lights will be ſo blended together, that we cannot eaſily form a proper judgment of their magnitudes. By a good ſcrew to the motions of my teleſcope I have been able, at any time, to keep the planet oppoſite the lucid diſk for five minutes together, and to view them both with the moſt perfect and undiſturbed attention. The apparatus I employed being now ſufficiently explained, ſeveral alterations that

* Phil. Tranſ. vol. lxxii. p. 166.

were

were occaſionally introduced will be mentioned in the obſervations and experiments on the Georgium Sidus, as they follow, in the order of time in which they were made.

Obſervations on the Light, Diameter, and Magnitude, of the Georgium Sidus.

Oct. 22, 1781. The Georgium Sidus was perfectly defined with a power of 227; had a fine, bright, ſteady light; of the colour of Jupiter, or approaching to the light of the moon.

Nov. 28, 1781. I meaſured the diameter of the Georgium Sidus by the lamp-micrometer, and took one meaſure, which I was aſſured was too large; and one, which I was certain was too little; then taking the mean of both, I compared it with the diameter of the ſtar, and found it to agree very well.

Hence $\frac{\text{Image} = 2{,}4 \text{ inches}}{\text{Diſtance} = 431 \text{ inches}} = \text{tang. } ,0055684$; and $\frac{\text{Angle} = 19' 8''}{\text{Power} = 227\ 6}$ = the diameter $5'',06$. But the evening was foggy, and the ſtar having much aberration, I was induced to try the above method of extreme and mean diameters, ſuggeſted by the method of altitudes, where two equally diſtant extremes give us a true mean.

Nov. 19, 1781. The diameter meaſured $32\frac{1}{4}$ parts of my micrometer, the wires being outward tangents to the diſk. On ſhutting them gradually by the ſame light, they cloſed at 24; therefore the difference is $8\frac{1}{4}$ parts, which, according to my ſcale, gives $5'' 2'''$ for the diameter. This was taken with 227, and the meaſure ſeemed large enough. Not perfectly pleaſed with my light, which was rather too ſtrong, I repeated the meaſure, and had $33\frac{1}{2}$ parts; then ſhutting the wires gradually, by *this* light they cloſed at 25: the difference, which is $8\frac{1}{2}$ parts, gives $5'' 11'''$.

Aug. 29, 1782. 15 h. I ſaw the Georgium Sidus full as well defined with 460, as Jupiter would have been at that altitude with the ſame power.

Sept. 9, 1782. Circumſtances being favourable, I took a meaſure of the diameter of the Georgium Sidus with the power of 460, and ſilk-thread micrometer. After a proper allowance for the zero, I found $4'' 11'''$.

Oct. 2, 1782. I had prepared an apparatus of lucid diſks, and meaſured the diameter of the Georgium Sidus with it. Having only white oiled papers, I placed two of them together, and uſed only a ſingle lamp; but could not exactly imitate the light of the planet. When I firſt ſaw the Sidus and luminous circle together, I was ſtruck with the different colours of their lights; which brought to my recollection γ Andromedæ, ε Bootis, α Herculis, β Cygni, and other coloured ſtars. The planet unexpectedly appeared blueiſh, while the lucid diſk had a ſtrong tincture of red; but neither of the colours were ſo vivid and ſparkling as thoſe of the juſt mentioned ſtars. The diſtance of the luminous circle from the eye (which I always meaſure with

with deal rods) was 588,25 inches. The circle measured 2,35 inches. Hence we have the angle 13′ 44″; which, divided by the power 227, gives 3″,63 for the diameter of the planet. I suspected some little fallacy from the want of a perfect resemblance in the light and colour of the artificial disk to the real appearance of the planet.

Oct. 4, 1782. I measured the diameter of the Georgium Sidus again, by an improvement in my apparatus, for I now used pale blue papers, both oiled and plain, instead of white; by which means I obtained a resemblance of colours; and by an assortment of one oiled and two dry papers with two lamps burning, I effected the same degree of light which the planet had, and both figures were equally well defined. By first changing the disk, and, when I had one which came nearest, changing my distance, I came at a perfect equality between the planet and disk. The measure was several times repeated with great precaution. The result was $\frac{2,8}{692,6} = ,0040283$; and $\frac{13' 53'',85}{227} = 3'',67$. If any thing be wanting to the perfection of this measure, it is perhaps that the Sidus should be in the meridian, in order to have all the advantages of light and distinctness.

Oct. 10, 1782. The measures of the planet by the lucid disk micrometer appearing to me very small, I resolved to ascertain the power of my telescope again most scrupulously, by an actual experiment, without any deduction from other principles. On a most convenient and level plain I viewed two slips of white paper, and measured their images upon a wall. The distances were measured by deal rods, every repetition whereof was certainly true to half a tenth of an inch; nor did the direction of the measure ever deviate, so much as two inches, from a straight line.

Distance of the object from the eye in inches -	7255,5
Distance of the eye from the vertex of the speculum	80,2
Distance of the vertex of the speculum from the object	7335,7
Distance of the eye from the wall - -	2292,35
Diameter of the largest paper - -	,99125
Diameter of the smallest - -	,5075
Image of the largest paper on the wall -	73,
Image of the smallest on the same - -	37,8
Angle subtended by the large paper at the vertex of the speculum 27″,87	
Angle subtended by its image on the wall, at the eye, 1° 49′ 26″,4.	
Power of the telescope deduced from the large paper	235,6
Angle subtended by the small paper at the vertex of the speculum 14″,27.	
Angle subtended by its image on the wall, at the eye, 56′ 40″,9.	
Power of the the telescope deduced from the small paper	238,3

Mean

Mean of both experiments, as being equally good 237,
Focal length of the ſpeculum upon thoſe objects - 86,1625
Upon Capella - - - 85,2
And 237 diminiſhed in the ratio of 85,2 to 86,1625 gives 234,3 for the power of the inſtrument upon the fixed ſtars.

It appears then, from theſe experiments, that the power of the teleſcope has not been over-rated; and that, therefore, the meaſures of the Georgium Sidus cannot be found too ſmall on that account.

There is one cauſe of inaccuracy or deception in very ſmall meaſures, long ſuſpected, but never yet ſufficiently inveſtigated. That there is a *diſperſion* of the rays of light in their paſſage through the atmoſphere, we may admit from various experiments; if then the quantity of this diſperſion be, in general, regulated by certain diſpoſitions of the air, and other cauſes, it will follow, that a *concentration* may alſo take place: for ſhould the rays of light, at any time, be leſs diſperſed than uſual, they might with as much reaſon be ſaid to be concentrated, as the mercury of a thermometer is ſaid to be contracted by cold, when it falls below the zero.

Oct. 12, 1782. The night was ſo fine, that I ſaw the Georgium Sidus very plainly with my naked eye. I took a meaſure of its diameter by the lucid diſk, and found, that I was obliged to come nearer, as the planet roſe higher, and gained more diſtinct light. At the altitude of 52° it was as follows:

$\frac{3,415}{731,3} = ,0046698$; and $\frac{16' 3'',2}{227} = 4'',24$.

Oct. 13, 1782. 16 h. I viewed the Georgium Sidus with ſeveral powers. With 227 it was beautiful. Still better with 278. With 460, after looking ſome time, very diſtinct. I perceived no flattening of the polar regions, to denote a diurnal motion; though, I believe, if it had had as much as Jupiter, I ſhould have ſeen it. With 625 pretty well defined.

Oct. 19, 1782. The inconvenience ariſing from the quantity of light contained in the lucid diſk, ſuggeſted to me the idea of taking only an illuminated periphery, inſtead of the area of a circle. By this means I hoped to ſee the circle well defined, and yet have but little light to interfere with the appearance of the planet. The breadth of my lucid periphery was one-twentieth of an inch. The reſult of this meaſure proved $\frac{3,3}{765,45} = ,0041486$; and $\frac{14' 15'',60}{227}$ $= 3'',77$.

Oct. 26, 1782. In my laſt experiment I found the lucid periphery much broader than I could have wiſhed; therefore, I prepared one of no more than one-fortieth part of an inch in breadth, the outer circle meaſuring very exactly 4,00, and the inner circle 3,95. With this ſlender ring of light illuminated with only one ſingle lamp, I meaſured the Georgium Sidus, by removing the teleſcope to various diſtances;

ſtances; and found at laſt the following reſult: $\frac{4,}{1033,05} = ,0038720$; and $\frac{13' 18'',6}{227} = 3'',51$.

Nov. 4, 1782. I was now fully convinced that light, be it in the form of a lucid circle, or illuminated periphery, would always occaſion the meaſures to be leſs than they ſhould be, on account of its vivid impreſſion upon the eye, whereby the magnitude of the object, to which the planet was compared, would be increaſed. It occurred to me then, that if a lucid circle encroached upon the ſurrounding darker parts, a lucid ſquare border, round a dark circle, would in its turn advance upon the artificial diſk. In my laſt meaſures, where the planet had been compared to a lucid ring, I had plainly obſerved that the Sidus, which was but juſt equal to the illuminated periphery, was conſiderably larger than the black area contained within the ring. This ſeemed to point out a method to diſcover the quantity of the deception ariſing from the illumination; and conſequently, to furniſh us with a correction applicable to ſuch meaſures; which would be *plus*, when taken with a lucid diſk or ring; and *minus*, when obtained from a dark ring or circle. Having ſuſpended a row of paſte-board circles againſt an illuminated ſheet of oiled paper, I cauſed the Georgium Sidus to paſs by them ſeveral times, and ſelected from their number that to which the planet bore the greateſt reſemblance in magnitude. I produced a perfect equality by ſome ſmall alteration of my diſtance, and the reſult was as follows:

$$\frac{3,165}{633,95} = ,0049925 : \text{ hence } \frac{17' 9'',8}{227} = 4'',53.$$

I was deſirous of ſeeing what would be the effect of leſſening the light of the illuminated frame, againſt which the dark diſks were ſuſpended, and alſo waited a ſhort time that the planet might riſe up higher. The meaſure being then repeated at a different diſtance, and with a different black diſk, I obtained the following particulars:

$$\frac{3,59}{803,05} = ,0044704; \text{ and } \frac{15' 22'',1}{227} = 4'',06.$$

I intend to purſue theſe experiments ſtill farther, eſpecially in the time of the planet's oppoſition, and am therefore unwilling as yet to draw a final concluſion from the ſeveral meaſures. In a ſubject of ſuch delicacy we cannot have too many facts to regulate our judgement. Thus much, however, we may in general ſurmiſe, that the diameter of the Georgium Sidus cannot well be much leſs, nor perhaps much larger, than about four ſeconds. From this, if we will anticipate more exact calculations hereafter to be made, we may gather that the real diameter of that planet muſt be between four and five times that of the earth: for by the calculations of M. de la Lande, contained in a letter he has favoured me with, the diſtance of the Georgium Sidus is ſtated at 18,913, that of the earth being 1. And if we take the latter to be ſeen, at the ſun, under an angle of 17″,

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it would subtend no more than $''898$, when removed to the orbit of the Georgium Sidus. Hence we obtain $\frac{4}{,898} = 4,454$; which number expresses how much the real diameter of the Georgium Sidus exceeds that of the earth.

Extracts from an Account of the Earthquakes which happened in Italy, *from* February *to* May 1783; *by Sir* William Hamilton, *Knight of the Bath, F. R. S. in a Letter to Sir* Joseph Banks, *Bart. P. R. S. From the same Work.*

Naples, May 23, 1783.

I AM happy now to have it in my power to give you, and my brethren of the Royal Society, some little idea of the infinite damage done, and of the various phenomena exhibited, by the earthquakes (which began the 5th of February last, and continue to be sensibly, though less violently, felt to this day) in the two Calabrias, at Messina, and in the parts of Sicily nearest to the continent. From the most authentic reports, and accounts received at the offices of his Sicilian majesty's secretary of state, we gathered in general, that the part of Calabria, which has been most affected by this heavy calamity, is that which is comprehended between the 38th and 39th degree, that the greatest force of the earthquakes seemed to have exerted itself from the foot of those mountains of the Apennines called the Monte Deio, Monte Sacro, and Monte Caulone, extending westward to the Tyrrene sea; that the towns, villages, and farm-houses, nearest these mountains, situated either on hills or in the plain, were totally ruined by the first shock of the 5th of February about noon; and that the greatest mortality was there; that in proportion as the towns and villages were at a greater distance from this center, the damage they received was less considerable; but that even those more distant towns had been greatly damaged by the subsequent shocks of the earthquake, and especially by those of the 7th, the 26th, and 28th of February, and that of the 1st of March; that from the first shock, the 5th of February, the earth continued to be in a continual tremor, more or less; and that the shocks were more sensibly felt at times in some parts of the afflicted provinces than in others; that the motion of the earth had been various, and, according to the Italian denomination, *vorticoso*, *orizontale*, and *oscillatorio*, either whirling like a vortex horizontal, or by pulsations, or beatings from the bottom upwards; that this variety of motion had increased the apprehensions of the unfortunate inhabitants of those parts, who expected every moment that the earth would open under their feet, and swallow them up; that the rains had been continual and violent, often accompanied with lightning and irregular and furious gusts of wind; that from all these causes the face of the earth of that part of Calabria (comprehended as abovementioned between the 38th

5 and

and 39th degrees) was entirely altered, particularly on the weſtward ſide of the mountains above named; that many openings and cracks had been made in thoſe parts; that ſome hills had been lowered, and others quite levelled; that in the plains, deep chaſms had been made, by which many roads were rendered impaſſable; that huge mountains had been ſplit aſunder, and parts of them driven to a conſiderable diſtance; that deep vallies had been filled up by the mountains (which formed thoſe vallies) having been detached by the violence of the earthquakes, and joined together; that the courſe of ſome rivers had been altered; that many ſprings of water had appeared in places that were perfectly dry before; and that in other parts, ſprings that had been conſtant had totally diſappeared; that near Laureana in Calabria Ultra, a ſingular phenomenon had been produced, that the ſurface of two whole tenements, with large olive and mulberry-trees therein, ſituated in a valley perfectly level, had been detached by the earthquake, and tranſplanted, the trees ſtill remaining in their places, to the diſtance of about a mile from their firſt ſituations; and that from the ſpot on which they formerly ſtood hot water had ſprung up to a conſiderable height, mixed with ſand of a ferruginous nature; that near this place alſo ſome countrymen and ſhepherds had been ſwallowed up with their teams of oxen and their flocks of goats and ſheep; in ſhort, that beginning from the city of Amantea, ſituated on the coaſt of the Tyrrene ſea in Calabria Citra, and going along the weſtward coaſt to Cape Spartivento in Calabria Ultra, and then up the eaſtern coaſt as far as the Cape d'Alice (a part of Calabria Citra on the Ionian ſea), there is not a town or village, either on the coaſt or land, but what is either totally deſtroyed, or has ſuffered more or leſs, amounting in all to near four hundred, what are called here Paeſes; a village containing leſs than an hundred inhabitants is not counted as a Paeſe.

The greateſt mortality fell upon thoſe towns and countries ſituated in the plain on the weſtern ſide of the mountains Dejo, Sacro, and Caulone. At Caſal Nuovo, the Princeſs Gerace, and upwards of 4000 of the inhabitants, loſt their lives; at Bagnara, the number of dead amounts to 3017; Radicina and Palmi count their loſs at about 3000 each; Terranuova about 1400; Seminari ſtill more. The ſum total of the mortality in both Calabrias and in Sicily, by the earthquakes alone, according to the returns in the ſecretary of ſtate's office at Naples, is 32,367; but I have good reaſon to believe that, including ſtrangers, the number of lives loſt muſt have been conſiderably greater, 40,000 at leaſt may be allowed, and, I believe, without any exaggeration.

From the ſame office intelligence we likewiſe heard, that the inhabitants of Scilla on the firſt ſhock of the earthquake, the 5th of February, had eſcaped from their houſes on the rock, and, following the example of their prince, taken ſhelter on the ſea-ſhore; but that in the night-time the ſame ſhock, which had raiſed and agitated the ſea ſo violently, and done ſo much damage on the point of the Faro of Meſſina, had

acted with ſtill greater violence there, for that the wave (which was repreſented to have been boiling hot, and that many people had been ſcalded by its riſing to a great height) went furiouſly three miles inland, and ſwept off in its return 2473 of the inhabitants of Scilla, with the prince at their head, who were at that time either on the Scilla Strand, or in boats near the ſhore.

All accounts agreed, that of the number of ſhocks which have been felt ſince the beginning of this formidable earthquake, amounting to ſome hundreds, the moſt violent, and of the longeſt duration, were thoſe of the 5th of February at 19½ (according to the Italian way of counting the hours); of the 6th of February, at 7 hours in the night; of the 27th of February, at 11½ in the morning; of the firſt of March, at 8½ in the night; and that of the 28th of March, at 1½ in the night. It was this laſt ſhock that affected moſt the upper part of Calabria Ultra, and the lower part of the Citra, an authentic deſcription of which you will ſee hereafter, in a letter which I received from the Marquis Ippolito *, an accurate obſerver reſiding at Catanzaro in the upper Calabria. The firſt and the laſt ſhocks muſt have been tremendous indeed, and only theſe two were ſenſibly felt in this capital.

The accounts which this government has received from the province of Coſenza, are leſs melancholy than thoſe from the province of Calabria Ultra. From Cape Suvero to the Cape of Cetraro on the weſtern coaſt, the inland countries, as well as thoſe on the coaſt, are ſaid to have ſuffered more or leſs in proportion to their proximity to the ſuppoſed center of the earthquakes; and it has been conſtantly obſerved, that its greateſt violence has been exerted, and ſtill continues to be ſo, on the weſtern ſide of the Appennines, preciſely the celebrated Sila of the ancient Brutii, and that all thoſe countries ſituated to the eaſtward of the Sila had felt the ſhocks of the earthquake, but without having received any damage from them. In the province of Coſenza there does not appear to be above 100 lives loſt. In the laſt accounts from the moſt afflicted part of Calabria Ultra, two ſingular phenomena are mentioned. At about the diſtance of three miles from the ruined city of Oppido, there was a hill (the ſoil of which is a ſandy clay) about 500 palms high, and 1300 in circumference at its baſis. It was ſaid, that this hill, by the ſhock of the 5th of February, jumped to the diſtance of about four miles from the ſpot where it ſtood into a plain called the Campo di Baſſano. At the ſame time the hill on which the town of Oppido ſtood, which extended about three miles, divided in two, and as its ſituation was between two rivers, its ruins filled up the valley, and ſtopped the courſe of thoſe rivers; two great lakes are already formed, and are daily increaſing, which lakes, if means are not found to drain them, and give the rivers their due coarſe, in a ſhort time muſt infect the air greatly.

From Sicily the accounts of the moſt ſerious nature were thoſe of

* See page 58 following.

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the deſtruction of the greateſt part of the noble city of Meſſina, by the ſhock of the 5th of February, and of the remaining parts by the ſubſequent ones; that the kay in the port had ſunk conſiderably, and was in ſome places a palm and a half under water; that the ſuperb building, called the Palazzata, which gave the port a more magnificent appearance than any port in Europe can boaſt of, had been entirely ruined; that the Lazaret had been greatly damaged; but that the citadel had ſuffered little; that the mother church had fallen; in ſhort, that Meſſina was no more; that the tower at the point of the entrance of the Faro was half deſtroyed; and that the ſame hot wave, that had done ſuch miſchief at Scilla, had paſſed over the point of land at the Faro, and carried off about 24 people. The viceroy of Sicily likewiſe gave an account of ſome damage done by the earthquakes, but nothing conſiderable, at Melazzo, Patti, Terra di Santa Lucia, Caſtro Reale, and in the iſland of Lipari.——

In the courſe of his progreſs through Calabria, Sir William writes as follows:—"Soon after we had paſſed through the ruined town of St. Pietro, we had a diſtant view of Sicily, and the ſummit of Mount Etna, which ſmoked conſiderably. Juſt before we arrived at Roſarno, near a ford of the river Mamella we paſſed over a ſwampy plain, in many parts of which I was ſhewn ſmall hollows in the earth, of the ſhape of an inverted cone: they were covered with ſand, as was the ſoil near them. I was told that, during the earthquake of the 5th of February, from each of theſe ſpots a fountain of water mixed with ſand had been driven up to a conſiderable height. I ſpoke to a peaſant here, who was preſent, and was covered with the water and ſand; but aſſured me, that it was not hot, as had been repreſented. Before this appearance, he ſaid, the river was dry; but ſoon after returned and overflowed its banks. I afterwards found, that the ſame phenomenon had been conſtant with reſpect to all the other rivers in the plain during the formidable ſhock of the 5th of February. I think this phenomenon is eaſily explained, by ſuppoſing the firſt impulſe of the earthquake to have come from the bottom upwards, which all the inhabitants of the plain atteſt to be fact; the ſurface of the plain ſuddenly riſing, the rivers, which are not deep, would naturally diſappear, and the plain, returning with violence to its former level, the rivers muſt naturally have returned, and overflowed, at the ſame time that the ſudden depreſſion of the boggy grounds would as naturally force out the water that lay hid under their ſurface. I obſerved in the other parts where this ſort of phenomenon had been exhibited, that the ground was always low and ruſhy. Between this place and Roſarno we paſſed the river Meſſano or Metauro (which is near the town above-mentioned) on a ſtrong timber bridge, 700 palm long, which had been lately built by the Duke of Monteleone. From the cracks made on the banks and in the bed of the river by the earthquake, it was quite ſeparated in one part, and the level on which the piers were

placed having been variouſly altered, the bridge has taken an undulated form, and the rail on each ſide is curiouſly ſcolloped; but the parts that were ſeparated having been joined again, it is now paſſable. The duke's bridgeman told me alſo, that at the moment of the earthquake, this great river was perfectly dry for ſome ſeconds, and then returned with violence, and overflowed; and that the bridge undulated in a moſt extraordinary manner. When I mention the earthquake in the plain, it muſt be always underſtood the firſt ſhock of the 5th of February, which was by far the moſt terrible, and was the one that did the whole miſchief in the plain, without having given any previous notice. The town of Roſarno, with the Duke of Monteleone's palace there, was entirely ruined; but the walls remained about ſix feet high, and are now fitting up as barracks. The mortality here did not much exceed 200 out of near 3000. It had been remarked at Roſarno, and the ſame remark has been conſtantly repeated to me in every ruined town that I have viſited, that the male dead were generally found under the ruins in the attitude of ſtruggling againſt the danger; but that the female attitude was uſually with hands claſped over their heads, as giving themſelves up to deſpair, unleſs they had children near them; in which caſe they were always found claſping the children in their arms, or in ſome attitude which indicated their anxious care to protect them; a ſtrong inſtance of the maternal tenderneſs of the ſex! The only building that remained unhurt at Roſarno was a ſtrong built town gaol, in which were three notorious villains, who would probably have loſt their lives had they been at liberty. After having dined in a barrack, the owner of which had loſt five of his family by the earthquake, I proceeded to Laureana, often croſſing the wide extended bed of the river Metauro. The environs of Laureana, which ſtands on an elevation, is the garden of Eden itſelf; nothing I ever ſaw can be compared to it. The town is conſiderable; but as the earthquake did not come on ſuddenly, as in the plain, not a life was loſt there; but from a ſickneſs, occaſioned by hardſhips and fright, 52 have died ſince. I lodged in the barracks of a ſenſible gentleman of Mileto, Don Domenico Acquanetta, who is a principal proprietor of this town. He attended me the next day to the two tenements, called the Macini and Vaticano, mentioned in the former part of this letter, and which were ſaid to have changed their ſituation by the earthquake. The fact is true, and eaſily accounted for. Theſe tenements were ſituated in a valley ſurrounded by high grounds, and the ſurface of the earth, which has been removed, had been probably long undermined by little rivulets, which come from the mountains, and now are in full view on the bare ſpot the tenements had deſerted. Theſe rivulets have a ſufficiently rapid courſe down the valley, to prove its not being a perfect level, as was repreſented. I ſuppoſe the earthquake to have opened ſome depoſitions of rain-water in the clay hills which ſur-

round

round the valley, which water, mixed with the loose soil, taking its course suddenly through the undermined surface, lifting it up with the large olive and mulberry-trees, and a thatched cottage, floated the entire piece of ground, with all its vegetation, about a mile down the valley, where it now stands, with most of the trees erect. These two tenements may be about a mile long, and half a mile broad. I was shewn several deep cracks in this neighbourhood, not one above a foot in breadth; but which, I was credibly assured, had opened wide during the earthquake, and swallowed up an ox, and near an hundred goats, but no countrymen, as was reported. In the valley above-mentioned I saw the same sort of hollows in the form of inverted cones, out of which, I was assured, that hot water and sand had been emitted with violence during the earthquakes as at Rosarno; but I could not find any one who could positively affirm that the water had been really hot, although the reports which government received affirm it. Some of the sand thrown out here with the water has a ferruginous appearance, and seems to have been acted upon by fire. I was told, that it had also, when fresh, a strong smell of sulphur, but I could not perceive it.

From hence I went through the same delightful country to the town of Polistene. To pass through so rich a country, and not see a single house standing on it, is most melancholy indeed; wherever a house stood, there you see a heap of ruins, and a poor barrack, with two or three miserable mourning figures sitting at the door, and here and there a maimed man, woman, or child, crawling upon crutches. Instead of a town, you see a confused heap of ruins, and round about them a number of poor huts or barracks, and a larger one to serve as a church, with the church bells hanging upon a sort of low gibbet; every inhabitant with a doleful countenance, and wearing some token of having lost a parent.

I travelled four days in the plain, in the midst of such misery as cannot be described. The force of the earthquake was so great there, that all the inhabitants of the towns were buried either alive or dead under the ruins of their houses in an instant. The town of Polistene was large, but ill situated between two rivers, subject to overflow. 2100 out of about 6000 lost their lives here the fatal 5th of February. The Marquis St. Giorgio, the baron of this country, whom I found here, was well employed in assisting his tenants. He had caused the streets of his ruined town to be cleared of rubbish, and had erected barracks on a healthy spot near it, for the remainder of his subjects, and on a good plan. He had also constructed barracks of a larger size for the silk-worms, which I found already at work in them. This prince's activity and generosity is most praise-worthy, and, as far as I have seen hitherto, he is without a rival. I observed, that the town of St. Giorgio, on a hill about two miles from Polistene, though rendered uninhabitable, was by no means levelled like the towns in the plain. There was a nunnery at Polistene; being

curious to see the nuns that had escaped, I asked the marquis to shew me their barracks; but, it seems, only one out of twenty-three had been dug out of her cell alive, and she was fourscore years of age. After having dined with the marquis in his humble barrack, near the ruins of his very magnificent palace, I went through a fine wood of olive, and another of chesnut trees, to Casal Nuovo, and was shewn the spot on which stood the house of my unfortunate friend the princess Gerace Grimaldi, who with more than four thousand of her subjects lost her life by the sudden explosion of the 5th of February (for so it appears to have been) that reduced this town to atoms. I was told by some here, who had been dug out of the ruins, that they felt their houses fairly lifted up, without having had the least previous notice. In other towns some walls and parts of houses are standing; but here you neither distinguish street or house, all lye in one confused heap of ruins. An inhabitant of Casal Nuovo told me, he was on a hill at the moment of the earthquake, overlooking the plain, when feeling the shock, and turning towards the plain, instead of the town, he saw in the place of it a thick cloud of white dust like smoke, the natural effect of the crushing of the buildings, and the mortar flying off.

From hence I went through the towns of Castellace and Milicusco (both in the same condition as Casal Nuovo) to Terra Nuova, situated in the same lovely plain, between two rivers, which, with the torrents from the mountains, have, in the course of ages, cut deep and wide chasms in the soft sandy clay soil of which the whole plain is composed. At Terra Nuova the ravine or chasm is not less than 500 feet deep, and three quarters of a mile broad. What causes a confusion in all the accounts of the phenomena produced by this earthquake in the plain, is the not having sufficiently explained the nature of the soil and situation. They tell you, that a town has been thrown a mile from the place where it stood, without mentioning a word of a ravine; that woods and corn-fields had been removed in the same manner; when in truth it is but upon a large scale, what we see every day upon a smaller, when pieces of the sides of hollow ways, having been undermined by rain waters, are detached into the bottom by their own weight. Here, from the great depth of the ravine, and the violent motion of the earth, two huge portions of the earth, on which a great part of the town stood, consisting of some hundreds of houses, were detached into the ravine, and nearly across it, about half a mile from the place where they stood; and what is most extraordinary, several of the inhabitants of those houses, who had taken this singular leap in them, were nevertheless dug out alive, and some unhurt. I spoke to one myself who had taken this extraordinary journey in his house, with his wife and a maid-servant: neither he nor his maid-servant were hurt; but he told me, his wife had been a little hurt, but was now nearly recovered. I happened to ask him, what hurt his wife had received? His answer, though of a very

very ſerious nature, will nevertheleſs, I am ſure, make you ſmile, Sir, as it did me. He ſaid, ſhe had both her legs and one arm broken, and that ſhe had a fracture on her ſkull ſo that the brain was viſible. It appears to me, that the Calabreſi have more firmneſs than the Neapolitans; and they really ſeem to bear their exceſſive preſent misfortune with a true philoſophic patience. Of 1600 inhabitants at Terra Nuova, only 400 eſcaped alive. My guide there, who was a prieſt and phyſician, had been ſhut up in the ruins of his houſe by the firſt ſhock of the earthquake, and was blown out of it, and delivered by the ſucceeding ſhock, which followed the firſt immediately. There are many well-atteſted inſtances of the ſame having happened elſewhere in Calabria. In other parts of the plain ſituated near the ravine, and near the town of Terra Nuova, I ſaw many acres of land with trees and corn-fields that had been detached into the ravine, and often without having been overturned, ſo that the trees and crops were growing as well as if they had been planted there. Other ſuch pieces were lying in the bottom, in an inclined ſituation; and others again that had been quite overturned. In one place, two of theſe immenſe pieces of land having been detached oppoſite to one another, had filled the valley, and ſtopped the courſe of the river, the waters of which were forming a great lake: and this is the true ſtate of what the accounts mention of mountains that had walked, and joined together, ſtopped the courſe of the river, and formed a lake. At the moment of the earthquake the river diſappeared here, as at Roſarno, and returning ſoon after, overflowed the bottom of the ravine about three feet in depth, ſo that the poor people that had been thrown with their houſes into the ravine from the top of it, and had eſcaped with broken bones, were now in danger of being drowned. I was aſſured, that the water was ſalt, like that of the ſea; but this circumſtance ſeems to want confirmation. The ſame reaſon I have given for the ſudden diſappearing of the river Metauro at Roſarno will account for the like phenomenon here, and in every part of the country where the rivers dried up at the moment of the earthquake. The whole town of Mollochi di Sotto near Terra Nuova, was likewiſe detached into the ravine, and a vineyard of many acres near it lies in the bottom of the ravine as I ſaw in a perfect order, but in an inclined ſituation: there is a footpath through this vineyard, which has a ſingular effect, conſidering its preſent impracticable ſituation. Some water mills, that were on the river, having been jammed between two ſuch detached pieces as above deſcribed, were lifted up by them, and are now ſeen on an elevated ſituation, many feet above the level of the river. Without the proper explanations it is no wonder that ſuch facts ſhould appear miraculous. I obſerved in ſeveral parts of the plain, that the ſoil with timber-trees and crops of corn, conſiſting of many acres, had ſunk eight and ten feet below the level of the plain; and in others again I perceived it had riſen as many. It is neceſſary to

remember, that the ſoil of the plain is a clay mixed with ſand, which is eaſily moulded into any ſhape. In the plain, near the ſpots from whence the above mentioned pieces had been detached into the ravine, there were ſeveral parallel cracks, ſo that had the violence of the ſhocks of the earthquake continued, theſe pieces alſo would have probably followed. I remarked conſtantly in all my journey, that near every ravine, or hollow way, the parts of the plain adjoining were full of large parallel cracks. The earth rocking with violence from ſide to ſide, and having a ſupport on one ſide only, accounts well for this circumſtance. From Terra Nuova I went to Oppido. This city is ſituated on a mountain of a ferruginous ſort of gritty ſtone, unlike the clay ſoil of its neighbourhood, and is ſurrounded by two rivers in a ravine deeper and broader than that of Terra Nuova. Inſtead of the mountain on which Oppido was ſituated having ſplit in two, and by its fall on the rivers, ſtopped their courſe and formed great lakes, as we were told; it was (as at Terra Nuova) huge pieces of the plain on the edge of the ravine, that had been detached into it, nearly filled it up, and ſtopped the courſe of the rivers, the waters of which are now forming two great lakes. It is true, that part of the rock on which Oppido ſtood was detached with ſeveral houſes into the ravine; but that is a trifling circumſtance in compariſon of the very great tracts of land, with large plantations of vines and olive-trees, which have been detached from one ſide of the ravine clear over to the other, though the diſtance is more than half a mile. It is well atteſted, that a countryman, who was ploughing his field in this neighbourhood with a pair of oxen, was tranſported with his field and team clear from one ſide of a ravine to the other, and that neither he nor his oxen were hurt. After what I have ſeen, I verily believe this may have happened. A large volume might be compoſed of the curious facts and accidents of this kind produced by the earthquakes in the valley; and, I ſuppoſe, many will be recorded in the account of the late formidable earthquakes, which the academy of Naples intend to publiſh, the preſident having already ſent into Calabria fifteen members, with draughtſmen in proportion, to collect the facts, and make drawings for the ſole purpoſe of giving a ſatisfactory and ample account of the late calamity to the publick; but unleſs they attend, as I did, to the nature of the ſoil of the place where thoſe accidents happened, their reports will generally meet with little credit, except from thoſe who are profeſſed dilettanti of miracles, and many ſuch do certainly exiſt in this country."

Sir William concludes his letter as follows:

"But before I take my leave, I will juſt ſum up the reſult of my obſervations in Calabria and Sicily, and give you my reaſons for believing that the preſent earthquakes are occaſioned by the operation of a volcano, the ſeat of which ſeems to lye deep, either under the bottom of the ſea, between the iſland of Stromboli and the coaſt of Calabria, or under the

the parts of the plain towards Oppido and Terra Nuova. If on a map of Italy, and with your compaſs on the ſcale of Italian miles, you were to meaſure off 22, and then fixing your central point in the city of Oppido (which appeared to me to be the ſpot on which the earthquake had exerted its greateſt force) form a circle (the radii of which will be, as I juſt ſaid, 22 miles) you will then include all the towns, villages, that have been utterly ruined, and the ſpots where the greateſt mortality has happened, and where there have been the moſt viſible alterations on the face of the earth. Then extend your compaſs on the ſame ſcale to 72 miles, preſerving the ſame center, and form another circle, you will include the whole of the country that has any mark of having been affected by the earthquake. I plainly obſerved a gradation in the damage done to the buildings, as alſo in the degree of mortality, in proportion as the countries were more or leſs diſtant from this ſuppoſed center of the evil. One circumſtance I particularly remarked, if two towns were ſituated at an equal diſtance from this center, the one on a hill, the other on the plain, or in a bottom, the latter had always ſuffered greatly more by the ſhocks of the earthquakes than the former; a ſufficient proof to me of the cauſe coming from beneath, as this muſt naturally have been productive of ſuch an effect. And I have reaſon to believe, that the bottom of the ſea, being ſtill nearer the volcanic cauſe, would be found (could it be ſeen) to have ſuffered even more than the plain itſelf; but (as you will find in moſt of the accounts of the earthquake that are in the preſs, and which are numerous) the philoſophers, who do not eaſily abandon their ancient ſyſtems, make the preſent earthquakes to proceed from the high mountains of the Apennines that divide Calabria Ultra, ſuch as the Monte Dejo, Monte Coulone, and Aſpramonte; I would aſk them this ſimple queſtion, Did the Æolian or Lipari iſlands (all which roſe undoubtedly from the bottom of the ſea by volcanic exploſions at different, and perhaps very diſtant, periods) owe their birth to the Apennines in Calabria, or to veins of minerals in the bowels of the earth, and under the bottom of the ſea? Stromboli an active volcano, and probably the youngeſt of thoſe iſlands, is not above 50 miles from the parts of Calabria that have been moſt affected by the late earthquakes. The vertical ſhocks, or, in other words, thoſe whoſe impulſe was from the bottom upwards, have been the moſt deſtructive to the unhappy towns in the plain; did they proceed from Monte Dejo, Monte Coulone, or Aſpramonte? In ſhort, the Idea I have of the preſent local earthquakes is, that they have been cauſed by the ſame kind of matter that gave birth to the Æolian or Lipari iſlands; that, perhaps, an opening may have been made at the bottom of the ſea, and moſt probably between Stromboli and Calabria Ultra (for from that quarter all agree, that the ſubterraneous noiſes ſeem to have proceeded); and that the foundation of a new iſland or volcano may have been laid, though it may be ages, which to nature are but moments, before it is completed,

completed, and appears above the ſurface of the ſea. Nature is ever active; but her actions are, in general, carried on ſo very ſlowly, as ſcarcely to be perceived by mortal eye, or recorded in the very ſhort ſpace of what we call hiſtory, let it be ever ſo ancient. Perhaps too, the whole deſtruction I have been deſcribing may have proceeded ſimply from the exhalations of confined vapours, generated by the fermentation of ſuch minerals as produce volcanoes, which have eſcaped where they met with the leaſt reſiſtance, and muſt naturally in a greater degree have affected the plain than the high and more ſolid grounds around it. When the account of the Royal Academy of Naples is publiſhed, with maps, plans, and drawings, of the curious ſpots I have deſcribed, this rude and imperfect account will, I flatter myſelf, be of uſe: without the help of plans and drawings, you well know, Sir, the great difficulty there is in making one's ſelf intelligible on ſuch a ſubject. The incloſed letter, which I received whilſt I was in Calabria Ultra, from the Marquis Ippolito, a gentleman of Catanzaro, and an able naturaliſt, will give you the particulars of the phenomena that have been produced by the late earthquakes in Calabria Citra, my time having permitted me to viſit only a part of that province. I once more then crave your kind indulgence, and that of the members of our reſpectable ſociety, if you ſhould think proper to communicate this haſty paper to them.

I have the honour to be, &c."

Tranſlation of the Count Franceſco Ippolito's *Letter to Sir* William Hamilton, *Knight of the Bath, F. R. S. giving an Account of the Earthquake which happened in* Calabria, March 28, 1783. *From the Appendix to the 73d Vol. of Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

THAT part of the kingdom of Naples, formerly poſſeſſed by the Brutii, and other Greek colonies, and now called Calabria, has been at all times expoſed to the terrible convulſions, of which we are at preſent the victims. The earthquakes in 1638 and 1659, by which the two provinces of Calabria were almoſt utterly deſtroyed, are freſh in every one's memory, as well as that of the year 1743-4, which afflicted us for a long time, but without loſs of cities or of men. Reggio, and the countries near it, are expoſed to earthquakes almoſt every year, and if we look back to higheſt antiquity, we ſhall find that all Italy, but particularly this country, and more particularly ſtill the provinces we inhabit, have been ſubject to various cataſtrophes in conſequence of volcanoes and ſubterraneous fires. Indeed, the religious rites themſelves of our anceſtors the Brutii, which hiſtory teaches us were all of a gloomy melancholy caſt, atteſt the deep impreſſion which the ſenſe of ſuch repeated and terrible cataſtrophes made upon the people expoſed to them. Neither, however, could it, nor can it, be otherwiſe in countries ſuch as theſe are, which are interſected by the chain of the Appennines, the bowels of which contain nothing

thing but ſulphur, iron, foſſil coals, petroleum, and other bituminous and combuſtible matters. The quantity of theſe minerals muſt neceſſarily occaſion fermentations and ſubterraneous fires, and it is good for us that we have ſo many volcanoes in the neighbourhood, to ſerve as chimnies, and afford outlets to the fire which forms under our feet.

But amongſt ſo many earthquakes to which we have been expoſed, the leaſt is not that under which we at preſent ſuffer, whether we conſider the force of the concuſſions, or their duration, or the changes that have taken place in the ſurface of the earth, or the ruin of ſo many cities and villages, with the loſs of forty thouſand inhabitants.

I have kept a regular account from the day of the firſt ſhock of the 5th of February, not only of the convulſions ſuffered by the earth, but likewiſe of all the meteors obſerved in the atmoſphere. This the ſhortneſs of time will not allow me to tranſmit to your excellency; but the ſum of it is, that from the 5th of February to this inſtant the ſhocks have been more frequent, and almoſt every day repeated. At times the earth ſhook as it uſually does on theſe occaſions; but at others the motion was undulatory, and at others vorticoſe, during which laſt ſtate it reſembled a ſhip toſſed about in a high ſea. The moſt conſiderable of theſe repeated earthquakes were thoſe which took place on the 5th of February, at $19\frac{1}{2}$ Italian time; on the 7th, about $20\frac{1}{2}$; on the 28th, about $8\frac{3}{4}$ of the night; and finally on the 28th of March, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in the evening. Theſe four eruptions coming, as nearly as we can judge by the phenomena and effects, from the chain of mountains which extend from Reggio hitherwards, have produced four different exploſions in four different parts of Calabria. The three former were in that part of the province in which your excellency now is, and that which you muſt paſs through in your journey to Meſſina. Theſe exploſions have produced various great effects; ruined cities and villages, levelled mountains, immenſe breaks in the earth, new collections of waters, old rivulets ſunk in the earth and diſperſed, rivers ſtopped in their courſe, ſoils levelled, ſmall mountains which exiſted not before formed, plants rooted up, and carried to conſiderable diſtances from their firſt ſite, large portions of earth rolling about through conſiderable diſtricts, animals and men ſwallowed up by the earth—but I abſtain from entering into a minute account of theſe diſaſters; your excellency will ſee them with your own eyes, and aſſiſted by the relations of ocular and faithful witneſſes, no doubt, form a faithful hiſtory of them. One thing, however, I may not forbear to communicate, and that is, that of all theſe calamities, the greateſt and moſt extraordinary was that which happened on the banks of Scilla and Bagnara. That part of the ſea which conſiderably overflowed in theſe marſhes, and ſwallowed up a great number of people who had taken refuge there, was ſo hot that it ſcalded ſeveral of thoſe who were ſaved. This I had from the mouth of the moſt excellent Vicar General.

But

But I will confine myſelf to a ſhort narrative of the effects of the laſt exploſion of the 28th of March, which, without a doubt, muſt have ariſen from an internal fire in the bowels of the earth in theſe parts, as it took place preciſely in the mountains which croſs the neck of our peninſula which is formed by the two rivers, the Lameto which runs into the gulph of St. Euphemia, and the Corace, which runs into the Ionian ſea, and properly into the bay of Squillace. That the thing was ſo is evident from all the phenomena.

This ſhock, like all the reſt, came to us in the direction of the S.W. At firſt the earth began to undulate, then it ſhook, and finally it moved in a vorticoſe direction, ſo that many perſons were not able to ſtand upon their feet. This terrible concuſſion laſted about ten ſeconds; it was ſucceeded by others which were leſs ſtrong, of leſs duration, and only undulatory; ſo that, during the whole night, and for half the next day, the earth was continually ſhaken, at firſt every five minutes, afterwards every quarter of an hour.

A terrible groan from under ground preceded this convulſion, laſted as long as it did, and finally ended with an intenſe noiſe, like the thunder of a mine that takes effect. Theſe mighty thunderings accompanied not only the ſhocks of that night and of the ſucceeding day, but all the others which have taken place ſince that time: moreover, groans have ſometimes been heard without any ſhakes of the earth, and prior to the 28th of March there were noiſes and crackings which exactly reſembled the burſting of ſo many bombs.

The air was covered with clouds, and the weſterly gales blew very freſh. Theſe were ſtilled in one minute before the horrid craſh; but in one moment after they blew again, and then were ſtill. There were, however, frequent and ſudden changes of the atmoſphere during the whole night, the heavens being alternately cloudy and ſerene, and different winds blowing, though they all came from between ſouth-weſt.

At the time of the earthquake, during the night, flames were ſeen to iſſue from the ground in the neighbourhood of this city towards the ſea, where the exploſion extended, ſo that many countrymen ran away for fear; theſe flames iſſued exactly from a place where ſome days before an extraordinary heat had been perceived.

After the great concuſſion there appeared in the air, towards the eaſt, a whitiſh flame, in a ſlanting direction; it had the appearance of electric fire, and was ſeen for the ſpace of two hours.

In conſequence of the terrible ſhock, many countries and cities, eſpecially thoſe ſituated in the neighbourhood and neck of our peninſula as you go from Tiriolo to the river Angitola, and which had ſuffered nothing before, were overturned. Curinga, Maida, Cortale, Girifalco, Borgia, St. Floro, Settingiano, Marcellinara, Tiriolo, and other countries of leſs importance, were almoſt entirely deſtroyed, but with the loſs of very few people. Many hundreds, however, periſhed in Maida, Cortale, and Borgia.

The

The ſame effects which took place in the country your excellency is now in were likewiſe produced by the earthquake in theſe parts. Many hills were divided or laid level; many apertures were made in the ſurface of the earth throughout the whole ſurface which lies between the two vallies occupied by the rivers Corace and Lameto, as you go towards Angitola. Out of many of theſe apertures a great quantity of water coming either from the ſubterraneous concentrations, or the rivers themſelves in the neighbourhood of which the ground broke up, ſpouted during ſeveral hours. From one of theſe openings in the territory of Borgia, diſtant about a mile from the ſea, there came out a large quantity of ſalt water which imitated the motions of the ſea itſelf for ſeveral days. Warm water likewiſe iſſued from the apertures made in the plains of Maida; but I cannot ſay whether this was of a mineral quality, or heated by the ſame ſubterraneous fire.

We muſt likewiſe take notice, that there came from the ſame fiſſures out of which the water iſſued ſome very thin earth, either of a white, grey, or yellow ſort, which from its extreme tenuity had all the appearance of a true ſand. I have ſeen only the grey, in which there was evidently a mixture of iron.

It has alſo been obſerved, that in all the ſandy parts, where the exploſion took place, there were obſerved, from diſtance to diſtance, apertures in the form of an inverted cone, out of which likewiſe there came water. This ſeems to prove that from thence eſcaped a flake of electric fire. Fiſſures of this kind are particularly met with along the banks of the Lameto, from the place where it goes into the ſea hitherwards for many a mile.

Amidſt the various phenomena, which either preceded or followed the earthquake, the two former are remarkable. On the very day of the earthquake, the water of a well in Maida, which heretofore people uſed to drink, was infected with ſo diſguſtful a ſulphureous taſte, that it was impoſſible even to ſmell to it. On the other hand, at Catanzaro the water of a well, which before could not be uſed becauſe of a ſmell of calcination that it had, became ſo pure as to be drunk extremely well. In Maida itſelf many fountains were dried up by the earthquake of the 28th. This likewiſe happened at other places; but many alſo broke out in ſeveral ſpots where there had been none before, as did alſo ſeveral mineral ſprings, of which before there was not a veſtige. This happened at Cropani, a country of the Marcheſato. Commonly, however, the fountains became more ſwelled and more copious, and emitted a larger volume of water than uſual.

The waters of ſome fountains were alſo obſerved to be troubled, and to aſſume a whitiſh or yellowiſh colour, according to the countries through which they paſſed.

Many elevations of ſoil likewiſe took place in conſequence of the earthquake. The moſt notable was that which happened in the bed of the river of Borgia, where there was ſeen a new hillock, about ten palms high, about twenty palms

palms at the base, and about two hundred palms long. Finally, in the neighbourhood of the river Lameto, and precisely in the district of the country called Amato, which was entirely torn up by the earthquake, there is an olive ground, the surface of which is turned over in a vorticose direction; a phenomenon which likewise obtained in many other parts of the country.

Such are the most notable phenomena of the earthquake of the 28th of March in these countries which have hitherto reached my notice. I think myself, however, obliged to notice to your excellency, that this extraordinary catastrophe of our afflicted province was preceded by great and extraordinary frosts in the winter of 1782; by an extraordinary drought and insufferable heats in the spring of the same year; and by great, copious, and continued rains, which began in autumn, and continued to the end of January. These rains were accompanied by no thunder or lightning, nor were any winds hardly ever heard in these cities where they are used to blow very fresh during all this time; but at the beginning of the earthquake they all seemed to break loose together, accompanied with hail and rain. For a long time before the earth shook, the sea appeared considerably agitated, so as to frighten the fishermen from venturing upon it, without there being any visible winds to make it so. Our volcanoes too, as I am confidently assured, emitted no eruptions for a considerable time before; but there was an eruption of Etna in the first earthquake, and Stromboli shewed some fire in the last. God grant that the pillars of the earth may be again fastened, and the equilibrium of both natural and moral things restored!

I have the honour to be, &c.

Account of the Black Canker Caterpillar, which destroys the Turnips in Norfolk. *By* William Marshall, *Esq. in a Letter to* Charles Morton, *M. D. F. R. S. From the same Work.*

Gunton, near Aylsham, Norfolk,
SIR, August 22, 1782.

A Few months after you did me the honour of presenting my minutes of agriculture to the British Museum, I came down into Norfolk, as agent to Sir Harbord Harbord.

To a person intelligent in matters of agriculture it would be superfluous to say, that Norfolk is celebrated for good husbandmen; or that the turnip crop is the basis of the Norfolk husbandry. If a Norfolk farmer loses his crop of turnips, his farm is injured for several succeeding years; for it is not only the loss of the immediate profit, which would otherwise have arisen to him from his bullocks, but his land is deprived of the consequent manure and trampling (esteemed highly beneficial to the light lands of this county) on which his future crops of corn are essentially dependant.

Among the numerous enemies to which turnips are liable, none have proved more fatal here than the black canker (a species of caterpillar) which in some years have been so numerous as to cut off the farmer's hopes in a few days. In other

other years, however, the damage has been little, and in others nothing. About twenty years ago the whole country was nearly ſtripped; and this year it has been ſubjected to a ſimilar fate. Many thouſands of acres, upon which a fairer proſpect for a crop of turnips has not been ſeen for many years, have been plowed up; and as, from the ſeaſon being now far ſpent, little profit can be expected from a ſecond ſowing; the loſs to the farmers, individually, will be very conſiderable, and to the county immenſe.

It was obſerved in the canker-year above mentioned, that, prior to the appearance of the caterpillars, great numbers of yellow flies were ſeen buſy among the turnip plants; and it was then ſuſpected, that the canker was the caterpillar ſtate of the yellow fly; and ſince that time it has been remarked, that cankers have regularly followed the appearance of theſe flies. From their more frequently appearing on the ſea-coaſt, and from the vaſt quantities which have, I believe, at different times, been obſerved on the beach waſhed up by the tide, it has been a received opinion among the farmers, that they are not natives of this country, but come acroſs the ocean, and obſervations this year greatly corroborate the idea. Fiſhermen upon the eaſtern coaſt declare, that they actually ſaw them arrive in cloud-like flights; and from the teſtimony of many, it ſeems to be an indiſputable fact, that they firſt made their appearance on the eaſtern coaſt; and, moreover, that on their firſt being obſerved, they lay upon and near the cliffs ſo thick and ſo languid, that they might have been collected into heaps, lying, it is ſaid, in ſome places two inches thick. From thence they proceeded into the country, and even at the diſtance of three or four miles from the coaſt they were ſeen in multitudes reſembling ſwarms of bees. About ten days after the appearance of the flies, the young caterpillars were firſt obſerved on the under ſides of the leaves of the turnips, and in ſeven or eight days more, the entire plants, except the ſtronger fibres, were eaten up. A border under the hedge was regularly ſpared until the body of the incloſure was finiſhed; but this done, the border was ſoon ſtripped, and the gateway, and even the roads have been ſeen covered with caterpillars travelling in queſt of a freſh ſupply of turnips; for the graſſes, and indeed every plant, except the turnip and the charlock (ſinapis arvenſis) they entirely neglect, and even die at their roots, without attempting to feed upon them. This deſtruction has not been confined within a few miles of the eaſtern coaſt, but has reached, more or leſs, into the very center of the county. The miſchief, however, in the weſtern parts of Norfolk, and even on the north coaſt, has been leſs general; but I am afraid it may be ſaid, with a great deal of truth, that one half of the turnips in the county have been cut off by this voracious animal.

A circumſtance ſo diſcouraging to induſtry, and injurious to the public at large, will, I flatter myſelf, Sir, be thought a ſufficient apology for my troubling you with a relation of it, and for my

my taking the liberty of ſending you a male and a female fly, alſo one of the animals in its caterpillar, and one which is in its chryſalis ſtate, for your inſpection, hoping that the public may become acquainted with the means of preventing in future ſo great a calamity.

Leſt the flies may become diſfigured in travelling, it may be prudent to ſay, that their wings are four; that their antennæ are clubbed, and about one-third of the length of their body, each being compoſed of nine joints, namely, two next the head, above which two there is a joint ſomewhat longer than the reſt, and above this ſix more joints, ſimilar to the two below; that, near the point of the tail of the female there is a black ſpeck, outwardly fringed with hair; but which, opening longitudinally, appears to be the end of a caſe, containing a delicate point or ſting (about one-twentieth of an inch in length) which on a curſory view appears to be a ſimple lanceolated inſtrument, with a ſtrong line paſſing down the middle, and ſerrated at its edges; but, on a cloſer inſpection, and by agitating it ſtrongly with the point of a needle, it ſeparates into three one-edged inſtruments, hanger-like as to their general form, with a ſpiral line or wrinkle winding from the point to the baſe, making ten or twelve revolutions, which line, paſſing over their edges, gives them ſome appearance of being ſerrated.

By the help of theſe inſtruments, I apprehend, the female depoſits her eggs in the edge of the turnip-leaf (or ſometimes, perhaps, in the nerves or ribs on the under ſurface of the leaf); thus far I can ſay, and I think with a conſiderable degree of certainty, that having put ſome freſh turnip-leaves into a glaſs containing ſeveral of the male and female flies, I perceived (by the means of a ſimple magnifier) that one of the females, after examining attentively the edge of the leaf, and finding a part which appeared to me to have been bitten, unſheathed her inſtruments, inſinuated them into the edge of the leaf, and having forced them aſunder ſo as to open a pipe or channel between them, placed her pubes (the ſituation of which from repeated and almoſt inceſſant copulations I had been able to aſcertain preciſely, and to the lower part of which theſe inſtruments ſeem to be fixed) to the orifice, and having remained a few ſeconds in that poſture, deliberately drew out the inſtruments (which the tranſparency of the leaf held againſt a ſtrong light afforded me an opportunity of ſeeing very plainly) and proceeded to ſearch for another convenient place for her purpoſe.

The caterpillar has twenty feet (ſix of its legs being of conſiderable length, the other fourteen very ſhort) and in its firſt ſtage is of a jetty black, ſmooth as to a privation of hair, but covered with innumerable wrinkles. Having acquired its full ſize, it fixes its hinder parts firmly to the leaf of a turnip, or any other ſubſtance, and breaking its outer coat or ſlough near the head, crawls out, leaving the ſkin fixed to the leaf, &c. The under coat, which it now appears in, is of a blueiſh or lead colour, and the caterpillar

caterpillar is evidently diminiſhed in its ſize. In every reſpect it is the ſame animal as before, and continues to feed on the turnips for ſome days longer: it then entirely leaves off eating, and becomes covered with a dewy moiſture, which ſeems to exſude from it in great abundance, and appearing to be of a glutinous nature, retains any looſe or pliant ſubſtance which happens to come in contact with it, and by this means alone ſeems to form its chryſalis coat. One I find laid up in the fold of a withered turnip leaf (that which I have the honour of incloſing you) was, among ſix others, formed by putting common garden mould to them while they were in the exſudatory ſtate above deſcribed.

From the generic characters of the fly I conclude it to be a Tenthredo of Hill; but whether that voluminous author be ſufficiently accurate; or whether, from being an almoſt entire ſtranger to natural hiſtory, I may, or may not, ſufficiently underſtand my book, I muſt beg leave to ſubmit to your ſuperior knowledge of the ſubject.

I am endeavouring to extend my obſervations on theſe inſects, and am making ſome experiments concerning them, the reſult of which I ſhould be extremely happy in being permitted to communicate to you; and it may be proper to add here, that I ſhould not have taken the liberty of troubling you prematurely with this letter, had I not luckily met with an opportunity of procuring ſome live flies (which are now become very ſcarce); and I flatter myſelf they will come to your hands in a perfect ſtate.

I am, with the greateſt reſpect, &c.

Some Account of the "Deſcription of Experiments made with the Aeroſtatic Machine, &c. by M. Faujas de St. Fond;" *extracted from Appendix to the 69th Volume of the Monthly Review.*

"WE avail ourſelves of the opportunity of this recent publication, to lay before our readers a brief, hiſtorical account of the very intereſting diſcovery which has of late attracted the notice of the whole philoſophical world; and which our ſanguine neighbours did not ſcruple, at the very firſt, to dignify with the name of *Aerial Navigation.*

Although the author of this book be known to have warmly eſpouſed the party of Montgolfier, in oppoſition to that of Charles (for there are parties even concerning balloons), yet his reputation, as a man of learning and veracity, is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and the facts he here alledges are in general, as we have had opportunities to aſcertain by collateral evidence, ſtated with ſufficient accuracy to juſtify us in taking him for our guide in this narrative.

The Preface contains a ſhort ſurvey of what projects have formerly been ſuggeſted for the purpoſe of floating heavy bodies in the atmoſphere; the principal of which are thoſe of Lana, a Jeſuit of Breſcia, and of Galien, a Dominican of Avignon; both which however were, upon well eſtabliſhed principles, found by theory

to be impoſſible in the execution*. Due honour is paid to Mr. Cavallo of London, who, in 1782, ſeemingly with a view to this diſcovery, tried to fill bags of paper and bladders with inflammable air; but failed in his attempts, by the unexpected permeability of paper to inflammable air, and the too great proportional weight of the common ſized bladders. Had he then thought of employing gummed ſilk, or gold-beater's ſkin, he probably would have plucked the very laurels that now adorn the brows of Montgolfier and Charles.

I. The honour of the diſcovery is certainly due to the brothers Stephen and Joſeph Montgolfier, proprietors of a conſiderable paper manufacture at Annonay, a town in the Vivarais, about thirty-ſix miles ſouth of Lyons: and their invention is the more to be admired, as it is not the effect of the late diſcovery of a permanent elaſtic fluid lighter than the common air, but of properties of matter long known, and in the hands of the many acute philoſophers of this and of the laſt century. They conceived that the effect they looked for might be obtained by confining vapours lighter than common air, in an inverted bag, or covering, ſufficiently compact to prevent their evaporation, and ſo light, that when inflated, its own weight, added to that of the incloſed vapour, might fall ſomewhat ſhort of the weight of the air which its bulk diſplaces.

On theſe principles, they prepared matters for an experiment. They formed a bag, or balloon, of linen cloth, lined with paper, nearly ſpherical, and meaſuring about 35 feet in diameter †; its ſolid contents were about 22,000 cubic feet, a ſpace nearly equal to that occupied by 1980lb. of common air, of a mean temperature, on the level of the ſea. The vapour, which, by conjecture, was about half as light as common air, weighed 990lb. The balloon, together with a wooden frame ſuſpended to the bottom, which was to ſerve as ballaſt, weighed 490lb. whence it appears that the whole muſt have been about 500lb. lighter than an equal bulk of common air. This difference of ſpecific gravity, by which theſe bodies are made to riſe, we ſhall henceforth, without warranting the propriety of the expreſſion, call their power of aſcenſion.

The 5th of June, 1783, was fixed on for the diſplay of this ſingular experiment. The ſtates of Vivarais, who were then aſſembled at Annonay, were invited to the exhibition. The flaccid bag was ſuſpended on a pole 35 feet high; ſtraw and chopped wool were burnt under the opening at the bottom; the vapour, or rather ſmoke, ſoon inflated the bag, ſo as to diſtend it in all its parts; and, on a ſudden, this immenſe

* The impoſſibility of Lana's project was demonſtrated by Hook; ſee his Philoſophical Collections, No. I. p. 28. And ſince by Leibnitz. Galien's never needed any confutation.

† All the meaſures here given are French. The French foot is to the Engliſh as 144 to 135; a French toiſe is ſix French feet, or, ſix and three-eighths Engliſh feet.

maſs

maſs aſcended in the air with ſuch a velocity, that in leſs than ten minutes it appeared to be about 1000 toiſes above the heads of the ſpectators. A breeze carried it about 1200 toiſes from the ſpot whence it departed; and then the vapour, either eſcaping through ſome loop-holes that had been accidentally left in the conſtruction, or being condenſed by the coldneſs of the circumambient air, the globe deſcended gradually on a vineyard, with ſo little preſſure, that none of the ſtakes were broken, and ſcarce any of the branches of the vines bent.

II. The rumour of this ſucceſsful experiment ſoon reached the metropolis, and rouzed the emulation of the Pariſian philoſophers. Without waiting for particular inſtructions from the inventors, they reflected on a method of their own; and reſolved, inſtead of vapour, to uſe inflammable air; the ſpecific weight of which, when pure, they knew to be to that of common air nearly as ten to one*.

The proceſs of producing this air being very expenſive, the author of the book now before us, ſet on foot a ſubſcription; and having ſoon raiſed a ſufficient ſum, M. Charles, profeſſor of experimental philoſophy, and M. Robert, a mathematical inſtrument-maker, were ſet to work: and they conſtructed a globe of luteſtring (taffetas), glazed over with elaſtic gum diſſolved in ſome kind of ſpirit or eſſential oil. After many difficulties and diſappointments, which will ever attend firſt eſſays, they ſucceeded, in two days, to fill this globe with inflammable air, produced from 1000 lb. of iron-filings and 498 lb. of vitriolic acid, diluted in four times its quantity of water. This globe meaſured 12 feet two inches in diameter, its ſolid contents were 943 feet ſix lines cubic, and its power of aſcenſion was found equal to 35 lb.

The 27th of Auguſt 1783, having been fixed on for the exhibition of this experiment, the balloon was conveyed, in the preceding night, floating in the air, from a court near the Place des Victoires, where it had been conſtructed, to the Champ de Mars. Our author indulges his lively imagination in a lofty deſcription of this nocturnal proceſſion, which, he ſays, moved along in the dead of night, attended by a party of guards, with lighted torches, and ſeemed ſo awful, that the hackney coachmen who happened to be in its way, deſcended from their ſeats, and devoutly proſtrated themſelves before the ſupernatural being that advanced in ſuch ſolemn ſtate.

The concourſe of people, on foot and in carriages, was ſo immenſe in the Champ de Mars, that a large body of troops were drawn out to prevent diſturbances. At five o'clock in the afternoon, a ſignal having been given by the firing of a mortar, the cords that confined the globe were cut, and it roſe, in leſs than two minutes, to a height of near 500 toiſes. It

* In juſtice to our country, we muſt here at leaſt commemorate the name of Cavendiſh; to whom, it is acknowledged on all hands, the diſcovery of the ſpecific gravity of inflammable air, as well as of many other of its properties, is ſolely due. See Phil. Tranſ. Vol. lvi. p. 150.

there entered a cloud, but ſoon appeared again, aſcending to a much greater height; and at laſt it was loſt among other clouds.

Our author juſtly cenſures the conduct of this experiment; obſerving, that too much inflammable air, and that even ſome common air had been introduced into the globe, which being cloſed on all ſides, left no room for the expanſion of this elaſtic fluid when it ſhould arrive to a more rarefied medium. We find, in fact, that it muſt have burſt in conſequence of this expanſion; ſince, after having floated about three quarters of an hour, it fell in a field near Goneſſe, a village about five leagues (15 miles) N. N. W. of the Champ de Mars. It muſt be allowed, that the mere evaporation of the air could not well have been the cauſe of its deſcending ſo ſoon. Many periodical papers have already entertained the public with ludicrous accounts of the aſtoniſhment of the peaſants who found it, and of the rough treatment it received at their hands.

III. It may eaſily be imagined, that theſe brilliant ſucceſſes animated the zeal of all the curious in the metropolis; and that many eſſays were made to repeat the ſame experiments upon a ſmaller ſcale. Our author, accordingly, in a third chapter, mentions a number of theſe ſecondary attempts; upon which we ſhall dwell no longer than only to obſerve, that they ſucceeded with globes made of gold-beaters ſkin, and only 12 inches in diameter, which being thought the leaſt that could be made to aſcend, conſidering that the proportionate weight of the materials increaſe as the bulk is diminiſhed, were called *minimums*.

IV. M. Montgolfier junior, having arrived at Paris a few days before the experiment at the Champ de Mars, was deſired by the Royal Academy of Sciences to repeat the experiment of Annonay. He accordingly conſtructed, in a garden, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, a balloon of an elliptical form, 70 feet high, and 40 feet in diameter. It was lined, both inſide and outſide, with paper. Its power of aſcenſion was found, upon calculation, to be about 1250lb. It was filled in ten minutes by the burning of 50lb. of ſtraw and 10lb. of chopped wool. It was loaded with a weight of 500lb. and aſcended, faſtened to ropes, on the 12th of September, in the preſence of the deputies of the Royal Academy. But it proving a very rainy day, the whole apparatus was ſo eſſentially damaged, that it was not thought proper to ſet it looſe.

V. We come now to the experiment made on the 19th of September, in the preſence of the king and queen, the court, and all the pariſians who could procure a conveyance to Verſailles. This balloon was 57 feet high and 41 in diameter. Its power of aſcenſion, allowing for a wicker cage, containing a ſheep, a cock, and a duck, which was ſuſpended to it, was equal to 696lb. As only four days had been allowed for the making this machine, it could not, therefore, be lined with paper. M. M. had predicted, that it would remain in the air about 20 minutes; and, with a moderate wind, might float to a diſtance

ſtance of about 2000 toiſes. But, beſide ſome imperfection in the conſtruction, owing to the great hurry in which it had been made, a ſudden guſt of wind, while it was inflating, made two rents ſeven feet long near the top, which could not but in ſome meaſure prevent the promiſed effect. It ſwelled however in 11 minutes ſufficiently to raiſe it about 240 toiſes; it floated to the diſtance of nearly 1700 toiſes, and, after having been in the air about eight minutes, it ſubſided gradually in the wood of Vaucreſſon.—The animals in the cage were ſafely landed. The ſheep was found feeding; the cock had received ſome hurt on one of his wings, probably from a kick of the ſheep: the duck was perfectly well.

VI. M. Montgolfier determined now to repeat the experiment under more favourable circumſtances, and more at his leiſure. He therefore made a new balloon, in a garden, in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, which meaſured 70 feet in heighth, and 46 feet in diameter. A gallery of wicker was contrived round the apperture at the bottom; under which an iron grate or brazier was ſuſpended, and port-holes opened on the inſide of the gallery, towards the aperture, through which any perſon *cui robur et æs triplex circa pectus fuerit*, who might venture to aſcend, might feed the fire on the grate, and thus keep up the vapour, ſmoke, or as we rather apprehend, the dilatation of the air, in this vaſt cavity.

On the 15th of October, M. Pilatre de Rozier, no doubt the moſt intrepid philoſpher of the age, placed himſelf in the gallery, aſcended about 80 feet from the ground, and there kept the balloon afloat for ſome time, by repeatedly throwing ſtraw and wool upon the fire. In this experiment it was found, that the deſcent of a globe (provided no extraordinary accident happened to it) muſt neceſſarily be gradual; and that it will always light ſoftly upon the ground, ſince, in fact, in every part of its deſcent it enters a denſer medium; whence its velocity in falling will rather be retarded than accelerated. On the 19th of October, M. P. de R. aſcended a ſecond time, about 250 feet. After continuing ſtationary about eight minutes, a guſt of wind carried the balloon among ſome trees, where it entangled itſelf ſo as to endanger its being torn to pieces. But, on M. R. throwing ſome freſh ſtraw upon the fire, it immediately reaſcended, amid the loud acclamations of a vaſt multitude of people, who little expected to ſee ſo ſudden a recovery. The balloon was then hauled down, and M. Giron de Villette placed himſelf in the gallery oppoſite to M. R. They were once more let up; and, for ſome time, hovered over Paris, in the ſight of all its inhabitants, at the height of 324 feet."

The foregoing Experiments were ſoon ſucceeded by two moſt extraordinary aerial Voyages; the firſt undertaken by M. Pilatre de Rozier, *and the Marquis* D'Arlandes, *on the 21ſt of November; and the ſecond by Meſſ.* Charles *and* Robert, *on the 1ſt of December*, 1783.—*For an Account of which we refer our Readers to the following Authorities.*

Tranſlation of a Copy of the Certificate dated at the Chateau-de-la-Muette, *near* Paris, *the 21ſt of November*, 1783, *relative to the Excurſion of the Marquis* D'Arlandes, *and* M. Pilatre.

THIS day, at the king's palace, the Chateau-de-la-Muette, an experiment has been made of the aeroſtatique machine of M. Montgolfiers. The ſky was cloudy in ſome places, clear in others, the wind N. W. Eight minutes after twelve at noon, a ſignal was given to announce that they began to fill the machine; in eight minutes time it was perfectly developed on all ſides, and ready to ſtart. The Marquis D'Arlandes and M. Pilatre de Rozier were placed in the gallery.

It was intended at firſt to let the machine riſe, and then to withhold it with ropes, in order to put it to trial, to compute the exact weight it might carry, and alſo to ſee whether every part was properly completed for the important experiment which was going to be made. But the machine being driven by the wind, inſtead of raiſing itſelf vertically, went in a direction on one of the walks in the garden, and the ropes which held it acting with too much force, ſeveral rents were occaſioned thereby, one of which was ſix feet in length. The machine having been replaced on the alcove, was repaired in leſs than two hours. Having been filled again, it went off at 54 minutes after one, carrying the ſame gentlemen; it roſe in a majeſtic manner, and when it had aſcended the height of above 250 feet, the intrepid travellers waving their hats, ſaluted the ſpectators: it was impoſſible not to feel then a ſenſe intermixed with fear and admiration.

The aerial travellers were ſoon out of ſight, but the machine hovering on the horizon, and appearing in the moſt beautiful form, aſcended gradually 3000 feet, ſome ſay 3000 feet in height, where it ſtill remained viſible; it croſſed the Seine below the Bar of Contenance, and paſſing thence between the Military School and the Hotel of the Invalids, it was viſible by all Paris.

The travellers being ſatisfied with this experiment, and not being willing to extend their excurſion, concerted means to deſcend, but perceiving that the wind carried them over the houſe in the Rue Seve, ſuburb St. Germaine, and ſtill maintaining their cool intrepidity, *ſang froid*, they let fly a flaſh of gaz, and thereby raiſing themſelves again, they continued their airy route until they had paſſed over Paris. They then deſcended in an eaſy manner in the fields beyond the New Boulevards, oppoſite the mill of Croulebarbe, without having experienced the leaſt inconveniency, having ſtill left in their gallery above two-thirds of their proviſional ſtores; they might, therefore, if they had choſen it, have gone over a ſpace of treble the extent; their route was from four to five thouſand toiſes or fathoms, and performed in from twenty to twenty-five minutes.

The machine was ſeventy feet in height, forty-ſix in diameter, its inſide 60,000 cubical feet, and the weight it bore up was from ſixteen to ſeventeen hundred pounds.

This

This depoſition, witneſſed at the Chateau-de-la-Muette, at five in the afternoon, and ſigned by the Duc de POLIGNAC, the Duc de GUINES, the Comte de POLASTROC DE VAUDREUIL D'HUNAUD, Dr. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, FAUJAS DE ST. FOND, DELISLE LE ROY, of the Academy of Sciences.

Account of the aerial Excurſion of Meſſ. Charles *and* Robert, *on the 1ſt of December*, 1783, *as given by Monſ.* Charles; *tranſlated from the* Journal de Paris *of the 13th and 14th of the ſame Month.*

PREVIOUS to our aſcenſion, we had ſent up a globe of five feet eight inches diameter, in order to diſcover the courſe of the wind, and to mark out our intended route. The compliment of cutting the ſtring was paid to M. Montgolfier, and it inſtantly roſe. Meanwhile we prepared to follow it with impatience; but the perplexing circumſtances * we were in prevented our putting into execution every minute particular that we had intended the night before. The globe and the chariot were in exact equilibrium on the ground. At three quarters after one, we threw out 29 pounds of ballaſt, and roſe in the midſt of a profound ſilence, occaſioned by the emotion and aſtoniſhment of both parties. Our firſt pleaſing reflections, on our eſcape from the perſecution and calumny which had attacked us, were heightened by the majeſtic ſcene which preſented itſelf to our view; on every ſide a moſt ſerene ſky, without a cloud, and a moſt charming diſtant proſpect. As we aſcended by an accelerated progreſſive motion we waved our banner in token of joy; and, in order the better to inſure our ſafety, I was particularly attentive to the barometer. M. Robert examined the cargo with which our friends had ballaſted our chariot, as for a long voyage, of champaign, &c. blankets, and furs.—Having enough, and to ſpare, he began with throwing out one of the blankets, which ſpread itſelf in the air, and fell near the dome of the Aſſumption.—The barometer then ſunk 66 inches, and we had ceaſed to aſcend, or, more properly ſpeaking, were arrived at the height of about 300 toiſes. This was the height at which I had undertaken to ſtop, and from this moment to that of our firſt getting out of ſight of the obſervers at the different ſtations our horizontal courſe was between 26 inches and 26 inches eight lines of the mercury, which agrees with the obſervations made at Paris. We took care to throw out our ballaſt in proportion as we deſcended by the inſenſible loſs of inflammable air, and we raiſed ourſelves ſenſibly to the ſame height. Had circumſtances permitted us to regulate this ballaſt with more exactneſs, our courſe would have been almoſt abſolutely horizontal and voluntary.

Having reached the height of Mouſſeaux, which we left a little to the left, we remained for a moment ſtationary. Our chariot turned about, and we then ſiled

* Les circonſtances orageuſes qui nous preſſeant.

off, as the wind directed. We soon after passed the Seine, between St. Ouen and Asnieres, and leaving Colombe on the left, passed almost over Gennevilliers. We had crossed the river a second time; leaving Argenteuil on the left, we passed at Sanois, Franconville, Eaubonne, St. Leu-Taverny, Villiers, crossed L'Isle Adam, and afterwards Nesle, where we descended. Such were nearly the places over which we must have passed almost perpendicularly. This passage makes about nine Paris leagues, which we ran over in two hours, with scarcely any sensible agitation in the air. During the whole of this delightful journey we felt not the least uneasiness about our own fate, or that of the machine. The globe suffered no other alteration than the successive modifications of dilatation and compression, of which we availed ourselves, to rise or descend at pleasure, in any quantity. The thermometer was, for above an hour, between 10 and 12 deg. above o, owing to the inside of our chariot having been warmed by the rays of the sun. Its heat soon communicated itself to our globe, and contributed, by the dilatation of the inflammable air within, to keep us at the same height, without being obliged to lighten our ballast; but we suffered a greater loss: the inflammable air, dilated by the sun's heat, escaped by the appendage to the globe, which we held in our hands, and loosened, as circumstances required, to let out the air too much dilated. By this easy method we avoided the expansions and explosions which persons unacquainted with these matters apprehended. The inflammable air could not break its prison, since it had always a vent, and the atmospheric air could not get into the globe, since its pressure made the appendage serve as a valve to oppose its entrance.

After 56 minutes progress we heard the gun which was the signal of our disappearing from the observers at Paris. Not being obliged to confine our course to an horizontal direction, as we had till then done, we gave ourselves up to the contemplation of the varied scenes in the open country beneath us. We shouted *Vive le Roi*, and heard our shouts re-echoed. We heard, very distinctly, voices saying, "Are not you afraid, my friends? Are not you sick? What a clever thing it is! God preserve you! Farewell, my friends!"——We continued waving our banners, and we saw that these signals redoubled the joy and security of those below. We several times came down low enough to be heard: people asked us whence we came, and what time we set out; and we ascended, bidding them farewell.—As circumstances required, we threw out, successively, great coats, muffs, cloaths. As we sailed over L'Isle Adam, we flourished our banners, and asked after the Prince of Conti; but had the mortification to be told, by a speaking trumpet, that he was at Paris. At length, re-ascending, we reached the plains of Nesle about half after three, when, as I intended a second expedition, and wished to avail myself of the advantage of situation, as well as of the day-light, I proposed to M. Robert to descend. Seeing a troop

troop of country people running before us over the fields, we descended towards a spacious meadow, inclosed with some trees and bushes. Our chariot advanced majestically along a long inclined plane. As it approached the trees, fearing it might be entangled among them, I threw out two pounds of ballast, and it sprang upwards over them. We ran over above 20 toises within one or two feet of the land, and looked like travellers in a sledge. The country people pursued us as children do a butterfly, without being able to overtake us. At length we came to the ground. As soon as the curate and syndics could be brought to the spot, I drew up a verbal process, which they immediately signed. Presently galloped up the Duke de Chartres, the Duke de Fitz-James, Mr. Farrer, an English gentleman, and a number of horsemen, who had followed us from Paris. Fortunately we alighted near a hunting-seat of the latter, who immediately mounted his horse, and riding up to us exclaimed "Mr. Charles, I am first." The prince embraced us both in our chariot, and signed the process. So did the Duke de Fitz-James. Mr. Farrer signed it three times. His signature was omitted in the Journal, for he was so transported with joy, that he could not write legibly. Of above 200 horsemen who followed us from Paris, only these could overtake us; the rest had knocked up their horses, or given out. After relating a few particulars to the Duke de Chartres, I told him I was going off again, when would he have me return? He replied, in half an hour. M. Robert quitted the chariot, as we had agreed. Thirty peasants held down the machine. I asked for some earth to ballast it, having not above four or five pounds left. A spade was not at hand, nor were there any stones in the meadow. The sun was near setting. I made a hasty calculation of the time requisite for the alteration of weight, and giving a signal to the peasants to quit their hold, I sprang up like a bird. In 20 minutes I was 1500 toises high, out of sight of all terrestrial objects. I had taken the necessary precautions against the explosion of the globe, and prepared to make the observations which I had promised myself. In order to observe the barometer and thermometer placed at the ends of the chariot, without altering the centre of gravity, I knelt down in the middle, stretching forwards my body and one leg, holding my watch and paper in my left, and my pen and the string of the valve in my right, waiting for the event. The globe, which, at my setting out, was rather flaccid, swelled insensibly. The air escaped in great quantities at the valve. I drew the valve from time to time, to give it two vents; and I continued to ascend, still losing air, which issued out hissing, and became visible, like a warm vapour in a cold atmosphere. The reason of this phenomenon is obvious. On earth the thermometer was seven degrees above the freezing point; after 10 minutes ascent it was five degrees below. The inflammable air had not had time to recover the equilibrium of its temperature. Its elastic equilibrium

brium being quicker than that of the heat, there muſt eſcape a greater quantity than that which the external dilatation of the air could determine by its leaſt preſſure. For myſelf, though expoſed to the open air, I paſſed, in 10 minutes, from the warmth of ſpring to the cold of winter, a ſharp dry cold, but not too much to be borne. I declare, that in the firſt moment I felt nothing diſagreeable in the ſudden change. When the barometer ceaſed to riſe, I marked exactly 18 inches 10 lines, the mercury ſuffering no ſenſible oſcillation. From this oſcillation I deduce a height of 1524 toiſes, or thereabouts, till I can be more exact in my calculation. In a few minutes more my fingers were benumbed by the cold, ſo that I could not hold my pen. I was now ſtationary, and moved only in an horizontal direction. I roſe up in the middle of the chariot, to contemplate the ſcene around me. At my ſetting out the ſun was ſet on the valleys; he ſoon roſe for me alone, who was the only luminous body in the horizon, and all the reſt of nature in ſhade. The ſun himſelf preſently diſappeared, and I had the pleaſure of ſeeing him ſet twice in the ſame day. I beheld, for a few ſeconds, the circumambient air and the vapours riſing from the vallies and rivers. The clouds ſeemed to riſe from the earth, and collect one upon another, ſtill preſerving their uſual form, only their colour was grey and monotonous from the want of light in the atmoſphere. The moon alone enlightened them, and ſhewed me that I was tacking about twice, and I obſerved certain currents that brought me back again. I had ſeveral ſenſible deviations, and obſerved, with ſurpriſe, the effects of the wind, and ſaw the ſtreamers of my banners point upwards. This phenomenon was not the effect of the aſcent or deſcent, for I then moved horizontally. At that inſtant I conceived, perhaps a little too haſtily, the idea of being able to ſteer one's own courſe. In the midſt of my tranſports I felt a violent pain in my right ear and jaw, which I aſcribed to the dilatation of the air in the cellular conſtruction of thoſe organs, as much as to that of the external air. I was in a waiſtcoat, and bareheaded. I immediately put on a woolen cap, yet the pain did not go off but as I gradually deſcended. For ſeven or eight minutes I had ceaſed to aſcend; the condenſation of the internal inflammable air rather made me deſcend. I now recollected my promiſe to return in half an hour, and, pulling the upper valve, I came down. The globe was now ſo much emptied, that it appeared only an half globe. I perceived a fine ploughed field near the wood of Tour du Lay, and haſtened my deſcent. When I was between 20 and 30 toiſes from the earth, I threw out haſtily two, or three pounds of ballaſt, and became, for a moment, ſtationary, till I deſcended gently on the field, above a league from the place whence I ſet out. The frequent deviations and turnings about make me imagine this voyage was about three leagues, and I was gone about 35 minutes. Such is the certainty of the combinations of our aeroſtatic machine, that I can at pleaſure complete

plete 130 ſpecific lightneſs, the preſervation of which, equally voluntary, might have kept me in the air at leaſt for 24 hours longer. When the two Dukes ſaw me at a diſtance coming down, they and the reſt left M. Robert to meet me, and haſtened to Paris; and the Prince himſelf moſt kindly undertook to give the public an account of us, and to quiet their apprehenſions for us.

An authentic Account of the Diſcovery of an Iſland *juſt riſen out of the Ocean near* Iceland, *in the* North Seas; *from the* Gentleman's Magazine *for* Auguſt, 1783.

THIS uncommon phænomenon was firſt obſerved by a Norway trader on his return from Iceland to Drentheim, whoſe crew were ſo terrified that they ſtood away from it with the utmoſt precipitation. Soon after a Dane from the Sound fell in with it, and at firſt miſtook it for the continent of Iceland. The maſter, however, did not approach nearer than a league, but ſtood on for Skalholt, the capital of Iceland, where he made a report of his diſcovery to the Daniſh Governor. It was at firſt ſuppoſed that he had fallen in with a monſtrous body of ice; but, on his perſevering in his account, ſome officers of the garriſon, with ſeveral of the moſt ſkilful ſeamen of Iceland, went in queſt of it; and in about three hours after their departure from Skalholt, came ſo near it that a boat was hoiſted out, and the iſland taken poſſeſſion of in his Daniſh Majeſty's name. It is ſaid there is not the leaſt appearance of ſoil, but that the ſurface is of a marly nature, with crannies running through it filled with pumice ſtone, which are ſuppoſed to be thrown out by the different volcanoes in the iſland, of which it is thought there are three. The volumes of ſmoke that have been ſeen riſe from one of the craters are very conſiderable, but no flame has yet iſſued from any of them. Its poſition is ſaid to be at eight miles diſtance from the rocks des Viſeaux, and its ſoundings about 44 fathoms. This ſingular * production, which is ſuppoſed to have been formed in the ſpring of the preſent year, will no doubt induce ſuch of the learned as are curious to viſit it. It is conjectured by many to have taken its riſe at the time Sicily ſuffered ſo much by the late eruptions of Mount Ætna; but thoſe who conſider its neighbourhood with Hecla, the ſecond volcano in the world, will rather attribute it to ſome inteſtine commotions of that mountain.

* This phænomenon is not *ſingular*. In the year 1717, a burning mountain iſſued from the ſea in the neighbourhood of Santirini in the Grecian Archipelago.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

On the Culture and Uſes of the Turnep-rooted Cabbage.

Thirty Pounds being the Premium offered by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, for an Account of the Culture and Uſes of the Turnep-rooted Cabbage, were equally divided, in the Year 1780, *between Mr. Lewin Tugwell, of Beverſtone, and Mr. Thomas Robbins, of Bowldown Farm, near Tetbury, in Glouceſterſhire, from whom the following Letters were received.*

Extracted from Tranſactions *of the Society for the Encouragement of* Arts, Manufactures, *and* Commerce, *publiſhed for* 1783.

SIR,

HAVING by me the Society's deſcription of models, machines, &c. I have obſerved on the liſts of donations therein, that it is no uncommon thing for a perſon to be honoured with a ſecond premium, for a matter of a ſimilar nature with that, for which he had received a former gratuity. Hence, after gratefully acknowledging their laſt year's favour, for cultivating Turnep-rooted Cabbage, I am encouraged to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Gentlemen of your Committee, an account of my having again attempted, and ſucceeded, in the raiſing that article.

The field for this ſecond experiment conſiſted of only eleven acres, and as my farm, when about two years ago I entered on it, was in general filthy, and greatly impoveriſhed, and as I make theſe take a part with the common turneps, in recovering the moſt worn-out quarter, the crop was not ſo large as that of the preceding year. This however I chiefly impute to the ſummers being wet and cold, in an almoſt unheard of degree, whence the land could not receive the benefit by previous fallowings it might otherwiſe have done. My ſeeds were furthermore again moſt execrably bad, and great numbers of the plants of a ſpurious worthleſs ſpecies; but for this I have now a remedy, in raiſing them myſelf, from roots ſelected for that purpoſe.

The ſtock it maintained conſiſted of two hundred and twelve tegs, or one year old ſheep, which it ſuſtained in a moſt deſirable way, during the term of five weeks, and two hundred couples, or ewes with lambs, for upwards of three weeks beſides. Theſe laſt however were ſuffered once a day, to have a run in an adjoining graſs-plat, whereby we find the lambs in particular do much better than when confined

to

to the turnep-field ſolely. The juices of the plant are certainly rich, but being of a ſolid ſubſtance, does not ſupply the milk of the ewe in ſuch quantities, and ſo frequently as is neceſſary.

Intending the land for barley, I thought it would be imprudent to wait longer than about the 11th of May, when I had a great many loads of the roots hauled to the the aforeſaid graſs-plat, where the tegs, paſturing, continued at intervals feeding on them until Midſummer; and it was obſerved by my neighbours, that although they enjoyed their fill of fine graſs, they were ſeldom known to lye down any where elſe than among the Turneps, while any of theſe remained unconſumed. This I cannot but conſider as a happy proof of the partial fondneſs the ſheep have for this excellent root; and in reſpect of its effects on them, I declare I have hitherto experienced no plant ſo fattening, or that will keep the creatures in more perfect health.

The proceſs of my plantation was conducted the ſame as formerly, that is, the land, having been previouſly fallowed and dunged, was thrown on to one-bout ridges, and at two feet diſtance from each other, a ſingle row of plants ſet out on the top of each; at proper ſeaſons the intervals were afterwards horſe-hoed backwards and forwards, and in conſideration of great numbers of weeds, accruing from the wetneſs of the ſummer, the tops of the ridges received two dreſſings of the hand-hoe. All of theſe, together with the ſubſequent ſoilings of the ſheep, left the land in admirable condition; and about the 18th of May, as before-mentioned, I ſowed the field with Barley, and reaped a return of a rich and luxuriant crop, in quality remarkably fine.

From incontrovertible facts relative to its utility, this ſpecies ſeems, in this neighbourhood, even to the diſtance of many miles around, to gain ground apace; and ſome of my neighbours, who on account of their ideal notions of the expence attending its cultivation, when firſt introduced, decried it at large, poſitively aſſerting no benefit could ever accrue from it to the owner, I have reaſon to believe will, ere long, be fully convinced of the impoſſibility of doing things entirely well without it.

We now find the expence (horſe-hoeing excepted) to vary but little from that uſually attending the raiſing the common turnep; and in conſideration of the comparative ſuperiority of its quality, the greater certainty of the crop ſucceeding (which with thoſe, on account of the fly, is always precarious) its hardneſs alſo in reſiſting every degree of froſt, and the benefit the ſoil eminently obtains from the cultivation, I humbly conceive the plant, in point of real value, to ſtand but very little, if any, behind that ſpecies. It is moreover, as a valuable conſideration, to be obſerved, that, while feeding on theſe, no conſumption of hay has, with us, as yet been made; our ſheep indeed are often ſerved therewith, but they are always as ſure to reject it; and it may, not unlikely, ſome time or other be found, that theſe, on account of their ſingular premanency, may be equal to ſupporting the animals as well without hay, as the

the others with the addition of that expenſive article; whence, in future, I intend practiſing the culture on a much larger ſcale. I now, on condition of their proceeding in due form, furniſh my neighbours with ſeed gratis; and it is perhaps worthy of remark, that on an extreme cold day in February laſt, I had not leſs than four orders for Turnep-rooted Cabbage Seeds. Our method of feeding conſiſts in pulling up the Turneps with a hook properly made, which having an edge on its back part for that purpoſe, each root, at a ſingle ſtroke, receives an inciſion through the middle; hence, their external ſurface being very hard, the ſheep feed on them with much greater facility than they would otherwiſe do. Many other obſervations in favour of this plant remain yet to be made, but which however, time and experience only muſt furniſh.

My neighbour Robbins alſo intending this year to ſend up his claim for the premium, I the other day gave him a certificate, authenticating the contents thereof. His method of giving the lambs a backward run on rye graſs, is certainly deſerving of imitation, and wherein I ſhould have followed him, if I had had any in the vicinage of my plantation. Perhaps no other gramen, at that early ſeaſon (the burnet excepted) will ever, for producing milk in the ewe, be found equal thereto.

I am, Sir,

Your truly obliged, and

Beverſtone, Oct. 21, 1778. obedient humble ſervant,

LEWIN TUGWELL,

Mr. Secretary,

IN conſequence of the ſucceſs of my neighbour, Mr. Lewen Tugwell, who laſt year obtained of your Society, the premium offered for cultivating the Turnep-rooted Cabbage, I am alſo this year induced to profeſs myſelf a claimant.

Conſidering that the views of the Society extend to nothing leſs than the good of the community at large, I am happy to inform you, that from obſerving the great advantage that accrued from Mr. Tugwell's experiments, I laſt year attempted the cultivation, and ſucceeded beyond my moſt ſanguine expectations.

Situate on a farm where my late predeceſſor (though a reputable huſbandman) had in vain attempted the raiſing a breeding flock, I had myſelf deſpaired of doing it, and reſolved to ſell all my ewe ſheep, and to keep none in future but of the weather kind; however, having obtained the knowledge of this moſt valuable plant, my ſchemes have now fallen into a new channel, being enabled to keep them in all deſirable health through the ſpring ſeaſon (wherein, as had been conceived, conſiſted an abſolute and unſurmountable difficulty) I now am not only gratified with the pleaſing ſight of ewes and lambs about me, but from the preſent appearance of theſe (being deſcended from the beſt rams I could procure) am not without hopes of poſſeſſing, ere long, a flock equal to any in my neighbourhood, even thoſe paſturing on its moſt fertile meadows.

In the cultivation I thought I had only to follow Mr. Tugwell's ſimple method, that is, of diſpoſing

poſing the plants on the top of one-bout ridges, and ſubſequently horſe-hoeing the intervals backwards and forwards; and it is remarkable (notwithſtanding he informed me, from the little experience he has had, that he believes the plant will be found to ſucceed beſt on land rather loomy or heavy) that on a plantation of eleven acres of a ſtony ſoil, light in an almoſt unparalleled degree, I was enabled, through the difficult ſeaſon of the laſt ſpring, to ſuſtain and preſerve, in the moſt deſirable manner, two hundred and ten ewes, with two hundred and twenty lambs, for a month; alſo with the refuſe or bottoms, ſuch as the ewes and lambs left, I kept one hundred and eighty tegs, or one year old ſheep, during the ſpace of ſix weeks. However it muſt be acknowledged, and is indeed proper to intimate, that although during their ſtay thereon I gave them no hay, I nevertheleſs found it eligible to let the ewes and lambs have a backward run on a ſmall adjoining field of rye-graſs; for from the time of their being brought on I had obſerved, that although the ewes appeared to increaſe in fleſh, the lambs were rather behind in that reſpect; and herein I was happy in the concurrent opinion of Mr. Tugwell, who from his laſt year's experience had hinted to me, that he thought the plant in its nature rather tended to fatten animals, than to ſupply milk; it is true my rye-graſs was very trifling in reſpect of quantity, having been fed the preceding winter; however it had a very deſirable effect, and from the time of their being introduced thereto, the lambs were obſerved to recover.

Previous to my ſetting out the plants, the field had, the ſame ſeaſon, been under vetches, which were ſoiled, or fed off, with ſheep. I then ploughed it, gave it ſome dung, and threw the land into its proper form for planting. At Midſummer the plants were ſet out, at about eighteen inches aſunder in the rows, and the rows, or ridges, about thirty-ſix inches apart. As ſoon as the weeds began to ſpring up, and I obſerved the plants to want ſome aſſiſtance, I had them hand-hoed. Some time after I ſent my ploughs to throw up a ridge in the intervals, which, after remaining as long as was neceſſary, was thrown back again to the plants. I ſome time after gave them another hand-hoeing, by which means my land was put in the fineſt tilth imaginable, and the plants had all the aſſiſtance requiſite.

In the ſpring, intending to ſow the land with barley, I was neceſſitated to haul off ſeveral loads of the roots, and although my ſeed was not committed until the 14th of May, and the ſeaſon proved remarkably dry after, it is an indiſputable fact, that I reaped near three loads from an acre, which extraordinary increaſe, as I impute it to the ſuperior mode of cultivation, would, with me, always be ſome inducement to the propagation of this moſt valuable vegetable, even if I had no further views therein.

I am, Sir,

Yours moſt reſpectfully, &c.

THOMAS ROBBINS.

P. S.

P. S. I have the pleaſure to inform you, that the cultivation of this moſt excellent plant bids fair to become general in this part of the country, as many of our principal farmers have ſome of it growing this year; and after giving it a fair trial, I preſume they will be fully convinced of its utility, and continue the culture of it.

Beverſtone, March 3, 1779.

SIR,

YOURS of the 1ſt of February I have now before me, with the queries relative to my laſt year's Turnep-rooted Cabbage. The ſeeds ſown the preceding ſpring were not committed (occaſioned by an accident) until the 9th of May, a period, as I then conſidered it, a fortnight too late; but, for reaſons that will occur in anſwering the other queries; it is now a maxim with us, that in ſuch ſituations as ours, if no accident forbids it, they ſhould be ſown before the middle of April.

As the earth of the ſeed-bed ought to be good, and as free from ſeed weeds as poſſible, I have for thoſe reaſons, and for ſecurity againſt caſual depredations, uſually ſown my ſeeds in a garden, but not on a hot-bed, there being always time enough in the ſpring for raiſing the plants to a ſize ſufficient for ſetting out from the natural ſoil. However, with ſome in our neighbourhood, an eligible practice has taken place, of throwing off the mulch, together with an inch or two of the ſurface mould, from ſome immediately prior winter ſheep-fold, in a warm corner, in or contiguous to the field to be planted with the Turnep-rooted Cabbage; the under mould is then, with the ſpade or plough, moved to the depth of three or four inches, and the ſeeds being committed thereto, the plants ſoon make their appearance, and generally grow away in a manner ſcarcely, by any other method, to be paralleled. If, through prudent foreſight, care has been taken previouſly to have conveyed to the aforeſaid ſheep-fold, ſtraw, ſtubble, fern, or whatever may be attainable, ſufficient and proper for making a compoſt for the whole plantation, there will not only be found a great ſaving in the moſt expenſive part of manuring (the carriage) but the materials lying on the ſpot, much more will be executed in any given time, when the ſeaſon, or weather, or both, ſhall arrive moſt proper for the buſineſs, and that at a time of the year, when labour in huſbandry is always very valuable.

The plants too, ſituate in or near the field, when drawn, will not lye ſo long out of the ground before they are replanted, and therefore be the leſs liable to injury from their removal.

The excrementitious exhalations ariſing from the earth, and compoſt heaps adjoining, will alſo prevent the depredations of the fly; however this ſpecies, it is obſervable, is ſeldom ſo obnoxious thereto, as any other of the Turnep or Cabbage kind. In whatever ſituation we perceive an attack made on theſe or any others, if wood aſhes are to be obtained, we always find a preventative in ſcattering them lightly over the plants in the dew of the morning. Some have had recourſe to the tedious maxim

maxim of dipping their roots, when first drawn, in a prepared mud, or mixture of earth and water, to preserve them from the injuries of the external air, but, from experience and repeated observations, we find the species so hardy, that, if when replanted the earth is well closed about them, there is certainly no occasion for it. However, when first set out, it is necessary for a boy to defend them a few days from the crows and rooks; the sagacity of these creatures (from seeing the plants in a withered state) leading them in quest of a supposed destructive insect at its root, they will frequently, without the aforesaid precaution, draw them up again much faster than they were planted. In regard to transplanting from the seed-bed before we set out for the last time on the ridges in the field, I at first had recourse to that method; but finding it tedious and expensive, have not practised it since. However, if no remedy can be found, I must soon return to it again; for the plants standing too near together on the seed-bed, together with seed-weeds, which it is frequently difficult to prevent, they are generally drawn up in a trunk, or stalk, so long and weak, that when planted out, they never regain their natural shape. I intend this spring to sow in drills, about a foot apart, whence by the action of the external air, with the hand-hoe occasionally moving among them, I apprehend the above-mentioned evil may be obviated; a frequent removing the earth of the intervals, and of the roots growing therein, will probably, in effect, be a partial transplanting. My crop of last year was planted out on the ridges about three weeks after Midsummer; but, as an instance of the impropriety of being too late, I have a neighbour who, in his first attempt, has this year seven acres that were planted some time before Midsummer; I have also upwards of fourteen acres, which, as I waited for rain, were not planted until six or seven weeks after his; and as the drought continued with us till near the equinox, the consequence is, mine on an average are not more than a pound and a half in weight, while his are probably nearly five pounds. Situated high and cold, with lands none of the richest, if we were sure of weather proper for the business, Midsummer might notwithstanding be soon enough for transplanting to the field; but as that is precarious, we ought at all events to get the plants set out, rooted, and growing, by that time. The average weight of my last year's crop was probably about three pounds; some few amounted to six, seven, and even eight pounds each; and it was observable, that on part of the field planted three weeks before the other part, the roots were much the largest. The ewes and lambs were turned in upon them the 9th of April, and drawn off the 2d of May. The one year old sheep were introduced April the 13th, and taken away the 18th of the following month. The grass-plat on which the ewes and lambs were occasionally suffered to pasture, is about eighteen acres, half of which however, would have been very sufficient; for after all, a great deal consists in their having

a turf to enjoy themſelves on. Young lambs, in whatever caſe, confined with hurdles on an arable field, are ſeldom known to do well. The moſt eligible method of any I have an idea of, would conſiſt in hauling the roots, ſome time in April, entirely off from the field whereon they grow, and throwing them promiſcuouſly about on ſome adjoining paſture, or field of rye-graſs, clover, &c. (to be ſown with wheat the enſuing ſeaſon); in either of theſe ſituations to let the ſheep be regularly introduced to them, with hurdles, as they would otherwiſe have been on the arable. The roots, I humbly conceive, would be much the better for ſuch management, in that they would be prevented from throwing out their juices into leaves and branches, and the land whereon they grew, might in conſequence, in the proper ſeaſon, be ſown with barley, the want of which, I am perſuaded, may otherwiſe prove the moſt inſurmountable obſtacle to the general cultivation of this moſt opportunely ſerving and valuable plant. I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
LEWEN TUGWELL.

Diſcovery of a Subſtitute for Verdigris, *in dying Black.*

The Silver Medal and Ten Guineas were given to Mr. Clegg, *for his Diſcovery of a Subſtitute for Verdigris, in dying Black,* 1782, *of which the following is an Account, drawn up by himſelf. From the ſame Work.*

MANY articles which are in daily uſe, both in dying and other arts, have been found by chance to be neceſſary, yet ſufficient pains have not been taken to aſcertain the principles upon which they act: of this number is verdigris; and as this article was imported to us, at a very great expence from France, I was induced ſome years ago to undertake a courſe of experiments to inveſtigate the manner of its operation, and from thence to find, if poſſible, an effectual ſubſtitute, cheaper and nearer home. On adding verdigris to the common ingredients of the black dye, (viz. aſtringents and martial vitriol) the firſt thing remarkable is, that a quantity of iron is precipitated; for the pieces of verdigris will be covered over with the crocus of iron, almoſt inſtantly, and a quantity of the copper of the verdigris is at the ſame time taken up by the diſengaged acid; as appears by the copper coat a knife receives on being held in the liquor: ſo that the vitriolic acid leaves the iron, with which it was combined in martial vitriol, and unites with the copper of verdigris, and again leaves the copper to unite with iron in its metallic ſtate. The ſame decompoſition happens with lead, if *ſaccharum ſaturni* be made uſe of inſtead of verdigris, though lead, according to the received doctrine of elective attractions, has a ſtill leſs affinity with iron, than copper has. In fact, I find that *ſaccharum ſaturni* will anſwer nearly the end of verdigris, and though, as a ſubſtitute to it, we could reap no advantage from it, yet I think it gives us an inſight into the principle upon which verdigris is of uſe in the black dye, viz. by uniting with part of the acid of the vitriol, and giving the aſtringent

aſtringent matter of the vegetable an opportunity of forming an ink with the precipitated iron in greater abundance, and more expeditiouſly, than it could otherwiſe do. Believing this to be the true manner of its operation, I went to work upon this principle, and ſubſtituted alkaline ſalts in the room of verdigris, as I imagined theſe would be a much more innocent as well as cheaper ingredient; for the acid, or the corroſive metallick ſalts, are the only hurtful ingredients in the dye, and the alkali in proper proportion will unite with the ſuperabundant acid, and form an innocent neutral ſalt, vitriolated tartar. Upon the firſt trials, I was ſatisfied of the truth of my conjectures; for in all the experiments which I made in the ſmall way, the aſhes anſwered at leaſt as well as the verdigris: but in real practice, in the large, I found myſelf deceived; for upon dying a kettle of hats of twenty-four dozen, though the colour came on ſurprizingly at firſt, yet the liquor ſoon became weak. I made many experiments, which it is uſeleſs here to relate, until I united vitriol of copper with the alkali, which, upon repeated trials, has been found to anſwer perfectly the end of verdigris. The following, I believe, will be found to be the juſt proportions, though there is ſome difference in the practice of different dye-houſes.

Saturate two pounds of vitriol of copper, with a ſtrong alkaline ſalt (American pot-aſhes, when to be procured, are recommended). The vitriol will take about an equal weight of dry aſhes. Both the vitriol and the aſhes are to be previouſly diſſolved apart. When this proportion is mixed, well ſtirred, and ſuffered to ſtand a few hours, a precipitate will ſubſide. Upon adding a few drops of the ſolution of aſhes, if the mixture be ſaturated, the water on the top of the veſſel will remain colourleſs; but if not, a blue colour will be produced; upon which add more aſhes; there is no danger in its being a little over ſaturated with aſhes. Take care to add the ſolution of aſhes to that of vitriol by a little at a time, otherwiſe the effervescence which enſues will cauſe them to overflow the veſſel: theſe four pounds of vitriol of copper and aſhes, will be equal to about the ſame weight of verdigris; and ſhould be added to the other liquors of the dye, at different times, as is uſual with verdigris.

The black, thus dyed, will be perfectly innocent to the goods, rather tending to keep them ſoft, than corrode them, particularly hats, in which there is the greateſt conſumption of verdigris.

For thoſe who are conſtantly uſing verdigris, it would be proper to have a veſſel always at hand, containing a ſaturated ſolution of vitriol of copper; and another, with a ſaturated ſolution of aſhes, ready to mix as they are wanted; for I find they do not anſwer ſo well if long kept.

JAMES CLEGG.

Mancheſter, Dole Fields,
January 14, 1782.

An Account of Cloth *made from the Refuse of* Flax, *and Backings of* Tow.

The Thanks of the Society were given to Thomas Butterworth Bailey, *of* Hope, *near* Manchester, *Esq. for his obliging Communication of the following Letters from Lady* Moira, *and the Specimens of Cloth made from the Refuse of Flax, and Backings of Tow, according to the Process practised by her Ladyship*, 1775. *From the same Work.*

SIR,

I HAD the pleasure of your letter yesterday by Doctor Halliday. Lord Moira and I, with much satisfaction, desire to be both ranked as subscribers to the Sylva, which is to be republished by Doctor Hunter, whose Georgical Essays have been greatly admired beneath this roof.

As to the factitious cotton I have attempted to introduce the use of, I flatter myself that it is beginning to answer that purpose I had at heart, some alleviation to the miseries of the unhappy beings that surround me, the excess of poverty that reigns here being such, that in my native land I am persuaded it would not be imagined to exist. The very refuse of the flax, which is called the backings of tow, produces a material that can be manufactured into a coarse but comfortable clothing of the fustian and cotton kind, and this kind of cotton was offered to me last week for sale, at three-pence per pound; it is therefore plain how little pains and expence the manufacturing of it costs. Wool is here almost constantly sixteen-pence a pound, often dearer. The wife makes and spins the cotton, the weaver adds a few more yards of warp to the piece of linen he has in his loom for sale, and clothes his family with little more cost than his own industry. It must appear to you that this manufacture is however best calculated for Ireland, where the consumption of flax must consequently leave such quantities of refuse; for tow and the backings are all I employ, except fired or mildewed flax, both of which (from being ill-flaked) being improper for the linen cloth, I have made use of; hemp will also produce a sort of cotton, but it requires infinitely more boiling, and bears a nearer resemblance to wool. It was the codilla that I tried; the backings of that come amazingly cheap, and I believe it will take a better dye than flax.

The main purport in view seemed to me, the divesting the flax of its oil. I tried soap-boiler's lye with very good success, scouring it afterwards to take off any bad effects of the lime used therein. I then had it tried to be scoured like wool, but found it required that the fermented urine in that case should not be mixed with water, and that kelp and common salt were necessary to be added to it. Either of these methods do. The boiling of it might, I am sure, be expedited, by having a cover to the iron pot, which might keep in the steam; and care must be taken, as the liquor diminishes, to replenish it constantly. I have boiled some in a mixture of lime water and salt; this had a harshness in it that more resembles the crispness of

of cotton, but the ſcouring of it would certainly deprive it of that quality, and leaving the lime in, it is confidently aſſerted here, would rot it. I own I doubt that effect, as I imagine that lime, after it is ſlacked by water, no longer retains its corroſive quality. In India and China they uſe it in their waſhing of linen as regularly as we do ſoap.

The tow is heckled and boiled in ſmall faggots, tied up by a thread or bit of tow. The backings are carded in thin flakes, rolled up likewiſe, and tied. After boiling, they open in the ſame flakes they were carded into, and are waſhed out, and laid to whiten in that form. I ſend you, however, a ſample of the backings of white flax, that was only boiled four hours, and never laid down to whiten. In the courſe of this ſhort proceſs, you will ſee that the materials of which ſacking is made, is conſiderably mended, though I think it wants another hour's boiling, and that a week's whitening would have taken off that harſhneſs of the flax it ſtill in ſome degree poſſeſſes. It requires being beat, or put into a preſs, before it is carded on cotton cards, to ſeparate the fibres, which ſeem to be ſet at liberty from each other, by a diſſolution of ſome reſinous ſubſtance in the flax, at the ſame time that the oil of that plant is converted into a kind of ſoap. When I mention white flax, I do it in oppoſition to that, which being ſteeped in the bags, has the appellation of blay; this getting a tincture from the heath, has its colour rather fixt than diſcharged, by being made into cotton. You enquire into the reſult of my purſuits concerning fixing laſting tinctures on linen. The tedious ſickneſs, and at length death, of a friend, kept my mind for many months this ſummer, in a ſituation of langour that is a total enemy to the buſy occupations of curioſity, and when I reſolved to engage myſelf therein, to keep off unavailing reflections, I found it too late for many herbs I had ſet down in a liſt, and that a plat of weld I had planted the autumn before, had never come up. I then employed myſelf with the purple fiſh found on the Newcaſtle ſhore. They anſwered all the ſmaller experiments mentioned by Reaumur and Templeman, but thoſe Dr. Holland has given, in his tranſlation of Pliny, the naturaliſt, they in no degree correſponded to; with all the boiling in lead and ſalt preſcribed by him, they only produced a very ill-looking ſoap. Though there appears no doubt but the purple wilk found here is the buccinum of the antients, it however appeared to me that it was probable they got their colour from ſome moſs they fed upon. It could not be the archil, which (as I am told) grows much higher on the rocks than where they lie. I therefore employed a perſon to ſearch about the places in which the wilks or buccina lie, and to get me ſome of the moſs and ſeaweeds that grew near them. My ſmall collection is but juſt arrived, and I have not had time as yet to try whether my conjecture is true or falſe. To the purple yielded by the archil, I owed my ſuſpicion, that there might be other moſſes that would produce ſtronger

and more permanent dyes. I was trying this morning the ſolution of tin I got from you, and find it as good as the firſt day. I ſhall take ſome of my cotton, finely ſpun, to Dublin, that it may receive the advantage of being manufactured by a ſkilful artiſt in the loom, and I hope ſoon to ſend you a ſample of it, when properly wove, that may do it credit. Almoſt all I have had wove here has been of the coarſe kind, and that by weavers who never had ſeen cotton.

I am, Sir,
With great eſteem and regard,
Your faithful humble ſervant,
E. MOIRA.

Specimens of the flax prepared by Lady Moira, and of various ſtuffs manufactured from it, are preſerved in the ſociety's repoſitory.

When I received, Sir, the favour of your laſt letter, I daily expected returning to theſe mountains, and from that expectation poſtponed acknowledging it, thinking that this place would yield me more leiſure than my engagements in town then afforded me. Had I foreſeen that my ſtay would have been extended to the time it was, I ſhould not have been guilty of that neglect. Since my arrival here, an opportunity has not occurred for my ſending a packet before the preſent one, and it is now eleven o'clock at night, when I am informed a meſſenger is to be ſent off at five in the morning to Belfaſt. I have no reaſon to be vain of the ſamples I have ſent you; they merely ſhew, that the material of flax cotton, in able hands, will bear manufacturing, though it is my ill fortune to have it diſcredited by the artiſans who work for me. I had in Dublin, with great difficulty, a gown wove for myſelf, and three waiſtcoats, but had not the perſon who employed a weaver for me, particularly wiſhed to oblige me, I could not have got it accompliſhed; and the getting ſpun an ounce of this cotton in Dublin, I found impracticable; the abſurd alarm that it might injure the trade of foreign cotton, had gained ground, and the ſpinners, for what reaſon I cannot comprehend, declared themſelves ſuch bitter enemies to my ſcheme, that they would not ſpin for me. Such is my fate, that what between party in the metropolis, and indolence in this place, I am not capable of doing my ſcheme juſtice. That it ſhould ever injure the trade of foreign cotton, is impoſſible; though long accuſtomed to behold ſhoes and ſtockings looked upon, in this part of the world, by the generality, as quite unneceſſary, yet I cannot think but ſome apparel is requiſite; and as the price of wool is ſo high, and the poverty of the people ſo great, I did wiſh to introduce amongſt them that invention, which I ſaw might be greatly improved, and turn the refuſe of flax into comfortable clothing, and by a proceſs ſo eaſy, that every induſtrious wife and children might prepare it; and thoſe who are ſuppoſed to adopt this clothing, are ſuch as would never think of manufacturing foreign cotton for themſelves and families. I ſend you a ſample, Sir, of the backings made into cotton, which you ſee might be

be manufactured into no bad clothing, and backings of tow being ſold to me, at the deareſt time, at one penny per pound, it is rating it high to ſay, that at two-pence per pound a perſon might have it ready to ſpin. All the patterns I ſend you are of webs now in uſe, and thoſe I have given away, or that have been worn in my own family, have worn exceeding well; I ſhould except the ſmall pattern of pluſh, which was only a few quills that were thrown in at the end of a piece of worſted pluſh, to ſee what pile it would produce. My gown is wove in imitation of a kind of India muſlin, and the thread you will ſee muſt have been ſtrong from the breadth, which is full yard and half wide. I muſt beg your acceptance of a waiſtcoat, a very poor imitation indeed of Mancheſter ingenuity, but the finer ſpun cotton was uſed in my gown; and as I have already told you, Sir, that I had a quantity of cotton in town, I intend immediately ſetting to work, but all in coarſe and cheap manufactures, ſuch as may benefit and ſuit the loweſt claſſes of life; the rich meriting as little to be conſidered in my ſcheme of manufactures, from that capriciouſneſs that generally attends them, as they are to be the objects of much attention, in any ſcheme that is to extend its influence to the moſt numerous part of ſociety.

I am, Sir,
Your much obliged,
And faithful humble ſervant,

E. MOIRA.

Montalto, Ballynahynch,
July 31, 1775.

Several ſpecimens of the above mentioned manufactured tow, are reſerved in the ſociety's repoſitory.

A ſhort Account of the Machine *lately erected, by Command of his* Majeſty, *at* Windſor, *for raiſing Water out of a very deep Well to ſupply the Caſtle. From the London Magazine for September* 1783.

THIS machine is ſaid to be the invention of a ſeafaring man (we wiſh we could record his name) who took the hint from obſerving the great quantity of water which every rope brought on board with it that had been drawn through the water: a circumſtance that could eſcape no perſon's obſervation who has been much on board ſhips; but which, like many other things that paſs daily before our eyes, had never been applied to any uſeful purpoſe. The application is as ſimple as the principle.

A groved wheel, about three feet diameter, is fixed on an axis, which turns horizontally over the well, and an endleſs rope, of a ſufficient length to reach into the water in the well, paſſes over it in the grove. On the ſame axis a winch is fixed at one end to turn it by; and, at the other end, another wheel, loaded with lead, which acts as a fly, to increaſe the velocity. On turning the wheel, each part of the rope, as it comes to the bottom, paſſes through the water; and, on account of the above-mentioned property, the water adheres to, and is brought

up by it to the top, where it is discharged from the rope into a cistern, placed to receive it, by the pressure of the rope upon the wheel, in passing over it. And so great is the simplicity and effect of this machine, that we have been told by a very excellent mechanic, who has seen it, that notwithstanding the well is near 200 feet deep, he turned the machine with one hand, so as to raise water sufficient to fill a pipe, the diameter of the aperture of which appeared to him, equal to the diameter of the rope that raised it. This, at least, is certain; the well had been long disused before this machine was erected over it, on account of the difficulty they found in raising the water out of it.

Observations *on* grown *or* sprouted Corn, *from an ingenious Pamphlet lately published in* France, *occasioned by the last wet Harvest, by which much Corn was damaged throughout that Kingdom. From the Gentleman's Magazine for April* 1783.

Cause of the Sprouting of Corn.

THE great fall of rain during the time of cutting having lengthened the harvest, before the corn could be carried much of it sprouted in the swarthes, or in the sheaves.

The term of sprouting is given to corn when part has undergone vegetation, for if the whole of the grain had budded it would have been unfit for bread. What is here meant by sprouted corn, is confined therefore to such corn as have some grains more or less sprouted in each ear.

It may be necessary to premise, that bread made of sprouted corn is not in the smallest degree prejudicial to health, if the following precautions are observed. Some physicians even recommend the flour of this grain as fittest to make broth for children, as the sprouting of the corn destroys in some measure the glutinous quality of the flour.

Sprouted corn is very difficult to preserve, because the opening of the bud disposes it to ferment and heat, and because the moisture it retains disposes it still further for fermentation.

Insects appear to attack it more freely, because it is more tender, sweeter, and more susceptible of heat to favour their eggs.

Sprouted corn, left to itself, never fails to ferment and heat, and to contract both a bad smell and bad colour; in this condition it has also a disagreeable and sharp taste, which is communicated to the flour and bread, and at last it will grow mouldy and sour. Animals reject it, and it is in that state only fit for starch.

Sprouted corn grinds badly; it clogs the mill-stones, choaks the bolting cloths, yields but little flour, as the bran retains a part of it.

The flour of sprouted corn is moist and soft; it requires but little water to knead it; and commonly produces less bread; it does not keep, especially in warm weather.

The bran of the best and driest corn will not keep long; the bran from moist and sprouted grain of course soon decays; it grows sour, and

and quickly becomes putrid. In this ſtate animals refuſe it; and if they do eat it, it will not agree with them.

Leaven made with the flour of ſprouted corn receives but little water. It ferments or comes forward very quickly; but if not uſed immediately, loſes this property, and ſoon ſinks and flattens.

The dough is ſubject to ſtill more inconveniences than the leaven. Like the leaven, it receives but little water; it is ſhort, clammy, but does not hold together, breaks in the kneading, and grows ſoft and pulpy.

The bread of ſprouted corn does not riſe in the oven. If there is not a large ſpace between the loaves, they ſpread and ſtick together; it bakes badly, ſeparates from the cruſt, and the cruſt toughens; digeſts with difficulty, affords little nouriſhment, turns ſour, and grows muſty.

To remedy the Inconveniences of Sprouted Corn.

HAVING ſet forth all the inconveniences of ſprouted corn, let us now endeavour to point out the moſt proper means to remedy them.

Sprouted corn ſhould not be ſtacked, but houſed and thraſhed as ſoon as poſſible. It ſhould not be put in the granary with dry corn, as it will tend to render ſuch corn moiſt; it is therefore very neceſſary that they ſhould be kept ſeparate.

If the granary is not well aired, the ſprouted corn will not keep.

Froſt indeed will ſtop the ſprouting ſo much, that the ſprouted corn may be preſerved through the winter, if ſevere; but if it is the leaſt moiſt, or if, at the return of warm weather, the ſprouted corn is expoſed to its influence, all the care you can take will not hinder it from changing.

The corn being thraſhed, it ſhould be ſpread upon the floor, and turned every quarter of an hour with a ſhovel; a door or window ſhould be left half open, to give vent to the ſteam. Before grinding, it ſhould be put in an oven ſome time after the bread is drawn, the door of the oven left half open, and the corn turned every ten minutes with long ſhovels or rakes, to facilitate the evaporation of the moiſture.

The corn thus ſtove-dried muſt be ſifted; and care taken not to put it into ſacks, or in heaps, till it is well cooled; otherwiſe it will turn mouldy.

This method may be objected to as troubleſome, but if not adopted a riſque will be run of loſing the corn. The trouble which the preſervation of ſprouted corn requires is conſiderable and expenſive, demanding a continual attention. But eight or ten days drying will preſerve it good for a whole year; beſides, this method, were it ſtill more troubleſome, would amply repay the labours, by the better quality and quantity of the flour, as well as of the bread.

Some provinces are very ſubject to the ſprouting of corn.—In a period of ten years, there have been ſometimes four, when the corn has been got in ſprouted. It were to be wiſhed that in thoſe provinces public kilns were erected, where each might kiln-dry his grain without much expence.

Such a kiln might ſerve likewiſe

wiſe to dry peaſe, beans, and all vegetables, which, during the wet ſeaſons, are ſubject to damage, which would by this means be preſerved.

Eſtabliſhments of this kind, which diſcover univerſal good-will to mankind, are preferable to the momentary aſſiſtance which charity affords to the indigent, by ſecuring a more wholeſome nouriſhment, by diminiſhing the number of the ſick, and thoſe epidemical diſeaſes of which we are generally ignorant of the cauſe, and which have often no other than the bad quality of our food.

If, unfortunately, ſprouted corn has been ground without the precaution of being dried or ſtoved, as the meal cannot otherwiſe be preſerved, it will be neceſſary to have recourſe to the ſame method as is uſed with corn, altho' the application will then be more difficult. The meal muſt be ſpread upon linen cloths, and removed as it dries, which requires greater care and occaſions leſs loſs.

The ſprouted corn, or meal which it produces, when well dried, will be as eaſily preſerved as the common meal and corn. The corn will grind well, the ſtones will not clog, the bran will not retain ſo much meal. This bran having leſs moiſture will not corrupt ſo eaſily, and will be uſeful to cattle.

What ſprouted corn, or its meal, loſes by drying, is nearly replaced by the greater quantity of water which the meal receives in the kneading, inſomuch that the ſtoved corn and meal produces more bread than that which has not undergone that operation.

Leaven, made with the meal of ſprouted corn, ought to be briſkly diſpatched, becauſe the ſprouting cauſes the meal to ferment quickly. It ought to be more firm and have a greater conſiſtence; that is to ſay, too much water muſt not be uſed.

Care muſt be taken not to make uſe of too hot water to make the dough. It muſt be worked as lightly and quickly as poſſible, for fear of working it too much, and thereby leſſening the fermentation. It muſt not be prepared, or brought into too warm a place, to cauſe the fermentation to ceaſe too ſoon.

Salt corrects in a ſingular manner the defects of moiſt meal, and eſpecially in meal made of ſprouted corn; the ſalt giving ſtrength to the dough, and cauſing it to receive more water; for the water forms a part of the bread. Twelve pounds of meal ought to produce ſixteen pounds of bread when baked; ſalt likewiſe corrects the inſipidity of the bread.

The oven muſt be made a little warmer than uſual, without which the bread would fall and become heavy. It muſt be wiped and rewiped after it is baked, becauſe the meal of ſprouted corn retains much moiſture.

By conforming in every reſpect to what has been here mentioned, the inconveniences of ſprouted corn will be remedied, and good and wholeſome bread will be obtained from it.

The preſent advice is the reſult of experiments made on ſprouted corn, by order of government, by the profeſſors and members of the committee of the eſtabliſhment of free bakers.

Made and regiſtered Oct. 31, 1782.

On the comparative Utility of Oxen and Horſes in Huſbandry; from the 2d Volume of Letters and Papers, addreſſed to the Society inſtituted at Bath, *for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

Rougham, near Bury,
Suffolk, Dec. 17, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

AS one of your queries to the High-Sheriffs reſpected the comparative utility of horſes and oxen in huſbandry, I wiſh to ſubmit the following facts to your conſideration:—

About five years ago, I took ſome land into my occupation, and having found the expence of horſes very great, I determined, ſomewhat more than two years ago, to make trial of oxen, and bought one pair. At that time, I am almoſt certain, there was not an ox worked in this county; on which account my workmen added much to the trouble of breaking them, by their obſtinate prejudices againſt the uſe of them.

At laſt I was fortunate enough to ſelect a labourer, who, though totally unuſed to them, was willing to take proper pains to break them. By his good treatment and temper, they ſoon became tractable, and as handy both at ploughing and carting as any horſes.

Being well ſatisfied with their performance, I reſolved to diſpoſe of all my draft horſes, and ſubſtitute oxen in their ſtead. I have now compleated my plan, and have not a ſingle cart-horſe; but the work of my farm (which conſiſts of upwards of one hundred acres of arable land, and ſixty of paſture and wood) is performed with eaſe by ſix oxen; together with my ſtatute-duty on the highways, timber and corn, carting, harrowing, rolling, and every part of rural buſineſs. They are ſhoed conſtantly: their harneſs is exactly the ſame as that of horſes, (excepting the neceſſary alterations for difference of ſize and ſhape) they are drove with bridles, and bits in their mouths, and anſwer to the ſame words of the ploughman or carter as horſes, and as readily. A ſingle man holds the plough, and drives a pair of oxen with reins; they will regularly plough an acre of land every day, and in leſs than eight hours time; I believe they will do it in ſeven, but I would not aſſert more than I know they perform.

I have a ſmall plantation, in which the trees are planted in rows ten feet aſunder; the intervals are ploughed by a ſingle ox with a light plough, and he is drove by the man who holds it. I mention this as an inſtance of their great docility.

My oxen go in a cart ſingle, or one, two, three, or more, in proportion to the load. Four oxen will draw eighty buſhels of barley, or oats, in a waggon, with eaſe; and if they are good in their kind, will travel as faſt as horſes with the ſame load.

I frequently ſend out eighty buſhels of oats with only three oxen; and one ox with forty buſhels in a light cart, which I think of all others the beſt method of carriage. My workmen are now perfectly reconciled to the uſe of oxen; and the following reaſons determine me to prefer them greatly to horſes:—

Firſt; They are kept at much leſs expence. Mine never eat corn or meal of any ſort. During the winter,

winter, they are kept in good order for work upon ſtraw, with turnips, carrots, or cabbages; for want of either of the three latter, I allow one peck of bran a day to each ox, whilſt in conſtant work. When my ſtraw is finiſhed, and the ſpring advances, they eat hay; and if they work harder than common in the ſeed time, they have bran beſide. When the vetches are fit to mow and give them in the ſtable, they have nothing elſe. After the day's work in the ſummer they have a ſmall bundle of hay to eat, and ſtand in the ſtable till they are cool, and then turned into the paſture.

I am of opinion, that the annual difference of expence in keeping a horſe and an ox, each in condition for the ſame conſtant work, is at leaſt four pounds.

Secondly; The value of a horſe declines every year after he is ſeven years old; and is ſcarcely any thing if he is blind, incurably lame, or very old: But if an ox is in any of thoſe ſituations, he may be fatted, and ſold for much more than the firſt purchaſe; and will always fat ſooner after work than before.

Thirdly; They are not ſo liable to illneſs as horſes. I have never had one indiſpoſed.

Fourthly; Horſes (eſpecially thoſe belonging to gentlemen) are frequently rode by ſervants without their maſter's knowledge, and often injured by it. Oxen are in no danger of this kind.

Fifthly; A general uſe of oxen would make beef, and conſequently all other meat, more plentiful; which I think would be a national benefit.

That it may not be thought, that a pair of oxen will plough an acre of land in a day only upon a very light ſoil; I muſt add, that the greater part of my arable land is too heavy to grow turnips to advantage. When my lighter lands are in fine tilth, I make uſe of a double plough: a ſingle man holds it, and drives one pair of oxen, and will plough two acres a day.

I am well aware, that the method of working oxen with a yoke ſpares a conſiderable expence in the article of harneſs; but they move ſo much more freely with collars, and can be uſed with ſo much more advantage ſingly by the latter method, that I think it far preferable.

After experience has inclined me to give the preference to oxen, I will not omit in my account the only material inconvenience I have found in working them; which is, they are troubleſome in ſhoeing, at leaſt I have found them ſo in this country; and, I believe, chiefly becauſe my ſmith never ſhoed any before. I have them confined in a pound whilſt they are ſhoed, and a man attends the ſmith. However, I think this diſadvantage amply recompenſed by more material advantages; and can with great truth affirm, that the longer I have worked oxen, the better have I been ſatisfied with them.

With great reſpect,

I am, Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

R. KEDINGTON.

On Planting barren Lands with Wood; from the ſame.

GENTLEMEN,

AMONG all the improvements which a lover of his country would naturally wiſh to ſee take place, there are none which ſeems to want, or to merit encouragement, more than that of planting barren ſoils and waſte lands with wood. One principal cauſe of this improvement having made a ſlower progreſs than many others is, that the firſt expence is conſiderable, and the profits, although certain in the end, are remote; and therefore I have for ſeveral years wiſhed to ſee your premiums increaſed on this article.

As I have made conſiderable plantations in my time, and always found the future profits, as well as the preſent pleaſure attending it, to exceed my expectations, I do not offer my advice on an uncertain theory, but *know* what I take the liberty of recommending to you.

There are three kinds of land uſually termed barren; and with reſpect to almoſt every purpoſe but that of planting, they are, and muſt remain ſo, unleſs an expence, greater than moſt people chuſe to be at, be ſubmitted to in improving them.

The firſt kind is mere ſand. This ſoil, unleſs there is clay or marle at a few feet depth under it, (as is the caſe in the weſt part of Norfolk, about Thetford and Brandon) will pay better by being planted with Scotch Firs and Larches than any thing elſe; eſpecially, if in making the plantations, a little clay or marle be mixed with the ſand in the holes where each tree is planted; and this may be done at a ſmall expence.

Theſe trees will grow here very well. I know ſeveral large plantations, where the ſoil has been ſo perfectly ſandy, that there was not graſs enough to keep one ſheep on an acre, and yet after being planted twenty years, there have been two thouſand trees on an acre, worth at the loweſt eſtimate one ſhilling each as they ſtood. A few acres of ſuch land thus planted would be a pretty fortune for the younger branch of a family.

The ſecond kind is boggy or wet moors, which are ſometimes ſo ſituated as not to be drained without too great an expence. Wherever this is the caſe, ſuch ſoils may be planted to great advantage, as Mr. Fletcher in his letter on this ſubject, printed in your firſt volume, has juſtly remarked. Aſh for poles or copſing, will thrive here beyond expectation; and alders, with ſeveral ſpecies of the ſallow tribe, will grow rapidly, and in twenty years after planting pay a profit of three pounds per acre per annum, for the whole time. The expence attending it is confined almoſt wholly to the firſt five or ſix years; for after that time little more is required than to keep up the fences, and the profit is certain.

The third ſoil on which planting anſwers better than any thing elſe, is barren rocky hills, which cannot be ploughed on account of the ſtones lying level with the ſurface, or growing above it. In ſuch places there are numerous little clefts or fiſſures in the rocks filled

filled with veins of earth to a conſiderable depth, which the roots of trees will follow and find ſufficient nouriſhment in. Many inſtances of this may be found in the counties of Somerſet, Glouceſter, and Dorſet, where the wiſdom of our forefathers induced them to try the experiment. On the North ſlope of Mendip hills in particular (a ſituation as unfavourable as moſt, on account of its being a bed of rocks expoſed to the bleak North and Eaſt winds) we ſee beautiful woods of large extent hanging over the pariſhes of Compton-Martin, Ubley, Blagdon, Hutton, and Churchill. In theſe woods, although the timber is not large, the growth of the pollard trees and copſe-wood muſt every twelve years bring in conſiderable ſums to the owners, although the land for any other purpoſe would not be worth one ſhilling an acre.

In planting barren mountainous ſituations, full of ſtone, no particular directions can be given as to the number of trees per acre, for you muſt follow the veins of earth where they are deepeſt; but in general plant as thick as you can, for this will beſt prevent the bad effects of tempeſtuous winds, by the interior parts being ſheltered from them.

In theſe ſituations intermix Scotch Firs, which will ſecure leſs hardy trees from the fury of the winds, eſpecially if a double row of them form the boundary. As the ſurfaces of ſuch places are moſtly craggy and uneven, be careful to plant your trees in the little hollows, for two reaſons: *firſt*, becauſe there is moſt earth and moiſture; and *ſecondly*, becauſe in theſe cavities the plants will, while young, be moſt ſheltered from the winds. Fear not to plant too thick, for as the plants increaſe in ſize and hardineſs, you may thin them at pleaſure, and the wood will pay for the labour.

Your young plants ſhould be raiſed in a ſituation as ſimilar as poſſible to that where you intend they ſhould continue; for if they are tranſplanted out of a rich warm nurſery, it would prove their deſtruction. As there is ſeldom ſufficient depth of ſoil among the rocks to receive long tap-roots, the plants which naturally have them ſhould be cut off when they are firſt taken from the ſeed-beds and planted in the nurſery. By treating them in this manner, although their vigour will be checked for the firſt year or two, until they have ſent forth a number of lateral roots, they will recover their ſtrength, and prove equally thrifty with others.

Theſe plantations may be made with beech, birch, oak, aſh, ſycamore, and black poplar; always obſerving to place the tendereſt trees in the leaſt expoſed ſituations, where they are ſheltered from North and Eaſt winds. In places where the ſoil is very thin, raiſe little hillocks about the young plants, which will greatly encourage their growth.

In ſuch bleak ſituations, plant as late in the ſpring as you can with ſafety. April is a month in which it may be expected the moſt ſtormy weather is over, and all the kinds of trees I have mentioned may ſafely be replanted at that time. But your nurſery ſhould always be near the ſpot you intend

tend to plant, or elſe the roots of your young trees will get dry, and their buds be rubbed off in carriage.

During the firſt three months after planting, they ſhould frequently be examined, and the earth made faſt about the roots, otherwiſe they will be looſened by the winds; but after that time they will have put forth new roots ſufficient to hold them ſecurely.

The upright Engliſh elm, and the wich elm, may alſo be properly introduced in theſe ſituations, for they are hardy trees, and, when once rooted, grow well on rocky ſoils. The timber of the latter is very valuable for naves of carriage-wheels, and boring for water-pipes.

If oaks, cheſnuts, or beech, or indeed any other tree that ſheds its leaves in winter, grow crooked, make inciſions with the point of a knife from top to bottom in the hollow part. This will occaſion the tree to increaſe in bulk more in thoſe parts than in any other; and by this ſimple eaſy method, I have known many a crooked tree grow ſtrait and handſome.

I ſhall be happy if theſe few obſervations may in any degree prove uſeful, or tend to encourage planting in your counties.

I am, your's, &c.

Somerſet. R. E.

On Watering Meadows; from the ſame.

IT having been a point much diſputed, which is the beſt water for throwing over meadows, that which comes freſh from the ſprings, or that which has run a conſiderable courſe above ground, we ſhall give the following extracts from divers letters which have been ſent to the Society on the ſubject, without preſuming ourſelves to determine on the point in diſpute.

I.

I apprehend that in moſt of the flat parts of this county hot-ſprings may not abound; and that in places where there are any, their virtue is not known; ſo that the inhabitants (without choice or conſideration, in many inſtances) uſe only that water which has run ſome way, and is become foul by floods. But in the neighbourhood of Chard, and doubtleſs in many other places in the county where the benefit of good ſpring-water is known, it is preferred, and the farmers flood their meadows with it immediately from the ſprings, finding its effects ſo fertilizing as ſufficiently to maintain their meadows in good heart, without any other aid.

Near Taunton. R. P. A.

II.

I ſhould have anſwered your letter ſooner, but wiſhed to know the opinion of ſome of my friends on the ſubject. On enquiry, I find that their ſentiments coincide with my own; and are as follow:——

That water running from a ſpring, or out of a rock, is often preferred to water from a river that has paſſed ſome way. I apprehend, however, that this is not always the caſe; but ſometimes quite the reverſe. Springs coming immediately from a rock, or from the earth, are, I apprehend, of very different qualities. A ſpring coming

coming from a lime-ſtone rock, I ſhould think by much the beſt for watering meadows, which is the caſe at Orcheſton in Wilts, where that famous graſs grows, which produces an amazing crop in thoſe ſeaſons when the meadow can be watered with the ſprings guſhing out of the lime-ſtone rocks. At other times, when the ſprings are low, the land does not produce more than a third of the quantity.

It is underſtood by the farmers here, that water is very much impoveriſhed by watering a great many meadows on the ſame ſtream; and that thoſe meadows at the head of the ſtream are much the beſt on that account, except where there are a great number of farm-yards draining into it; which, in my opinion, makes up in part at leaſt for the deficiency.

Maningford. J. A.

III.

Water ſeldom, if ever, promotes vegetation, unleſs it be in a mixed or heterogenous ſtate. It is therefore neceſſary, previous to the flooding of meadows, to examine of what nature and quality your water is. All water that paſſes through beds or veins of minerals, or which contain calcarous nitre, copperas, allum, &c. is highly prejudicial to graſs lands. But water that iſſues from chalk cliffs, or lime-ſtone rocks, or ſand and gravel, is in general friendly. The beſt teſt is its ſoftneſs, which may eaſily be known.

The quantity of water that is let over the land ſhould be in proportion to the nature of the ſoil, and the heat of the ſeaſon. If the ſoil be ſandy, gravelly, or chalky, and the declivity conſiderable, the more water is wanted, and it ſhould remain the longeſt, eſpecially if the weather be warm, and it be a ſouth aſpect.

If your water has run a long courſe above ground, the fouleſt is the beſt; but that coming immediately from chalk or lime rocks is warmeſt, and much to be preferred to foul muddy water in general. I muſt however obſerve, that water in a ſtate of putrefaction is poiſon to vegetables, and therefore ought never to be uſed for this purpoſe.

S. B.

IV.

Water when carried over meadow-lands after heavy rains, depoſits a fertilizing ſediment which enriches the ſoil, and turns the mould blackiſh. It alſo promotes the ſpeedy putrefaction of every vegetable and animal ſubſtance found in the earth, and thereby contributes to the melioration of the ſoil under the ſward or turf.

Care ſhould however be taken, that the quantity of water brought on the land be only enough to give vigour to the plants without overcharging their veſſels. Never water your lands in very hot weather, for when the veſſels of the plants are filled, by the heat cauſing it to aſcend ſuddenly, a ſudden cold morning will greatly injure the herbage.

If the ſpring proves dry, paſtures may be watered as ſoon as the froſty ſeaſon is over. But if the winter has been ſevere, and the earth remains moiſt, no current of water ſhould be admitted till the earth is ſettled, and the ſurface becomes dry; for the gentleſt ſtream would carry off the fine mould looſened by the froſt. After the graſs ſhoots, and the ſeaſon becomes

becomes mild, water ſparingly. In the ſummer never water but in great drought, nor even then, unleſs the water be perfectly clear and ſweet; for muddy water would render the graſs foul, and give it a bad taſte.

The beſt water is that from clear warm ſprings, and the ſofter the better; but if that cannot be had, brooks which are become foul by running in a muddy channel, will be the next beſt. For a ſtream which continues clear after it has run a conſiderable way above ground, is generally cold, and impregnant with metallic, or mineral particles, both which are deſtructive to vegetation.

J. F.

V.

On the receipt of your letter I conſulted my meadow floaters, who are unanimouſly of opinion, that the ſooner the water is thrown over the meadows after it ariſes out of the ſprings, the more efficacious it will be.

We have no ſprings on the hills in this part of the country, as in the neighbourhood of Bath; but our meads are full of them, and we apply the water iſſuing therefrom as ſoon as poſſible to the lands. We find the ſpring water is better for this purpoſe than river water, on account of its being warmer in winter, and cooler in ſummer.

Ramſbury. W. J.

VI.

I have a range of meads lying nearly on a level by the ſide of a little river, which has run near thirty miles before it reaches my lands. And in the upper part of my meadows a ſpring riſes of very clear ſoft water. Being deſirous of proving which would be moſt beneficial to the land, I have divers times in different years tried both.

In a wet winter, I can eaſily, at flood-time, when the river is very foul and muddy, float all my meads by opening the bank by the river ſide. This I have done ſeveral times, and a great deal of ſediment has been left behind on the retiring of the water. In this caſe, I have generally had a large crop of graſs the ſucceeding ſummer, but I have always found it ranker, and the hay leſs ſweet, than at other times.

When I have turned the water of my ſpring over the land, I have found the produce equally great, and the hay much finer and ſweeter than in the other inſtance. I have alſo obſerved, that thoſe meads which firſt received the water from the ſpring, were moſt luxuriant; and thoſe which it ran over laſt the leaſt ſo. I am therefore of the opinion, that the beſt and moſt fertilizing water for meadow land, is that which iſſues immediately from warm ſoft ſprings,

W. M.

The following very ingenious letter on this ſubject we give entire.—

VII.

Woolhampton, Jan. 22, 1783.

DEAR SIR,

I eſteem myſelf much honoured by the notice the gentlemen of your Society have been pleaſed to take of my poor, but very willing endeavours to add my mite to promote the views of their very uſeful inſtitution. —— To your preſent queſtion,

First; "What kind of water have you found moſt efficacious?" &c. I anſwer, That which has firſt ran a conſiderable way as a brook or rivulet, or rather as a large and rapid river.

I formerly occupied ſome water-meadow not many miles diſtant from this place, where there is a great deal of land watered from the Kennet, a very conſiderable river which riſes at a village of that name not far from Marlborough. The occupiers of thoſe lands are uniformly of opinion, that the more thick, turbid, and feculent, the water is, the greater will be the benefit to be derived from the uſe of it: And the opinion is certainly well ſupported both by reaſon and experience. Haſty ſhowers, and very heavy rains, dilute the manure, and waſh away the fine pulverized earth from the adjacent lands for many miles around; ſo that as the waters increaſe, and become more rapid, they alſo become more replete with fertilizing matter, as is viſible to the eye by the quantity of ſcum, mud, and fine earth, remaining on the ſurface when the water is drawn off. The benefit derived from flooding may in general then be computed, *cæteris paribus*, from the quantity of feculent matter depoſited by the water, for it is, I believe, invariably found to be in proportion thereto.

Secondly; "Is the water of land-ſprings?" &c. I apprehend no certain particular anſwer can be given to this general queſtion.

The effects of the water of land ſprings muſt depend upon the nature of the ſtrata through which it paſſes, and may be beneficial or otherwiſe to vegetation, as that might be if applied in ſubſtance. Calcareous earths, in general, are friendly and conducive to vegetation; and from thence it ſeems probable, that water iſſuing from limeſtone-rocks, would promote the growth of vegetables in proportion to its impregnation by the calcarous matter.

The effects of limeſtone-water have never fallen within my obſervation; but from what I have obſerved of land-ſprings, I have often thought the benefit from them was nothing more than from the ſimple fluid as a conſtituent part neceſſary to the accreation of all bodies, abſtracted from every principle of nutriment but what is contained in water as ſuch only.

However, there cannot be a doubt, but different ſprings are impregnated with different qualities, the particulars of which cannot be known but from obſervations of their effects.

Thirdly; "Which ever is preferred, or found beſt, why is it ſo?" &c. The anſwer to the firſt part of this queſtion is contained in the anſwer to the firſt queſtion. It is ſo, becauſe it ſupplies more copiouſly that matter or ſubſtance which is the pabulum, or food of plants, and what is the material ſupport of vegetation; without which it would as neceſſarily ceaſe, as an animal would die without food.

And, fourthly; "What is the *modus operandi* of the benefit ariſing from the floating of meadows?"

Perhaps this queſtion, ſtrictly and philoſophically ſpeaking, is as little capable of a ſatisfactory anſwer, as, What is the eſſence of matter, or that ſubſtance which ſupports

ſupports its extenſion, ſolidity, figure? &c. That heat and moiſture are the *ſine qua non* of vegetation, is abundantly manifeſt; for it is univerſally certain, that neither ſeeds nor roots, if kept perfectly dry, will ever vegetate; and if kept wet without heat, they corrupt and rot, but never grow.

Heat and moiſture, therefore, are two univerſal agents indiſpenſably neceſſary to the life and growth of plants; but how far either or both ſupply the principles or material ſubſtance which cauſes the accreation, and increaſe of bulk and ſize, or by what mode of operation it derives principles from dead, inert, ſtinking, corrupted, and impure ſubſtances, and converts them into parts of living organized bodies, which charm the ſight, the ſmell, and the taſte of animals, and furniſh aliment for their comfortable ſubſiſtence, is, perhaps, beyond the utmoſt ſtretch of human underſtanding to conceive.

It is in every one's experience, that the excrements, and corrupted ſubſtance of animals, when properly digeſted, are the moſt powerful promoters of vegetation; and plants ſo produced become the wholeſome and neceſſary ſupport and food of man: So that what was laſt year a poiſonous, putrid maſs, is this, by the wonderful chemiſtry of nature, and a rapid circulation thro' a ſyſtem of organized bodies, converted into a ſubſtance endued with life, ſenſation, &c. If that ſhould be doubted, they certainly are neceſſary to the ſupport of life, ſenſation, &c. And perhaps it is not a jot more conceivable how a poiſonous, putrid ſubſtance, ſhould be converted into wholeſome nouriſhment for the ſupport of living animal ſubſtance, than it is for the former to be converted into the latter; that is, a dead, inert ſubſtance, into a living and active one.

By creation is commonly meant the production of ſomething out of nothing; or the calling of ſomething into being which had no exiſtence before. But by propagation and generation, is meant the exiſtence of ſome being as derived from another. But is ſuch generation any thing more than a real tranſmutation of one thing into another? Every cherry-ſtone virtually contains in it more of thoſe trees, and of that fruit, than ever exiſted together at any one time in the world. Is it poſſible to conceive, that the ſeminal principles of the kernel ſubſtantially contains ſuch an infinity? What then, but extraneous matter, under a very different heterogenous form, being circulated through a ſyſtem of pipes of organized matter, can produce ſuch an infinite number, and immenſe magnitude, of any claſs of living beings, from a principle originally too minute to be viſible to the eye.

The earth may be conceived to be the matrix of vegetation; and the huſbandman certainly knows from experience, that by impregnating it with certain ſubſtances, by laying them upon it at proper ſeaſons, a ſoil naturally ſterile may be rendered fertile. So a meadow floated with water, copiouſly abounding with putreſcent particles, and ſubſtances impregnated therewith, would infallibly be benefited thereby; the *modus operandi* of which may literally, though in a groſs

a groſs ſenſe, be certainly imputed to the action of the fertilizing matter depoſited by the water in the form of an unctuous ſediment, in the ſame manner as all lands are benefited or improved by the acceſſion of manure, by whatever means it is depoſited there.

I am, dear Sir, with great reſpect and eſteem,

Your moſt obliged ſervant,

Jos. WIMPEY.

On the Scab in Sheep; and ſome approved Remedies recommended; from the ſame.

[By a Gentleman Farmer near Norwich.]

GENTLEMEN,

AS the diſeaſe called the ſcab in ſheep is very often fatal, and occaſions great loſs to the farmer, I beg leave to trouble you with a few remarks thereon; and alſo to mention ſome of the beſt remedies yet diſcovered among our ſheep breeders.

This diſeaſe is generally found moſt prevalent where the lands on which ſheep are kept are wetteſt, or in the moſt rainy ſeaſons.

In the iſle of Ely ſome years ſince moſt of their flocks were diſeaſed, and great numbers died. But I am of opinion, that this diſorder is not always the effect either of moiſt air and food, or of lying on wet ground. It is doubtleſs often occaſioned by the blood and juices of the animal being in an impure ſtate; to which, however, an exceſs of moiſture and rank food may very much contribute.

Many perſons have ſuppoſed the ſcab to be merely a cutaneous diſeaſe, and of courſe applied only external remedies to the part immediately affected, without conſidering that a purification of the blood was neceſſary to a radical cure. In ſuch caſes, theſe applications, adminiſtered ſingly, often do more harm than good, becauſe they drive in the eruption, and fix the diſeaſe in the internal and more noble parts of the animal.

The beſt way therefore to treat this diſorder is, on its firſt appearance, to give the ſheep ſomething inwardly to drive out the eruption; and then external applications are made with propriety, and generally with ſucceſs.

The following recipe has been tried and found effectual in numerous inſtances in this county and in Suffolk, where very large flocks are kept;—

Take a gallon of ſoft well or pond water, and divide it into two equal parts. In one part diſſolve eight ounces of old hard ſoap, to which, when diſſolved, add two ounces of ſpirits of hartſhorn, and half a pound of common ſalt, with four ounces of roll brimſtone, finely powdered and ſifted. In the other part of the water put two ounces of leaf tobacco, and one ounce of hellebore root. Boil this ſecond part till you have a ſtrong infuſion, and then ſtrain it off.

Next take that part of the water firſt mentioned, and ſet it over the fire; let it boil half an hour, ſtirring it all the while with a wooden ladle. In the mean time heat again the ſecond part, in which the tobacco and hellebore were infuſed; and when hot mix the two parts gradually together over the fire, keeping the mixture ſtirring all the time, which ſhould be

be about a quarter of an hour. When quite cold, put it in a ſtone bottle for uſe, and ſet it in a cool place.

Then take four quarts of new ale or beer, put into it twelve ounces of ſalt, two ounces of bay ſalt, and eight ounces of pounded nitre, together with twelve ounces of pounded roll brimſtone. Set them over a gentle fire, and when the ale boils take off the ſcum. When it has boiled half an hour ſet it by to cool, and when cold put it in a ſtone bottle for uſe.

When you are thus far prepared, take one quart of ale, and ſet it on the fire, mix into it by degrees three ounces of ſulphur; when juſt ready to boil, take it off the fire, and let it ſtand to cool; and when only blood warm, give this quantity inwardly to three ſheep. Repeat the doſe three times, allowing one day's interval between each doſe. This will drive out the diſorder, and then the firſt mixture is to be rubbed on the diſtempered parts; and two days afterwards the ſecond mixture, nd ſo on alternately for eight or ten days, till the cure is effected. Sometimes two rubbings will be ſufficient,

The only objection to this mode of cure is, that it is compound, troubleſome, and rather expenſive. This certainly has weight, becauſe, where a large number of ſheep are affected, it could not eaſily be practiſed. On this account ſome perſons have adopted the following method of treating the diſeaſe, and with ſucceſs alſo:——

Take half an ounce of good corroſive ſublimate, and diſſolve it in two quarts of rain water, to which add a common gill glaſs of ſpirits of turpentine. When the ſheep is ſtruck, make a circle round the maggots with ſome of the water, dropping it out of a bottle. This will prevent their getting away and hiding themſelves among the wool. Then drop a little among them, and rub it about with the finger, which will preſently kill them.

But I am ſtill of the opinion, that ſomething given inwardly is neceſſary to purify the blood; and perhaps nothing can be more efficacious than the firſt mixture deſcribed above. I have tried both methods, and always found, that when internal as well as external applications were uſed, the cure was moſt radical and laſting.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend
and ſervant,
T. B——R.

H-----l, March 12, 1781.

ANTIQUITIES.

On the Office of High Steward of England; from Hearne's *curious Diſcourſes* *. *Appendix to No.* 7 *of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica.*

Here is ſhewed who is the High Steward of England, *and what his Office is.*

THE ſeneſchalcye, or high ſtewardſhip of England, belongeth unto the earldom of Leiceſter, and of old tyme did thereunto appertayne; and it is to be underſtood that it is his office, under and immediately after the king, to overſee and govern the whole kingdom of England, and all the officers of juſtice within the ſaid kingdome, in tymes boeth of peace and war, in manner following:

"The manner how and when the lord high ſteward ought to exerciſe his office by duty and the oath of fealty is ſuch: whenever man or woman ſhall come unto the king's court, in whatſoever court it be, and poſſibly unto the king himſelf, to ſeek for redreſs againſt injury done unto them, and he or ſhe not being able in due ſeaſon to obteyne remedy, then the high ſteward of England ought, and is bound to receive their petitions and complaynts, and to keepe them until the next parliament thereafter to be holden, and to aſſign unto ſuch complaynants, if he think fit, a day wherein they may exhibit and proſecute their petitions; and in full parliament, in the preſence of the king, to reprehend or blame that officer, or thoſe officers, whoever they bee, that ſoe have fayled in doing of juſtice, and thoſe thereof to call to account, unto whom in ſuch caſes every one throughout the kingdome is bound to anſwer, the king onely except. If the chancellour of England have fayled of making original remedy and amends, and the juſtices, treaſurers, barons, and chamberlaines of the exchequer, ſteward of the king's houſe, eſcheatours, coroners, ſheriffes, clearkes, bayliffes, and other officers, of what place or records ſoever they be, in their proceſſes, judgements, executions of judgements, and juſtice to be made to the favour of one, and loſs of the other party, for gifts, bribes, or other procurements, ſhall fyle or give over at the leaſt ways; if any juſticiar, when as

* In the Britiſh Muſeum is a Latin copy of the above piece; it is much damaged and imperfect, and ſeems to have been written about the time of Henry VI. Cott. MSS. Nero D. VIII.

both

both parties pleading before them ſhall ſtand in judgement, ſhall by ſuch falſe procurements deferr judgment, contrary to juſtice, and the laws and cuſtomes of the land; if then the chancellour of England, or any other of the king's officers, in ſuch caſe, ſhall alleadge in parliament, and ſay for their excuſe, that in that caſe ſuch hardneſs and doubtfullneſs of the law and right did ariſe when the ſame was heard and proponed before them, that neither he nor the court of chancery, or any other courts wherein he is an officer, were able or knew how to attaine unto the ſafe determination of the right, then ſhall he declare and open the ſame ambiguity and doubt in parliament; if then it be found that the law was doubtful in that caſe, the chancellour or other officers ſhall be held accuſed, and then ſhall the high ſteward of England, togeather with the conſtable of England, in the preſence of the king, and other of the parliament, make choice of five and twenty perſons more, more or leſſe, according as the caſe ſhall require, togeather with ſuch other caſes in the parliament rehearſed; amongſt whom ſhall be earles, barons, knights of the ſhire, citizens, and burgeſſes, who there ſhall ordaine, agree upon, and eſtabliſh remedye by law in all ſuch caſes, for ever after to endure. And thoſe laws ſhall be recited, written and allowed in full parliament, and ſealed with the great ſeal, and delivered forth to all places of law and juſtice from thenceforward to be holden for laws, and in public places where it ſhall be thought expedient they ſhall be proclaimed and divulged, whereas all other common laws, and chiefly ſtatute lawes, throughout the whole kingdom ought to be publickly proclaymed.

"If it ſo happen that there was in ſuch like caſe either common law or ſtatute law, ſoe that the king's ſteward and others of the parliament may underſtand and perceive that ſuch defaults and delays in proceſſes and judgments do happen by ſuch officers, when as the deceit and malice of ſuch officers hath openly and often before been apparent, then ſhall he be removed out of his office, and ſome other officer fit ſhall be put in his place. If they ſhall preſume againſt the juſtices and officers, or, by excuſing themſelves, ſhall ſay that they have not heretofore known themſelves, and the courts whereby they are in ſuch caſes to be deliberate and take adviſement, then ſhall they be admoniſhed by the ſteward on the behalf of the king and parliament, to ſtudy and ſearch better the common laws, that noe ſuch ignorance nor negligence be found in them in the like caſes afterwards. If they ſhall happen to offend in the like againe, they then ſhall be put out of their offices, and other diſcreter and more diligent perſons ſhall, by the king and his council, be appointed in their roomes.

"Likewiſe it is the ſteward's office (if the king have evil councellours about him that adviſe him to doe things tending openly and publickly to his diſhonour, or to the diſinheriting, and public hurt of his people) for the ſteward of England, taking with him the conſtable and other great eſtates, and others of the communalty, to

ſend to ſuch a counſellour, forbidding him in ſuch ſort to leade and counſel the king, and of ſuch his evil counſel he ſhall make rehearſall, enjoining him to depart from the king's preſence, and longer not to abide with him to his diſhonour, and the public hurt as is aforeſaid; which if he ſhall not doe, they ſhall ſend unto the king to remove him from him, and to give no more ear unto his councell, for that amongſt the people he is eſteemed to be an evil councellour between the king and his ſubjects. If hereupon the king do not put him away, againe and often ſhall they ſend, as well unto the king as unto him: if at the laſt neither the king nor ſuch councellours of his have regard unto the meſſages and requeſts made unto them, but ſhall refuſe to doe thereafter, then, for the weale publick, it is lawfull for the ſteward, conſtable of England, noblemen, and others of the communaltye of the realme, with banner in the king's name diſplayed, to apprehend ſuch councellour, as a common enemy to the king and the realme, to commit his body to ward until the next parliament, and in the mean time to ſeyze on all his goods, lands, and poſſeſſions, till judgment be pronounced of him by advice of the whole kingdom in parliament, as it happened unto Godwyn the Earle of Kent, in the days of king Edward the Confeſſour, next predeceſſour to William duke of Normandy, conquerour of England, who, for ſuch evil acts and councells of his, was deprived of his earldome, which eſcheated to the aforeſaid king: notwithſtanding, at the king's ſuite, and by the noblemen's permiſſion, Godwyn came again to England, and did after forfeit as before. And as it happened likewiſe to Hubert de Burgh, Earle of Kent in the tyme of king Henry III. that was ſon of king John, who for his evill deeds and bad councell was apprehended, and by the high ſeneſchall and other peers deprived of his earldome by the allowance and conſent of the whole parliament. So likewiſe did it befall unto Pierce of Gavèſton, who in the days of king Edward the ſon of king Henry, for ſuch his evil acts and councells, was baniſhed out of all the king of England's dominions, as well on this ſide as beyond the ſeas, which Pierce afterwards by the king's means, and the permiſſion of the nobility, returned to England and had of the king's guift the earledome of Cornwall; but was after that, for his evil deeds and councell, baniſhed the realme again by the nobles and commons, and had his ſaid earledome eſcheated unto the king: but he returned afterwards without the noblemen's conſent and leave, and did reſort and aſſociate himſelf to the king, as before tyme he had done; which when the high ſteward, conſtable, and other of the nobility underſtood, hee was by them apprehended and beheaded att Blacklow in Warwickſhire, as a public enemy to the king and the realme. Soe have you as much as in the ſayd old booke is to be ſeene touching the office of high ſteward *."

High

* Lord chief juſtice Coke's account of this high office, eſſentially differing from that here quoted, is given at large, and freely controverted, in a tract on "The

High Stewards of England, *from the Conqueſt to the preſent Time.*

1. Hugh de Grentemeiſnel, Baron of Hinckley.
2. Yvo de Grentemeiſnel, Baron of Hinckley.
3. Hugh de Grentemeiſnel, Baron of Hinckley.
4. Robert de Bellomont, Earl of Leiceſter and Lord of Hinckley.
5. Robert Fitz-Parnel, Earl of Leiceſter and Lord of Hinckley.
6. Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter and Lord of Hinckley.
7. Simon de Montfort, jun. Earl of Leiceſter and Lord of Hinckley.
8. Edward Crouchbacke, Earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, and Derby, and Lord of Hinckley.
9. Thomas Earl of Lancaſter, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
10. Henry Earl of Lancaſter, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
11. Henry Duke of Lancaſter, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
12. William of Bavaria, Earl of Leiceſter, &c. and Lord of Hinckley.
13. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaſter, Earl of Leiceſter, Lincoln, and Derby, conſtable of France, and Lord of Hinckley.
14. Henry Duke of Lancaſter, &c. and Lord of Hinckley; afterwards king of England by the title of Henry IV.
15. King Henry V.

From this period the kings of England, as ſucceſſive lords of Hinckley, have granted the important office of Lord High Steward to particular noblemen only *pro hac vice*.

Tranſlations of three authentic Regiſters of the Monaſtery of St. Edmund's Bury, *formerly kept by the Sacriſt; from the Gentleman's Magazine for November* 1783.

"THIS indenture certifies, that maſter John Swaffham, ſacriſt of the monaſtery of St. Edmund's Bury, with the conſent and permiſſion of the prior and convent of the ſame, hath demiſed and to farm let to Simeon Lolepeke, of Bury aforeſaid, yeoman, the manor called Habyrdon in Bury aforeſaid, &c. to have and to hold for the term of ſeven years, &c. paying yearly, &c. And the ſaid Simeon, his executors and aſſigns, ſhall find or cauſe to be found *one white bull* every year of his term as often as it ſhall happen that any gentlewoman *(mulierem generoſam)* or any other women, from devotion or vows by them made, ſhall viſit the tomb of the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund, to make the oblations of the ſaid white bull, &c. In witneſs whereof, to one part the ſeal of the ſacriſt is affixed, &c. Dated the 4th day of June, in the 2d year of the reign of king Henry, king of England, the ſeventh ſince the Conqueſt."

"The Lord High Steward of England," printed in 8vo, 1776. "Great writers," ſays the ingenious author of this pamphlet, "frequently betray the dulneſs of common minds, in works looked up to by the world with admiration and awe."

Another

Another Regiſter of the ſaid Monaſtery.

"This indenture, made the 12th day of September, in the 11th year of the reign of king Henry the VIIIth, between maſter John Eye, ſacriſt of the monaſtery of St. Edmund's Bury, and Richard Skinner, of Bury aforeſaid, huſbandman, certifies that the aforeſaid John Eye, with the conſent, &c. hath demiſed and to farm let to the aforeſaid Richard the manor of Habyrdon, &c. for the term of ten years, &c. And the ſaid Richard ſhall find *one white bull* as often as it ſhall happen," &c. as before.

Another original Inſtrument, with the capitular Seal of the Monaſtery annexed.

"This indenture certifies that we John, by divine permiſſion, abbot of the monaſtery of St. Edmund's Bury, with the conſent and permiſſion of the prior and convent of the ſame, have demiſed and to farm let to Robert Wright, glazier, and to John Anable, pewterer, of Bury aforeſaid, our manor of Habyrdon, with the appurtenances pertaining to the office of ſacriſt of our ſaid monaſtery, &c. to hold from the feaſt of St. Michael the Archangel next enſuing after the date of theſe preſents, for the term of twenty years, &c. paying yearly to the ſaid abbot and his ſucceſſors, for the uſe of the office of ſacriſt, 20l. 4s. &c. And the ſaid Robert and John ſhall find *one white bull* every year of the aforeſaid term, as often as it ſhall happen that any gentlewoman, or any other women, from devotion or vows by them made, ſhall viſit the ſhrine of the glorious king and martyr St. Edmund, to make the oblations of the ſaid white bull, &c. In witneſs whereof, to one part of this indenture remaining with the above-named abbot, prior and convent, the ſaid Robert and John have affixed their ſeals, and to the other part remaining with the ſaid Robert and John, we the above-named abbot, prior and convent, have cauſed the common ſeal of our chapter to be affixed. Given in our chapter-houſe the xxviiith day of April, in the xxvth year of king Henry the Eighth, and in the year of our Lord 1533."

The waxen impreſſion, ſtill perfect, has on the face St. Edmund ſitting on a royal throne, with a biſhop ſtanding on each ſide; on the reverſe he is bound to a tree, and transfixed with arrows. Below, in another compartment, is the body of St. Edmund, headleſs; and near it a wolf, bringing back the royal head to reſtore it to the body. The inſtrument is thus indorſed, *Irrotulatur per me, Walterum Mildemey.* A tranſcript of this ſealed indenture remains in the court of augmentations.

Whenever a married woman wiſhed to be pregnant, this white bull, who enjoyed full eaſe and plenty in the fields of Habyrdon, never meanly yoked to the plough, nor ever cruelly baited at the ſtake, was led in proceſſion through the principal ſtreets of the town, viz. Church-ſtreet, Guildhall-ſtreet, and Cook-row, of which the laſt led to the principal gate of the monaſtery, attended by all the monks ſinging, and by a ſhouting crowd,

crowd, the woman walking by him, and ſtroking his milk-white ſide and pendent dewlaps. The bull then being diſmiſſed, the woman entered the church, and paid her vows at the altar of St. Edmund, kiſſing the ſtone, and intreating with tears the bleſſing of a child. This reminds one of the Luperci among the Romans, who ran naked about the ſtreets, and with thongs of goatſkins ſtruck women with child in order to give eaſy labour. *Virg. Æn.* VIII. 663.

N. B. *The above are extracted from the* Corolla Varia *of the Rev.* William Hawkins, *M. A. ſchool-maſter, of* Hadleigh, *in* Suffolk, *an entertaining and claſſical but now ſcarce publication, printed at* Cambridge *in* 1634.

Deſcription and Account of the Caſtle of Caernarvon; *from the 2d Vol. of* Pennant's *Tour in* Wales.

"THIS town * is juſtly the boaſt of North Wales, for the beauty of ſituation, goodneſs of the buildings, regularity of the plan, and, above all, the grandeur of the caſtle, the moſt magnificent badge of our ſubjection. The place ſprung from the ruin of the ancient Segontium; but it does not owe its name to Edward I. as is generally ſuppoſed. Giraldus Cambrenſis mentions it in his journey of the year 1188 †; and Llewelyn the Great dates from it a charter in the year 1221 ‡. I greatly ſuſpect the Caernarvon of thoſe times to have been no other than the ancient Segontium, whoſe name the Welſh had changed to the apt one of Caer ar Fôn, or, the ſtrong hold oppoſite to Angleſey. But the preſent town was in all probability a creation of our conqueror. A judicious warrior, ſuch as Edward, could not fail profiting of ſo fit a ſituation for a curb on the new-conquered country. It had natural requiſites for ſtrength; being bounded on one ſide by the arm of the ſea called the Menai; by the eſtuary of the Seiont on another, exactly where it receives the tide from the former; on a third ſide, and part of the fourth, by a creek of the Menai; and the remainder has the appearance of having the inſulation completed by art. Edward undertook this great work immediately after his conqueſt of the country in 1282, and completed the fortifications and caſtle before 1284; for his queen, on April 25th in that year, brought forth within its walls Edward, firſt prince of Wales of the Engliſh line. It was built within the ſpace of one year, by the labour of the peaſants, and at the coſt of the chieftains of the country, on whom the conqueror impoſed the hateful taſk ‖. Henry Ellerton, or de Elreton, was appointed maſter maſon of the caſtle ¶, and perhaps was the architect; and under him muſt have been numbers of other ſkilful workmen: for I dare ſay that the Welſh peaſants were no more than cutters of wood and hewers of ſtone. It is

* Caernarvon.

† Iter. Cambr. 865.

‡ This charter is to the canons of Penmon. Sebright MSS.

‖ Sebright MSS.

¶ Sebright and Gloddaeth MSS.

probable

probable that many of the materials were brought from Segontium, or the old Caernarvon; and tradition says, that much of the lime-stone, with which it is built, was brought from Twr-kelyn in Anglesey; and of the grit-stone, from Vaenol in this county. The Menai greatly facilitated the carriage from both places.

The external state of the walls and castle are at present exactly as they were in the time of Edward. The walls are defended by numbers of round towers, and have two principal gates: the east, facing the mountains: the west, upon the Menai. The entrance into the castle is very august, beneath a great tower, on the front of which appears the statue of the founder, with a dagger in his hand, as if menacing his new-acquired unwilling subjects. The gate had four portcullises, and every requisite of strength. The court is oblong. The towers are very beautiful; none of them round, but pentagonal, hexagonal, or octagonal: two are more lofty than the rest. The Eagle tower is remarkably fine, and has the addition of three slender angular turrets issuing from the top. Edward II. was born in a little dark room in this tower, not twelve feet long, nor eight in breadth: so little did, in those days, a royal consort consult either pomp or conveniency. The gate through which the affectionate Eleanor entered, to give the Welsh a prince of their own, who could not speak a word of English, is at the farthest end, at a vast height above the outside ground; so could only be approached by a draw-bridge. In his sixteenth year, the prince received the homage of his duped subjects at Chester *, invested, as marks of his dignity, with a chaplet of gold round his head, a golden ring on his finger, and a silver sceptre in his hand †.

The walls of this fortress are about seven feet nine inches thick; and have within their thickness a most convenient gallery, with narrow slips, for the discharge of arrows. The walls of the Eagle Tower are near two feet thicker. The view from its summit is very fine, of the Menai, Anglesey, and the nearer parts of the British alps.

The first whom I find appointed by Edward to be governor of the castle, was John de Havering, with a salary of two hundred marks; for which he was obliged to maintain constantly, besides his own family, fourscore men, of which fifteen were to be cross-bowmen, one chaplain, one surgeon, and one smith; the rest were to do the duty of keepers of the gates, centinels, and other necessary offices ‡.

In 1289, I find that the king had appointed Adam de Wetenhall to the same important office ‖.

The establishment for town and castle was as follows:

The constable of the castle had sometimes sixty pounds, at others only forty.

The captain of the town had 12l. 3s. 4d. for his annual fee; but this office was sometimes an-

* Powel, 382. † Dodridge's Wales, 6. ‡ Sebright MSS.
‖ Ayloff's Rotulæ Walliæ, 98.

nexed

nexed to the former, and then the fee was 60l. for both.

The conſtable and the captain had twenty-four ſoldiers allowed them for the defence of the place, at the wages of 4d. per day each. Surely this ſlight garriſon was only during peaceful times!

The porter of the gates of the town had for his annual fee 3l. 10s *.

I can diſcover no more than two inſtances of this place having ſuffered by the calamities of war. In the great inſurrection of the Welſh, under Madog, in 1294, they ſurpriſed the town during the time of a fair, and put many Engliſh to the ſword †; and, according to Mr. Carte ‡, took the caſtle, that of Snowdon (Conway), and made himſelf maſter of all Angleſey.

In the laſt century, Captain Swanly, a parlementarian officer, took the town in 1644, made four hundred priſoners, and got a great quantity of arms, ammunition, and pillage. The royaliſts afterwards repoſſeſſed themſelves of the place. Lord Byron was appointed governor; was beſieged by General Mytton in 1646, and yielded the place on the moſt honourable terms. In 1648, the general himſelf and Colonel Maſon were beſieged in it by Sir John Owen; who hearing that Colonel Carter and Colonel Twiſſelton were on the march to relieve the place, drew a party from the ſiege, in order to attack them on the way. The parties met near Llandegay: Sir John was defeated, and made priſoner; and after that all North Wales ſubmitted to the parlement ||."

An Account of the ancient Britiſh *Games; from the ſame.*

"OF Britiſh games, we had twenty-four, *Pedair Camp ar hugain*, whoſe names, as preſerved by Dr. Davies in his dictionary, I ſhall give, with their explanation, as far as in my power. Of theſe, ten were called *Gwrolgampau*, or manly games; of theſe, ſix depended on bodily ſtrength alone, and were ſtyled *Tadogion*, i. e. *Father games*, becauſe no inſtrument whatſoever was neceſſary to perform them: for they depended on the man, naked as he was born. The Greeks had their *Pentathlum*. We had one more. I. Strength to raiſe weights; II. Running; III. Leaping; IV. Swimming; V. Wreſtling; VI. Riding. I imagine that the word *Marchogaeth* extends farther than the common acceptation, and that the game intended was a conteſt between charioteers; for no people were more ſkilled in the uſe of chariots in war than the Britons: it is therefore improbable that they would not, in time of peace, exert their art in mimic combat, or in competitions of ſpeed in the feſtive field. And theſe ſix were undoubtedly original games of this iſland, and from the earlieſt of times: of others, ſome doubt may be made.

The remaining four manly games were, *O Rym-arfau*, or

* Dodridge, 56. † Powel, 380. ‡ Carte, ii. 237.
|| Whitelock, 87, 208, 311.

what

what depended on ſkill in arms. I. Archery; II. Playing with the ſword and buckler; III. Playing with the *Cleddyf Deuddwrn*, or the two-handed ſword, the antient weapon of the Britons, as exemplified in a ſtatue of a ſoldier, found in digging among the ruins of London, after the great fire in 1666*; IV. *Chwarau Ffon Ddwybig*, or playing with the two-end ſtaff; which ſeems to correſpond with the more modern quarter-ſtaff.

After theſe were the ten *Maboldgampau*, or juvenile games. Among them, three ſpecies of the chace: I. Courſing with the gre-hound; II. Fiſhing; III. Fowling. The remaining ſeven were of the domeſtic kind: I. *Bairddoniath*, or poetical competitions, of which I have before ſpoken; II. Playing upon the harp; III. Reading Welſh; IV. Singing á *Cywydd* with muſic; V. Singing a *Cywydd* between four with accents; VI. Drawing of coats of arms; VII. Heraldry. Theſe two ſeem ſo congenial, as to be unneceſſarily ſeparated.

After theſe were four *Go-gampiau*, or *Sub games*. I. *Chwarau Gwydd-bwyll*, a game like that of draughts, played with *men*, and probably the game of *fox and gooſe*, *Gwydd* ſignifying a gooſe, and *Gwerin y Wyddbwyll* the men of that game.

II. *Chwarau Tawl Bwrdd*, is probably *Back gammon*: words of Britiſh origin; *bach*, little, and *gammón* a battle, the *ſtrife of gameſters*: and *Tawl bwrdd* is literally the caſt on the table.

III. *Chwarau Ffriſteal*, or the games of the dice-box; of which we know no more than that dice had a concern in it. And IVthly, *Cyweiriaw Felyn*, or the tuning of the harp."

Extracts out of a Manuſcript Treatiſe of the Lordſhips Marchers in Wales; *taken Auguſt* 1740. *From Appendix to the ſame.*

[The Treatiſe was borrowed of Thomas Lloyd of Overton, Eſq.]

"THE treatiſe ſhews,

1. How, why, and when, the lordſhips marchers were firſt erected.

2. How, why, and when, they were ſuppreſſed. And,

3. How they may be known, and tried, at this day, from other lordſhips, that were not lordſhips marchers.

For the true knowledge and perfect underſtanding of the ſtate of lordſhips marchers in Wales, the following queſtions are fit to be moved:

1. When lordſhips marchers began in Wales?

2. How long the creating lordſhips marchers in Wales continued?

3. When the ſame was given over, and why?

4. Why they were at firſt ordained, and to what end they ſerved?

5. How they became lordſhips marchers, and to have regal authority?

6. How long they continued their force and authority from their firſt erection?

* Monfaucon's Antiq. iv. 16. tab. ix.

7. When

7. When they were ſpoiled of their liberty, and the ſame was reſumed into the king's hands?

8. Why they were deprived of their regal power?

9. How they are to be known at this day?

10. Why they were at firſt, and are now, called lordſhips marchers; and how they firſt took the name?

11. What difference is at this day between them and other lordſhips?

Wales was the refuge to the ancient Britons, when they were driven by the Saxons out of England; and there they preſerved the antient blood royal of their kings, their laws, and antient language, from the fury of the Saxons.

There continued an implacable hatred and wars between the two nations. And though the heptarchy was reduced to a monarchy by Egbert king of the Weſt-Saxons (who firſt called that part England) yet he and his ſucceſſors received no obedience or ſubjection from the kings or princes of Wales; but they held Wales as abſolute monarchs, and acknowledged no ſuperior under God.

Here Cadwallader (the laſt king of Britain of the Britiſh line) and his deſcendants, did govern the people, as their lawful kings and princes, all the time of the Saxon government.

When William the Conqueror ſubdued England, he diſpoſſeſſed the Saxon iſſue of the crown; he rooted out moſt of their nobility, and brought in his own people, the Normans: and when he was in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, the Welſh took no notice of his conqueſt over the Saxons; but accounted of it only as a war between two ſtrange nations.

Long before the Conqueſt, all Wales fell to Roderick the Great; who divided it between his three ſons: to Cadell he gave South Wales, containing 25 cantreds; to Anarawd, North Wales, of 15 cantreds; and to Mervyn, Powys, of 14 cantreds.

The iſſue of theſe three ſons poſſeſſed Wales, according to the ſaid diviſion, in the Conqueror's time; viz. Rice, ſon of Theodore, ruled South Wales; Griffith ap Conan, North Wales; and Blethyn ap Confyn, Powys. Theſe three princes would never acknowledge that the Conqueror had any ſuperiority over Wales: and for this reaſon there aroſe cruel wars between them, and they made daily incurſions on each other.

The kings of England often invaded the borders of Wales, and forced the inhabitants to fly to the mountains; and the Welſh, at other times, made divers inroads over Severn, and carried great ſpoils out of England. This ſo provoked them, that they reſolved to make a conqueſt of Wales; but the roughneſs of the country, the hills, woods, and bogs, was ſuch a protection, that a great army could hardly be brought to annoy them; but were often forced to return home with loſs. As William Rufus, and Henry II. who entered Wales three times with royal armies; king John made war upon Llewelin ap Jorwerth, prince of North Wales, and Henry III. upon Llewellin ap Griffith; which brought great loſs to themſelves,

ſelves, as well as damage to the Welſh.

The kings of England, ſeeing it difficult to make a conqueſt of Wales by a great army, gave to the lords, and other great men of England, ſuch countries in Wales as they could win from the Welſhmen. Theſe are the words of divers of their grants.

By theſe means many were drawn to bring great armies of Engliſhmen and Normans into Wales; who conquered many great lordſhips; which they held to them and their heirs for ever, of the kings of England, as lands purchaſed by conqueſt.

The kings of England having built divers ſtrong towns of garriſon on the frontiers of Wales, after the Conqueſt; ſuch as Briſtow, Glouceſter, Worceſter, Salop, and Cheſter; as places ready to chaſtiſe the Welſhmen upon all attempts, the great men began to invade the countries next to thoſe towns; as namely, Peter Corbet for Cauſe; Mortimer for Wigmore; Fitz-alan for Clun and Oſweſtry; Walter Lacy for Ewyas-Lacy; Dru de Baladan for Abergaveny; Monthault for Hawarden; Gilbert lord of Monmouth for Monmouth; Fulk Fitz-warren for Whittington; Roger le Strange for Eleſmere: and ſhortly after came Robert Fitz-hamon, with his twelve knights, into Glamorgan; Bernard Newmarch into Brecknock; Strongbow to Dyfed or Pembrokeſhire; Martin to Kemes; Morris de Londres to Cydwely and Cornwallon; Lacy Earl of Lincoln to Rhôs and Rhyvoniog, now the lordſhip of Denbigh; Brewis to Gower, Buelt, Radnor, Melenith, and Elvel; and to Roger Mortimer the country now called Chirk, then called Mochnant, and to Cynlleth and Nantheudwy; and others to other lordſhips.

That the lords might the better govern the people when ſubdued, they were ſuffered to take upon them ſuch prerogative and authority, as were fit for the quiet government of the country.

The antient hiſtoriographer, Lampridius, ſaith, that the kings of England did then uſe the ſame policy with lands on the borders of Scotland.

No record to be found in the Tower of London, or elſewhere, of any grant to be a lordſhip marcher in Wales. The king's writs, out of the courts at Weſtminſter, did not run into Wales, except Pembrokeſhire; which was counted part of England, and called Little England beyond Wales. Nor were there any ſheriffs to execute ſuch writs: but the lords did execute laws themſelves over the people which they ſubdued; which the kings permitted for a time.

No charters of theſe liberties could conveniently be granted, for three reaſons.

1. The kings of England did not know beforehand what lands a lord ſhould conquer, or whether he ſhould conquer any; and therefore could not grant any liberties within a certain precinct or territory.

2. The lords, after their conqueſt of any country, were not over-haſty to purchaſe any charter; becauſe they were not ſure but that thoſe lands might be reſtored, by compoſition between the kings of England and the princes

princes of Wales, as they ſometimes were: or they might be recovered by force, and the lords expelled. But,

3. The learned ſay, that the lords marchers had no charters of ſuch liberties, becauſe the liberties were of ſo high a nature, ſo royal, and ſo united to the crown, that, by the law, it was not in the king's power to grant them from the crown.

The government by lords marchers continued in Wales till the time of Henry VIII. who, perceiving the Welſh to live in quietneſs and ſubjection, thought they might be governed by civil laws, as the Engliſh were. And therefore, anno 27, c. 24, he reſumed moſt of thoſe juriſdictions into his own hands, and appointed juſtices of peace, ſheriffs, and other officers; and divided the country into ſhires. He governed them by the laws of England; and left little or no authority to the lords marchers.

The lords, at their conqueſt of the country, built caſtles for themſelves, and towns for their followers, in the moſt fertile part: and by this means the towns and caſtles in Wales were built, as may be ſeen in the antient charters of thoſe towns.

Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordweſt, by Strongbow; William de Valence, and the Haſtings, being his poſterity: Newport, by Martin Lord of Kemes: Cydwely, by Londres; and augmented afterwards by the Duke of Lancaſter, to whom it came by marriage.

Swanſey, Oyſtermouth, Loghor, Radnor, Buelt, Raiadr, and others, by the Brewiſes; from whom they came to the Mortimers and Beauchamps, by a female iſſue of Brewis: Brecknock, by Bernard Newmarch.

Blaen-Llyfney, by Herbert: Caerdiff and Cowbridge, by Fitzhamon, and the Earls of Glouceſter: Neath, by Greenfield: Abergaveny, by Dru de Baladan, Miles Earl of Hereford, and others, his poſterity: Ruthin, by Lord Grey: Denbigh, by Lacy Earl of Lincoln.

Some of theſe were towns before the Conqueſt; but, being deſtroyed in the winning of them, they were rebuilt by the lords.

The lords held their lordſhips of the kings of England in chief, as of the crown immediate, by ſerving the king in his wars with certain numbers of men; and they were bound to keep their caſtles with ſufficient men and munition, for the keeping of the king's enemies in ſubjection.

They executed the Engliſh laws, for the moſt part, within their lordſhips; and brought them to be of Engliſh tenure; and to paſs the ſame according to the laws of England, by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of ſeiſin. But ſuch parts as they left to the antient inhabitants to poſſeſs, were by ſome lords ſuffered to be held after the old Welſh cuſtom, the laws of Howel Dda; which was, to paſs the ſame by ſurrender in court (which they called Côf Lys, and Yſtyn Wialen, whereof the word Yſtynnol was derived); and where that cuſtom was permitted, there is no deed to be found of any lands before the 27th Henry VIII. when Wales was made ſhire-ground; but, for ſuch lands as

were turned to Engliſh tenures, you may find deeds of two, three, or four hundred years paſt, written in Latin, or French, as was uſed in England in thoſe days.

The laws of England were brought in by the lords marchers, becauſe the laws of the land were unknown to the Engliſh: but they ſuffered the antient tenants to retain ſome part of the old Welſh laws; ſuch as the uſe of gavelkind, for parting lands between the brothers, and the paſſing of lands by ſurrender in court. And for this, in many lordſhips, there is a Welſh court for the Welſhmen, called Welchrie; and another for the Engliſh, called Engliſhrie. In ſome lordſhips the lands were divided by gavelkind, but paſſed by feoffments; from whence comes Engliſh tenure, and Welſh dole: in Welſh, Cyfraith Saeſnig, a Rhan-Cymraig. And the lords had the wardſhip of all the brethren, as if they had been ſiſters.

The lords marchers increaſed in number, till Llewellin ap Griffith, the laſt prince of Wales, was ſlain, anno 11 Ed. I. who then took the principality of Wales into his hands, and gave it to Edward II. his ſon, and made him prince of Wales. Since which time no more lordſhips marchers could be erected; for the Welſh in general ſubmitted themſelves to the kings of England.

Since the principality came to the kings of England, no lord marcher could claim any liberty or prerogative, more than they had before, without a grant.

Edward I. immediately held a parliament at Ruthlan caſtle; and there ordained laws and officers, to govern Wales after the Engliſh manner.

The lordſhip of Powys had not its original from conqueſt, as the lordſhips marchers had; but in this manner:

Griffith, ſon of Meredith ap Blethyn, lord of Powys, ſeeing the king of England, and Engliſh lords, preparing themſelves to conquer Wales, did, in diſcretion and policy, ſubmit himſelf to Henry I. and yielded to hold his lordſhip of the king of England in chief, as the lords marchers did, and to do the king the like ſervice; and thereupon was ſuffered to hold the ſame to him and his heirs; and was created lord Powys by the ſaid Henry I. and made baron of the parliament of England.

His deſcendant, Hawys Gadarn, fell to be the king of England's ward, by reaſon of the alteration of the tenure in capite; who gave her in marriage to a valiant gentleman of his, named John Charlton. And ſo the lordſhip of Powys came to the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh lords. (Mowthwy, and others, did the ſame). Theſe (with the lords marchers) held their lordſhips of the kings in chief, and not of the princes of Wales.

The lord of Powys thus ſubmitting himſelf to the king of England, the comots in that lordſhip continue whole and entire to this day; and there is a court baron in every one of them. But the lords marchers, to reward thoſe that aſſiſted them in their conqueſts, gave them divers manors; and ſo divided the comots into ſeveral parts, and erected a court-

court-baron in each. The comots were ſix; Carcinion, Mechan uwch-Coed, Mechan is-Coed, Mochnant, Llannerch-hûdol, and Yſtrad-marchell.

The like may be found in the counties of Angleſey, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Carmarthen, and Cardigan; where the antient comots remain entire, without alteration; and retain their antient names and bounds, and keep the ſame courts. The reaſon is, becauſe they were not conquered by the lords marchers, but continued in the hands of the princes of Wales, till Llewellin, the laſt prince, was ſlain by Edward I.

It appears by antient record, that the lordſhip of Bromefield and Yale, antiently called Dinas Brân, being the chief caſtle of the lordſhip, came to the poſſeſſion of Engliſh lords, as follows:

Emma, daughter to Lord Audley, and widow to Griffith ap Madog, Lord of Bromefield and Yale, Chirk, Nantheudwy, Maelor, and other lands, parcel of antient Powys, having four ſons, between whom their father's inheritance was divided; ſtrife grew between her and her huſband's kindred about the cuſtody of her ſons: they fearing, that if the ſons ſhould be brought up by the mother in England, they would become Engliſh; and rather incline to the king of England, than to the princes of Wales. But the mother getting into her poſſeſſion the two eldeſt, Madog and Llewellin; the firſt having to his part Bromefield and Yale, and the other, Chirk and Nantheudwy; and not being able to keep them to herſelf, nor to remain in quiet upon her jointure, ſhe delivered her ſons to Edward I. ſhewing that by right they were his wards, becauſe their anceſtors had formerly made their ſubmiſſion to the kings of England. The king took them to his ward; and committed Madog, the eldeſt, to the care of John Earl Warren; and Llewellin to Roger Mortimer, third ſon to Ralph Lord Mortimer, of Wigmore. The two guardians having the ſons and their lands in their cuſtody, Earl Warren built the caſtle of Holt in Bromefield, and Roger Mortimer the caſtle of Chirk, and placed garriſons of Engliſh in each, to defend the country from the Welſh. And the wards dying ſhortly after, without iſſue, the ſaid guardians ſtill kept the lands, and obtained grants of the king to hold the ſame, 10th of Edward I. only the caſtle of Hope, and lands thereto belonging, were reſerved to the king in Earl Warren's grant. The antient rent of Bromefield and Yale was 730l. a year.

Emma being moleſted in her jointure, becauſe ſhe had delivered her ſons to the king, and ſo procured the coming of thoſe lords to build the caſtles of Bromefield and Chirk, ſhe deſired the king to take Maelor, her jointure, and to give her lands in England for it; which the king did, and ſo got into poſſeſſion of Maelor Saeſnaeg, and held the ſame ever after; not ſuffering any of the heirs to have it, pretending that they were rebels againſt him.

No lord marcher without a caſtle, and a ſufficient garriſon to ſuppreſs ſuch of the Welſh as ſhould annoy the king's ſubjects; and therefore all caſtles had towns

close to them, inhabited by the Englifh. And, by 4 Henry IV. c. 32, it is enacted, that caftles and walled towns in Wales fhould be poffeffed by valiant Englifhmen, ftrangers to the feigniories.

The charters of thofe towns give great liberty to the Englifh; but no Welfhmen might be a burgefs, or purchafe any land therein; fee 2 Henry IV. c. 12. and 20. It was alfo enacted, that no Welfhman fhould have any caftle or fortrefs, faving fuch as was in the time of Edward I. except bifhops and temporal lords.

The more to encourage the Englifh to conquer Wales, the kings of England created them peers of the realm, by the name of lords baron of the places they conquered. Their number once was twenty-one; but now are reduced to one, viz. Abergaveny, who is the firft lord baron of England. The reft loft their name and place, by coming either to the crown, or to lords who had other places and titles in parliament. The caftles in Wales were about 143.

The Welfh fubmitted to Henry VII. becaufe he was paternally defcended from their princes: and his fon, Henry VIII. made feveral ftatutes for the future government of them, anno 27.

Lords marchers feized on the goods of their tenants, who died inteftate.

All the lordfhips marchers have loft their antient jurifdictions and authorities, which were the common figns whereby they were known; fo that it is now a doubt which were fuch lordfhips. But they may ftill be known by feveral tokens.

1. There can be no lordfhip marcher but fuch as was fubdued before the death of Prince Llewellin.

2. Such lordfhip muft be held of the king in chief, and not of the principality of Wales.

3. It muft have been in antient time the inheritance of fome Englifh lord.

4. If any fuit arofe about the title, it was to be pleaded at common law, in Weftminfter-Hall; and there were fines levied of thofe lordfhips, and none other in Wales.

5. The efcheator of the marches of Wales did in antient time inquire of the tenure, and find *office poft mortem* of the lord; and that by writ out of the chancery of England. And as thofe lordfhips were not in any fhire in England, and the king had no efcheators to enquire of the tenure of them, the fame was laid on the efcheator of the next Englifh fhire. And fuch efcheators had the charge, care, and furvey of all lordfhips marches that were holden of the king. And fuch efcheator was to go into any lordfhip marcher in Wales, and fwear an inqueft, and find an office after the death of the lord, and inquire of the tenure and value of the lordfhip.——*N. B.* All offices of other manors, that were holden of the king, as of his principality, were found, by virtue of writs out of the king's exchequer, of Caernarvon, or Chefter, for North Wales; and Carmarthen, or Cardigan, for South Wales; and out of Pembroke, for lands in that earldom.

6. Thefe lords, by ftat. 24 Henry VIII. c. 9, have the penalty

nalty for killing of wainlings, and for non-appearance at their courts; and, by ſtat. 26 Henry VIII. c. 4, and 27, c. 26, they have the forfeiture of common mainprize, recognizances, mizes; power to keep court-barons and court-leets; and to have waifs, ſtrays, infangthefe, outfangthefe, treaſure-trove, deodands, goods and chattels of felons, perſons condemned, and outlawed: and alſo wreck de mere, wharfage, and cuſtom of ſtrangers.

From the river Tiſi, in South Wales, to the river Conwy, in North Wales, there was no lordſhip marcher; but all that country remained wholly to the princes of Wales, until the principality came to the crown by Prince Llewellin's death.

As the river Severn was the antient limit between Wales and England, a doubt hath ariſen, why all the land that is over that river, viz. all Herefordſhire, and ſo much as is part of Glouceſterſhire, Worceſterſhire, and Shropſhire, had not been lordſhips marchers, as the reſt of Wales was, that was won ſince the Conqueſt.

The reaſon is this: all Herefordſhire, and thoſe parts of the other counties, were won from the Welſh in, or ſhortly after, the time of Offa king of Mercia. The Welſh were expelled thence; the country was new planted with Engliſhmen; and this was long before the dividing of England into ſhires. The ſame was annexed to the kingdom of Mercia; and ſo, as part of that kingdom, it came to the hands of king Alfred, who firſt divided England into ſhires. He finding thoſe countries ſubdued, and the Welſh expelled, divided them with the reſt on the other ſide Severn. He added part to Glouceſterſhire, part to Worceſterſhire, and part to Shropſhire; and made Herefordſhire a ſhire of itſelf.

Here lies the difference between conquering of Wales by the Saxons and the Normans.

So much of Wales as the Saxon kings won, they did it at their own charge, and for their own uſe; and did not ſuffer their ſubjects to deal therein. But the Norman conqueror, contenting himſelf with the realm of England, did not bend his forces againſt Wales more than he was forced to do, by their invading of his people and country; and he, and his ſucceſſors, thought it better policy to give to the nobility ſuch parts of Wales as they could conquer.

Herefordſhire was not won ſince the Conqueſt, appears from the lordſhip of Urchinfield; which is antient demeſne-lands; ſuch as is not to be found in England, but what was in the poſſeſſion of its kings before the Conqueſt. See Silas Taylor, of Urchinfield, in his Hiſtory of Gavelkind, p. 106: and Humphrey Lhwyd, in his Fragment of the Deſcription of Wales; his Latin book, p. 52, firſt edition; Engliſh tranſlation, p. 63: whoſe words, as Bryan Twyne tranſlates, are, Gwyr Reunwe makes one of the ſix ſtates, that met at the mouth of the river Dyvi, to chuſe Maelgwyn Gwynedd king, about the year 560. P. 74, of his Breviary of Britain.

Not far from thence, viz. Lamſtre, or Llanlieni, is the antient city Henfford, ſtanding upon Wye,

or more truly Gwy; in old time called Ferleg, now Hereford.

Towards Severn are Malvern hills; and in the corner between Severn and Wye, not far from the town of Roſs, is that renowned wood, which, ſom the Danes, is called the foreſt of Dean.

Theſe regions, with all Herefordſhire beyond Wye, before they were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, were termed, in Britiſh, Euryenwe; and the inhabitants, Eurnwyr: of which there remains ſomewhat in the word Urchinfield. The Welſh called it Ernig, and afterwards Ergenel; and no marvel, ſince the left portion thereof retains now the name of Powys.

It appears by ſome records in the Tower,

1. That King Edward I. anno 11, (when he ſlew Prince Llewellin, and thereby got poſſeſſion of the principality of Wales) being at Aberconwy, and fearing that there would be a ſcarcity of victuals, wrote to the officers of all the good towns and countries in South Wales, (that were ſubdued by the lords marchers) that they ſhould cauſe victuals to be brought out of thoſe parts to Montgomery, in Quindena Paſchæ next following, to furniſh the king's army. In this manner:

Ballivis mercatoribus et probis hominibus de -	Swanſey.
This is the chief town of the lordſhip of Gower.	
Majori, ballivis, probis hominibus et mercatoribus de	Briſtol.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Cardiff.
The chief town of Glamorgan.	
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Strongoule.
The chief town of Netherwent in Monmouthſhire.	
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Haverford.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Pembroke.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Thalgarn.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	St° Claro.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Kemys.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Kilgaran.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Caerleon.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Caermardyn.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Cardigan.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Brecknock.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Kydwely.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Uſke.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Lanſtephan.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Auſtedyn.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Monmouth.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Bergaveny.
Ballivis, &c. de - - -	Blenllevny.

Ranulph, monk of Cheſter, ſaith (l. 7. c. 38. fol. 379.) that Prince Llewellin was ſlain about the feaſt of St. Lucy.

2. That King Edward II. in his wars againſt Robert de Bruce, king of Scotland, wrote to theſe lords marchers, to ſend to his aid a certain

a certain number of men, there mentioned, out of their ſeveral lordſhips. His letters patents are dated June 18, anno 3 Edward II.

The ſame king, in the ſame year, writes to thoſe lords, to abate a certain number of their men; becauſe he did not want them.

King Edward III. fearing the invaſion of the Scots, writes to the lords marchers, to have the ſea-coaſt watched, the men of the country armed, their caſtles ſtrengthened and furniſhed, and themſelves to act as lieutenants in their ſeveral lordſhips. Dat. apud Berewicum ſuper Twedam, Jun. 24, anno regni 10.

And he appoints William de la Zouch de Mort. Mari, and Gilbert Talbot (his juſtices of South Wales) to be captains and leaders of the ſaid lords and their people againſt the Scots, if they ſhould invade thoſe parts.

N. B. The king did not write to any part of the ſix ſhires which were the principality of Wales; but only to ſuch parts as were ſubdued by the lords marchers; who held their lordſhips immediately of the king. The king had men out of the principality-lands, to ſerve him in thoſe wars; but the commiſſions are not to be found among the king's records in the Tower. For the prince of Wales (who then held the principality) wrote for men out of the principality, to ſerve his father in his wars.

The records of this remain among the prince's records; and are not to be found among the records in the Tower.

Account of Sir Richard Bulkeley; *in which is a ſtrong Deſcription of the Tyranny of the favorite Earl of* Leiceſter. *From the ſame.*

SIR Rich[d] Bulkeley ſerved in parl[t] for the county of Angleſey, the 2[d] and 3[d] ſeſſions of Q. Mary, the 3[d] of Eliz. and 1[st] of James.

He was of goodly perſon, fair of complexion, and tall of ſtature. He was temperate in his dyet, not drinking of healths. In his habit, he never changed his faſhion; but always wore round breeches, and thick bumbaſt doublets, though very gallant and rich. In the laſt year of Queen Eliz. being then ſomewhat ſtricken in years, he attended the counſil of marches at Ludlow, in wintertime. When the lord preſident Zouch went in his coach to church, or elſewhere, Sir Richard uſed to ride on a great ſtone horſe; and ſome time he wo[d] go from his lodging to church, in froſt and ſnow, on foot, with a ſhort cloak, ſilk ſtockings, a great rapier and dagger, tarry all prayers and ſermon in very cold weather; inſomuch y[t] L[d] Zouch was wont to ſay, he was cold to ſee him.

He was a great reader of hiſtory, and diſcourſes of all eſtates and countries; of very good memory; and underſtanding in matters belonging to houſekeeping, huſbandry, maritime affayres, building of ſhips, and maintaining them at ſea. He drew his own letters, and anſwered all letters with his own hand: and being complayned of at the counſil

of the marches for breach of an order of that court, he drew his own anſwer—that he co^d not be evicted out of his poſſeſſion but by courſe of common law—pleaded Magna Charta—and demanded judgement: which anſwer being put into court, the chief juſtice, Sir Richard Shuttleworth, called for a ſight thereof; and after peruſal, ſaid to the counſellors at the bar, "Look, my maſters, what a bone S^r Rich^d Bulkeley hath caſt into the court, for you to tire upon; and the matter being argued, it was referred to the comon law.

He was a great houſekeeper, and entertainer of ſtrangers, eſpecially ſuch as paſſed to or from Ireland. He nobly entertained the Earl of Eſſex in his way there, to be lord lieutent. He made proviſion of all neceſſaries for his table beforehand. He ſent yearly two ſhips to Greenland for cod, ling, and other fiſh; which he did uſe to barter in Spain for Malaga and ſherrie wines; and always kept a good ſtocke of old ſack in his cellar, which he called *Amabile*, beſides other wines. He kept two parks well ſtored with Red and Fallow Deer; w^ch did afford ſuch plenty of veniſon, as furniſhed his table 3 or 4 times every week in the ſeaſon, beſides pleaſuring of friends. He kept ſeveral farms, beſides his demeſne, in his hands, w^ch furniſhed his houſe with fat beef, mutton, lamb, &c. &c. He was an excellent horſeman, and an expert tilter; keeping two great ſtables of horſes, one in Cheſhire, and another in Beaumaris, and a great ſtudd of mares. His eſtate in Angleſey was 2500l. in Carnarvonſhire 800l. and in Cheſhire 1000l. a year: having always a great ſtock of ready money lying in his cheſt. He kept many ſervants and attendants, tall and proper men: two lacqueys in livery always ran by his horſe: he never went from home without 20 or 24 to attend him. He was a great favorite of Queen Eliz. He had powerful freinds at court, and had the gentry and commonalty of the county of Angleſey at his ſervice, except the Woods of Rhoſmore, who were always his ennemies.

He had great conteſts with Dudley Earl of Leiceſter; who obtayned the queens letters patents under the great ſeal, to be chief ranger of the forreſt of Snowdon: in which office he behaved very injuriouſly to the counties of Merioneth, Carnarvon, and Angleſey; attempting to bring within the bounds and limits of that forreſt moſt of the freeholders lands in thoſe 3 counties; and for that purpoſe the earl procured ſeveral commiſſions from the queen to inquire of encroachments and concealments of lands. The return of the jury, in Angleſey, not being agreeable to the earls commiſſioners, they went in a rage to Carnarvon, forcibly entered the exchequer there, ranſacked the records, and carried away what they pleaſed; but the earl, after making many attempts, to the great grievance of the country, was obliged to deſiſt, being defeated in all ſchemes upon Snowdon, by the power and intereſt and ſpirit of Sir Rich^d Bulkeley. But, *manet alta mente repoſtum*, the earl bore a poyſonous hatred to Sir Rich^d; yet he continued

tinued ſtill in favor with the queen and counſel; though often moleſted by the earl, his agents and creatures.

Sr Richard being one of the deputy lewtenants of Angleſey, (upon intelligence of the Spaniſh Armadas threatening England) was to ceſſe the country in arms; and ceſſing Mr. Woods of Rhoſmore, he was highly offended, and thought himſelf too heavily loaden: therefore went up to court to the Earl of Leiceſter, carrying a falſe tale with him, that Sir Richard Bulkeley (a little before the attainder and execution of Thos Saluſbury, one of the accomplices of Anthy Babington, the traytor, 1585) had been in the mountains of Snowdon conferring with him, and that at a farm of Sir Richards, called Cwmligie, they had layne together two or 3 nights. The earl, glad of this information, preſently acquaints the queen and council therewith. Sir Richard being called before the council, and examined, abſolutely denied the whole matter. And when the earl, at yt time preſident of the queens counſil, did ſeverely inforce it agt him, he told the earl to his face, "Your father, and the very ſame men as now informe againſt me, were like to undoe my father; for, upon the death of K. Edw. 6, by letters from your father, he was commanded to proclayme Queen Jane, and to muſter the country; which he did accordingly: and had not my mother been one of Queen Maries maids of honor, he had come to great trouble and danger." Hearing theſe words, the counſil huſhed, and roſe; and Sir Richard departed. The earl haſtened to the queen, and told her the counſil had been examining Sir Richard Bulkeley about matters of treaſon; that they found him a dangerous perſon, and ſaw cauſe to comit him to the Tower; and that he dwellt in a ſuſpicious corner of the world. "What! Sir Richard Bulkeley!" ſaid the queen; "he never intended us any harm. We have brought him up from a boy, and have had ſpecial tryal of his fidelity: you ſhall not comit him." "We," ſaid the earl, "who have the care of your majeſtys perſon, ſee more and hear more of the man than you doe: he is of an aſpiring mind, and lives in a remote place." "Before God (replyed the queen) we will be ſworn upon the holy Evangeliſts, he never intended us any harm;" and ſo ran to the Bible and kiſſed it, ſaying, "You ſhall not comitt him: we have brought him up from a boy." Then the lords of the counſill wrote a letter to Dr Hugh Bellot, lord biſhop of Bangor, to examine the truth of the accuſation layd to Sir Richards charge: which the biſhop found falſe and forged; and ſo certifyed to the counſil. Whereupon he was cleared, to the queens majeſtys great content, to the abundant joy of his country, and to his own great credit and reputation: and afterwards diverſe of the lords of the councell wrote letters to the juſtices of aſſize of North Wales, to publiſh Sir Richards wrongs, and to notify to the queens ſubjects his clear innocence.

But that Sir Richard might not reſt in peace, one Green, belonging to the Earl of Leiceſter, in the

the name of one Bromfeild, a penſioner, came to him, to challenge him to meet Bromfeild in the feild. "Have you no other errand (quoth Sir Richard)?" "No," ſays Green. Then Sr Richard drew his dagger, and broke Greens pate, telling him to carry that as his anſwer; he ſcorning to meet ſuch a knave as Bromfeild. This treatment of Green highly encreaſed the anger of the earl. Bromfeild, Green, and others of his retayners, plotted miſchief to the perſon of Sir Richard; but he ſtood upon his guard, keeping always 24 ſtout men, with ſwords, bucklers, and daggers, to defend him from their attempts. They hired boats and wherries upon the Thames, with a deſign to drown Sir Richard, as he ſhod go from Weſtminſter to London; but he, being privately informed thereof, borrowed the lord mayor of Londons barge, furniſhed it with men, muſquetts, billets, drums, and trumpets, and rowed along the Thames, ſhot the bridge, and went down to Greenwich, where the queen kept her court at that time; and at the landing place, over againſt the pallace, he cauſed his companie to diſcharge their muſquets, to beat their drums, and ſound their trumpets. The Earl of Leyceſter hearing thereof, repaired to the queen, and informed her that Sir Richard Bulkeley, more like a rebel than a ſubject, had come with barges, men, muſquetts, drums, and trumpetts; and had ſhot ſeveral pieces over againſt her majeſtys palace, to the great terror of her court; a matter not to be ſuffered. The queen ſent for Sir Richard, and, after hearing his apology for himſelf, made the earl freinds with him. Within a while after, the earl ſent for Sr Richard to his chamber; who coming thither, the earl began to expoſtulate with him on ſeveral wrongs and abuſes he pretended to have received at his hands; and that he had loſt 10,000l. by his oppoſition. But the diſcourſe ended in milder terms, and Sir Richard was bidden to dinner; but did eat or drink nothing, ſave of what he ſaw the earl taſt, remembring Sir Nics Throgmorton, who was ſaid to have received a fig at his table.

But the Earl of Lyceſter dying in Octr 1588, Sir Richard Bulkeley, and his country, enjoyed peace and quietneſs from his tyrannical oppreſſions, his devices and wicked practiſes: and Sir Richard ſurvived to the 28 June 1621, when he dyed, aged 88. He had attended the coronation of ye queens Mary and Elizabeth, and of James the 1ſt. His cloak, at this laſt coronation, coſt him 500l.

Account of two ancient Oil-Mills *Tranſlated from the* Notizie Enciclopediche *of* Milan, *Number* XXXVII. *for the Year* 1782. *From the* London Magazine *for December* 1783.

THE fame of the two oil-mills diſcovered, one in the ancient Pompeja, the other in the excavations of Stabia, in the kingdom of Naples, has been rapidly ſpread. In the public papers of Venice and Florence of laſt year, they were mentioned with

with high encomiums; but we are now informed, by a judicious obſerver, that the deſcription given by former delineators is defective, and that the following may be depended on, as true and genuine. We, therefore, publiſh it with pleaſure, as it treats of a machine which does honour to the genius of the ancients, and to the ſimplicity of their inventions, and which could not have fallen from its rank as a valuable piece of mechaniſm, but with the loſs of all their other ingenious diſcoveries, after the lamentable invaſion of the barbarians.

This machine is compoſed of two ſpheres, one hollow, the other ſolid; the convexity of the one being fitted to the concavity of the other; with this difference, that of the one, only half is employed, cut in a block of ſtone, in form of a large mortar, of the other, only two ſegments of the ſame materials. To have a clearer idea, the former may be compared to the horizon in an armillary ſphere, the two latter to the two portions of the ſame ſphere cut off vertically by the polar circles. The external diameter of the concave hemiſphere, or mortar, is about half a Neapolitan ell, the brim is ſix inches thick, conſequently the internal diameter is twelve inches leſs than the external. We conceive, however, that theſe proportions may be varied, according to the hardneſs of the ſtone. The two of which we ſpeak, are of the lava of Veſuvius, which is both friable and porous in no inconſiderable degree.

From the bottom of the concave hemiſphere riſes a cylinder, or ſmall column, a palm and ſix inches in circumference, and nearly two inches higher than the periphery or brim of the mortar. On the top of the cylinder an iron pivot is fixed with lead, on which turns a wooden axle, ſtrengthened by an iron rod running through it from end to end. To the extremities of this axle the two ſegments ought to be fixed, nearly in the ſame manner in which we fix the two ſmall wheels of our chariots. This is ſufficiently evident from one extremity, which may ſtill be ſeen unconſumed by the fire of the eruption in the mill of Pompeja. It exhibits no appearance of having been lengthened, but is cut ſhort off where the ſmall part of the axle ought to be. Hence, alſo, we may conjecture, that a handle or pole, drawn by an animal, or worked by a man, muſt have been contrived to give motion to the ſegments. And this ſeems to have been divided in two, like a fork, and made faſt with two braces to the two oppoſite ends of the axle.

The advantages of this ancient mill over the modern are many. The perfect coincidence of the concave and convex ſurfaces of the two ſpheres preſents an infinitely greater number of points for the trituration of the olives, than the periphery of the mill-ſtone, or vertical wheel, touching a plane, as in the modern. The double motion too of rotation round the axis, and circumvolution round the cylinder, like that of the planets, multiplies every inſtant the points of attrition, and proportionally ſhortens the time of the grinding. In fact, it appears from

from the trial made before his majesty, by the Marquis Grimaldi, that a quantity of olives, which the modern mill employs half an hour, is ground in the ancient in a minute and an half.

The ancient, moreover, in the first grinding, crushes only the pulp, and, consequently, produces the most perfect virgin oil for the use of the table, which, from the perfection to which the sun brings the fruit in this climate, does not yield in the least to the most delicate butter of the north, and after some years, becomes balsam, as experience has long shewn in Calabria, and other southern parts of Naples. After the olives, thus mashed, have been squeezed in the press, or *trappeto*, for so it is called by the ancient Greek name, in these provinces, they are again poured into the mill, and the axle being lowered by removing a small pin, the stones are also triturated. But as the heterogeneous juice of them incorporates with the remaining oil, it produces a mixture of inferior quality, which would be fit only for making soap or manufacturing cloth. The coarse palates, however, of labourers, do not disdain to use it in dressing their victuals.

MISCEL-

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Difference between Memory *and* Imagination; *from Diſſertations* Moral *and* Critical *by* J. Beattie, *L. L. D. Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy and Logick in the Mariſchal College and Univerſity of* Aberdeen; *and Member of the* Zealand Society *of Arts and Sciences.*

SOME philoſophers refer to memory all our livelier thoughts, and our fainter ones to imagination: and ſo will have it, that the former faculty is diſtinguiſhed from the latter by its ſuperior vivacity. We believe, ſay they, in memory; we believe not in imagination: now we never believe any thing, but what we diſtinctly comprehend; and that, of which our comprehenſion is indiſtinct, we diſbelieve.—But this is altogether falſe. The ſuggeſtions of imagination are often ſo lively, in dreaming, and in ſome intellectual diſorders, as to be miſtaken for real things; and therefore cannot be ſaid to be eſſentially fainter than the informations of memory. We may be conſcious too of remembering that whereof we have but a faint impreſſion. I remember to have read books, of which I cannot now give any account; and to have ſeen perſons, whoſe features and viſible appearance I have totally forgotten. Nor is it true, that we believe, or diſbelieve, according to the vivacity, or the faintneſs, of our ideas. No man will ſay, that he has a diſtinct idea of eternity; and yet, every rational being muſt believe, that one eternity is paſt, and another to come. I have a livelier idea of Parſon Adams, than of the impoſtor Mahomet; and yet I believe the former to be an imaginary character, and the latter to have been a real man. I read, not long ago, Vertot's Revolutions of Sweden, and the Adventures of Tom Jones: I believe the hiſtory, and I diſbelieve the novel; and yet, of the novel I have a more lively remembrance, than of the hiſtory.*

Memory and imagination, therefore, are not to be diſtinguiſhed, according to the livelineſs or faintneſs of the ideas ſuggeſted by the one, or by the other. The former may be faint, while the latter is lively: nay, a great poet has obſerved, that,

> Where beams of warm Imagination play,
> The Memory's ſoft figures melt away†:

A maxim, which, though not always, will ſometimes be found to

* See an Eſſay on Truth, Part I. Chap. ii. Sect. 4.

† Pope's Eſſay on Criticiſm.

hold

hold true.—Beſides, belief may be ſaid to imply diſbelief. If I believe the exiſtence of Julius Ceſar, I diſbelieve his non-exiſtence. If I admit the hiſtory of that commander to be true, I reject every ſuſpicion of its being falſe. And yet, of Julius Ceſar, and his actions, my ideas are equally clear, whether I believe or diſbelieve. The faculties in queſtion I would therefore diſtinguiſh in the following manner.

"I *remember* to have ſeen a lion; "and I can *imagine* an elephant, "or a centaur, which I have ne"ver ſeen:"—he, who pronounces theſe words with underſtanding, *knows* the difference between the two faculties, though perhaps he may not be able to *explain* it. When we remember, we have always a view to real exiſtence, and to our paſt experience; it occurs to our minds, in regard to this thing which we now remember, that we formerly heard it, or perceived it, or thought of it †; "I remember to have ſeen a lion:" —When we imagine, we contemplate a certain thought, or idea, ſimply as it is in itſelf, or as we conceive it to be, without referring it to paſt experience, or to real exiſtence; "I can imagine ſuch a "figure as that of the elephant, "though I have never ſeen one; "or a centaur, with the head and "ſhoulders of a man joined to "the body of a horſe, though I "know that there is no ſuch ani"mal on earth." I remember what has actually happened, and what, in conſequence of my remembering, I believe to have happened: I can imagine a ſeries of adventures, which never did, or which never can, happen. He who writes the hiſtory of his own life, or who compiles a narrative from the books he has read, is guided by the informations of memory: he who compoſes a romance, puts thoſe things in writing, which are ſuggeſted by his imagination.

A friend deſcribes an adventure, in which he ſays that he and I were engaged twenty years ago, and informs me of what I ſaid and did on the occaſion. I tell him, that I can diſtinctly imagine every thing he relates, but that I remember nothing of it. He mentions a circumſtance, which on a ſudden brings the whole to my memory. You are right, I then ſay; for now I remember it perfectly well. At firſt, I could only imagine the facts he ſpoke of: but, though I might believe his word, I could not recal any experience of mine, by which, in this particular caſe, it might be verified. But now, my memory informs me, that the adventure was real, and that I was an agent in it, and an eye-witneſs. Hence it appears, that in ſome caſes imagination may become remembrance. And it may be further obſerved, that remembrance will ſometimes decay, till it be nothing more than imagination: as when we retain the appearance of an object, without being able to affirm with certainty, where we perceived, or whether we ever perceived it: a ſtate of mind, which one is conſcious of, when one ſays, "I either ſaw ſuch "a thing, or I dreamed of it."

† Αει γαρ ὁταν ἐνεργῇ κατα τὸ μνημονευειν, ἐτως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ λεγει, ὁτι πρότερον τὸτο ἠκουσεν, ἢ ἑωρακε, ἢ ἐνόησεν. Ariſtot. de Memoria et Reminiſcentia, cap. 1.

Of

Of Accent. *Its Nature and Uſe.— Standard of Pronunciation. From the* Theory *of* Language, *in the ſame Work.*

EMPHASIS is the work of the lungs; but ACCENT is performed by the contraction or dilatation of the glottis. For, while we ſpeak with underſtanding, our voice is continually varying, not only its emphaſis, but alſo its *tone*, from acute to grave, and from grave to acute. This is Accent. Inaccurate obſervers are not ſenſible of it in themſelves, but think they ſpeak without any tone; though at the ſame time they allow, that people who come from a diſtance have a tone in their ſpeech, that is perceptible enough, and not very agreeable. And the ſtranger complains of their accent in the ſame terms, and with equal juſtice.

Thus I have heard a man of Edinburgh ſay, We have no tone; our voice in ſpeaking is uniform, and not more grave, or more acute at one time, than at another; but go to Glaſgow, and there you will hear a tone; or go to Aberdeen, and you will hear a tone ſtill more remarkable, though of a different kind Nay, a Londoner, a man of wit and genius, affirmed in my hearing, that the Engliſh ſpoken in the metropolis was for this particular reaſon the moſt elegant, becauſe there, in polite company, the ſpeech was unaccented, whereas, in every other part of the Britiſh empire, people ſpoke with a tone. And a clergyman of Virginia aſſured me very ſeriouſly, that the Engliſh of that province was the beſt in the world; and aſſigned the ſame reaſon in favour of the Virginian pronunciation. But every word theſe gentlemen ſpoke was to my ear a convincing proof, that they were miſtaken. It is true, the North-American Engliſh accent is not ſo animated, as that of Middleſex, and the adjoining counties; but it is very perceptible notwithſtanding. In fact, there is no ſuch thing in language as monotony, or a continuation of the ſame note in ſpeech, without ever riſing above, or falling below it. Some children are taught to read in this manner; but their pronunciation is inſipid and ridiculous. And though a man, who has a muſical ear, and the command of his voice, might no doubt utter many words without any variation of accent, yet, if he were to ſpeak ſo in company, he would be ſuppoſed to have loſt his wits.

But, if every body ſpeak with a tone, why, it may be ſaid, does not every body perceive his own, as well as his neighbours? It may be anſwered, that ſome, nay that many, perſons do perceive their own accent; and that they, who do not, become inſenſible of it by habit. We ſometimes meet with thoſe who have acquired a cuſtom of ſpeaking very loud, or very low, and yet are not ſenſible, that they ſpeak lower or louder than other people. Nay profane ſwearers have been heard to affirm with an oath, that they were not ſwearing. Our native accent, eſpecially if we have never been from home, being continually in our ear, it is no wonder that we ſhould not diſcern its peculiarities. But let a man, who has been born and bred in Aberdeen, live two

or

or three years in Edinburgh or London; and he ſhall become both inſenſible to the tone of the place of his reſidence, and alſo ſenſible of the accent that adheres to the dialect of his native town. In England, in Ireland, in the ſouth and and in the north of Scotland, the people ſpeak dialects of one and the ſame language: and yet it is not difficult to know, by the tone of his voice in ſpeaking, even before we hear him ſo plainly as to diſtinguiſh the words, whether the ſpeaker be of England or of Ireland, a native of Lothian, or of Kincardineſhire, of Aberdeen, or of Inverneſs. And if even the provincial dialects of the ſame tongue are diſtinguiſhable by their accents, we may with reaſon conclude, that the languages of different nations will be more remarkably diſtinguiſhed in this way: which in fact is found to be the caſe.

Of all the nations upon the earth, the ancient Greek ſeem to have been the moſt attentive to language. Their own they ſtudied, both in the compoſition, and in the pronunciation, with extraordinary care. The tones of it could not eſcape the notice of that ſagacious people. In order to make theſe of eaſier acquiſition to ſtrangers, they did what no other nation ever thought of doing, they uſed in writing certain characters, ſtill retained in their books, and called the Greek accents, of which the meaning was, to regulate the tone of the voice in ſpeech. We know they were invented for this purpoſe; though we cannot now make any uſe of them in our pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

It has been ſaid, that the ſyllable marked with the *acute* accent was pronounced four or five notes higher than the non-accented ſyllables; that the *grave* accent ſignified a fall of the voice through the ſame interval nearly; and that the *circumflex* denoted a riſe followed by a fall, which, as it took up double the time of a ſimple fall or riſe, made the ſyllable ſo accented neceſſarily long. But I am not ſatisfied with this account: for the paſſage quoted by a learned author, from Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, in proof of it, is very obſcure. At any rate, theſe marks could have regulated the ſyllabic accents only: whereas, with us, accent is more diſtinguiſhable in the cadence of words and phraſes *, than in ſyllables. Be this, however, as it

* Mr. Sheridan, in thoſe elegant Lectures which I heard him deliver at Edinburgh about twenty years ago, diſtinguiſhed (if I rightly remember) the Engliſh interrogatory accent from the Iriſh and the Scotch, in this manner. His example was: "How have you been this great while?"—in pronouncing which, he obſerved, that towards the end of the ſentence an Engliſhman lets his voice fall, an Iriſhman raiſes his, and a Scotchman makes his voice firſt fall and then riſe. The remark is well founded; but it is difficult to expreſs in unexceptionable terms a matter of ſo great nicety. I ſhall only add, that what is here ſaid of the Scotch accent, though it may hold true of the more ſouthern provinces, is by no means applicable to the dialects that prevail in Aberdeenſhire, and other parts of the north: where the voice of the common people, in concluding a clauſe or ſentence, riſes into a very ſhrill and ſharp tone without any previous fall. "You bark in your ſpeech," ſays a man of Edinburgh to one of Aberdeen: "And you growl and grumble in yours," replies the Aberdonian. In Inverneſs-ſhire, and the weſtern parts of Moray, the accents become totally different, and reſemble the tones and aſpirations of the Erſe.

will, (for I affirm nothing positively in a matter so little known) it is evident, that the Latin word *accentus* (from *ad* and *cantus*), and the correspondent term in Greek †*prosōdia*, (from *pros* and *ōdē*) must, in their primitive signification, have had a reference to song, or musical tone, and not (as some have thought) to those energies of the human voice, which are here expressed by the word Emphasis.

But let it be observed, that though in speech the voice is continually varying its tone, and is sometimes more acute, and at other times more grave, it does not, in modern languages at least, ascend or descend, by those musical intervals which are called notes, but rises and falls by degrees of variation incomparably more minute, and which our musical language has no terms nor symbols to express. A musician, sounding the string of a violin by drawing his bow across, and at the same time making his finger *slide* up and down the string without *lifting* it, would produce a sort of sound somewhat similar, in its *mode* of rising and falling, to those varieties of accent which take place in language. An attempt has lately been made by Mr. Steele, to express certain accents of the English tongue by a new-invented sort of written characters. The work, I hear, is very ingenious; but, as I have not seen it, I can say nothing more about it.

From what has been said, we may learn, that, as every nation and province has a particular accent, and as no man can speak intelligibly without one, we ought not to take offence at the tones of a stranger, nor give him any ground to suspect, that we are displeased with, or even sensible of them. However disagreeable his accent may be to us, ours, it is likely, is equally so to him. The common rule of equity, therefore, will recommend mutual forbearance in this matter. To speak with the English, or with the Scotch, accent, is no more praiseworthy, or blameable, than to be born in England, or Scotland: a circumstance, which, though the ringleaders of sedition, or narrow-minded bigots, may applaud or censure, no person of sense, or common honesty, will ever consider as imputable to any man.

Are, then, all provincial accents equally good? By no means. Of accent, as well as of spelling, syntax, and idiom, there is a standard in every polite nation. And, in all these particulars, the example of approved authors, and the practice of those, who, by their rank, education, and way of life, have had the best opportunities to know men and manners, and domestic and foreign literature, ought undoubtedly to give the law. Now it is in the metropolis of a kingdom, and in the most famous schools of learning, where the greatest resort may be expected of persons adorned with all useful and elegant accomplishments. The language, therefore, of the most learned and polite persons in London, and the neighbouring Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, ought to be accounted the standard of the Eng-

† προσωδια, from προς *ad*, and ωδη *cantus*.

liſh tongue, eſpecially in accent and pronunciation: ſyntax, ſpelling, and idiom, having been aſcertained by the practice of good authors and the conſent of former ages.

And there are two reaſons for this preference. One is, that we naturally approve as elegant what is cuſtomary among our ſuperiors. And another, and a better, reaſon is becauſe the moſt enlightened minds muſt be ſuppoſed to be the beſt judges of propriety in ſpeech, as well as in every other thing that does not affect the conſcience.

The ſtandard of ſpeech being thus aſcertained, provincial dialects are to be conſidered as more or leſs elegant, according as they more or leſs reſemble it. And it has been the wiſh of many, that the ſame modes of language ſhould prevail through the whole empire. But this, however deſirable, is perhaps impoſſible. At leaſt there never yet was any inſtance of it in an extenſive country. The Greeks themſelves, with all their philological accuracy, had different dialects:—the apoſtle Peter, when at Jeruſalem, was known by his ſpeech to be a man of Galilee:—Livy has been accuſed of provincial idioms, though his native city Padua was but two hundred miles from Rome:—in the ſouthern part of this iſland there have long been two diſtinct languages, the Engliſh and Welch; and two others in the north, the Scotch and Erſe, which are different from theſe, as well as from one another:—the dialects of Lancaſhire and Yorkſhire are hardly underſtood in London:—even in Kent, and in Berkſhire, we hear words and ſounds, that are not known in Middleſex:—nay, the ſpeech of the learned Londoner and Pariſian differs not a little, both in idiom, and in accent, from that of his unlettered fellow-citizens.

As Emphaſis gives energy to pronunciation, Accent renders it graceful; and is no doubt of further benefit, in diſtinguiſhing from one another the ſeveral tribes of mankind. For in many caſes, it might be inconvenient to miſtake a ſtranger for a fellow-ſubject; or not to have the means of proving a man's identity, or his birth-place, from the tone of his language. By their handwriting, and features, individuals may be diſtinguiſhed; and the national arrangements of mankind, by their words and accent. And of all the peculiarities of a foreign tongue, accent is the moſt difficult for a grown perſon to acquire. No Frenchman, who has not paſſed his infancy or childhood in England, will ever ſpeak Engliſh with the true accent. Scotch men have lived forty years in London without entirely loſing their native tone. And it may be doubted, whether it is poſſible for one, who has lived the firſt twenty years of his life in North Britain, ever to acquire all the niceties of Engliſh pronunciation.—The ſame thing may be remarked of other languages, and the natives of other countries.

An Extract from Illuſtrations *on* Sublimity; *in the ſame Work.*

"POETRY becomes ſublime in many ways: and as this is the only fine art, which can at preſent ſupply

ſupply us with examples, I ſhall from it ſelect a ſpecimen or two of the different ſorts of ſublimity.

1. Poetry is ſublime, when it elevates the mind. This indeed is a general character of greatneſs. But I ſpeak here of ſentiments ſo happily conceived and expreſſed, as to raiſe our affections above the low purſuits of ſenſuality and avarice, and animate us with the love of virtue and of honour. As a ſpecimen, let me recommend the account, which Virgil gives in his eighth book, of the perſon, family, and kingdom of Evander; an Arcadian prince, who, after being trained up in all the diſcipline of Greece, eſtabliſhed himſelf and his people in that part of Italy, where a few centuries after was built the great metropolis of the Roman empire. In the midſt of poverty, that good old man retains a philoſophical and a royal dignity. "This habitation (ſays "he, to Eneas, who had made "him a viſit) has been honoured "with the preſence of Hercules "himſelf. Dare, my gueſt, to "deſpiſe riches; and do thou al"ſo faſhion thyſelf into a likeneſs "of God:" or, as ſome render it, "do thou alſo make thyſelf "worthy of immortality."

Aude, hoſpes, contemnere opes; et te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.--------

There is a ſtrength in the expreſſion, whereof our language is not capable. "I deſpiſe the world (ſays Dryden) when I read it, and "myſelf when I attempt to tran"ſlate it."

2. Poetry is ſublime, when it conveys a lively idea of any grand appearance in art or nature. A nobler deſcription of this ſort I do not at preſent remember, than that which Virgil gives, in the firſt book of the Georgick, of a dark night, with wind, rain, and lightening: where Jupiter appears, encompaſſed with clouds and ſtorms, darting his thunderbolts, and overturning the mountains, while the ocean is roaring, the earth trembling, the wild beaſts fled away, the rain pouring down in torrents, the woods reſounding to the tempeſt, and all mankind overwhelmed with conſternation.*

Ipſe Pater, media nimborum in nocte, coruſca
Fulmina molitur dextra; quo maxima motu
Terra tremit, fugere feræ, et mortalia corda
Per gentes humilis ſtravit pavor. Ille flagranti
Aut Atho, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Keraunia telo

* The following is a more literal tranſlation: but I know not how to imitate in modern language, the awful, (I had almoſt ſaid, the dreadful) ſimplicity of the original.

High in the midnight ſtorm enthron'd, Heaven's Sire
Hurls from his blazing arm the bolt of fire.
Earth feels with trembling; every beaſt is fled;
And nations proſtrate fall, o'erwhelm'd with dread.
Athos rolls headlong, where his lightnings fly,
The rocks of Rhodope in ruin lie,
Or huge Keraunia. With redoubled rage
The torrent rain and bellowing wind engage;
Loud in the woods afar the tempeſts roar,
And mountain billows burſt in thunder on the ſhore.

Dejicit; ingeminant auſtri, et denſiſſimus imber;
Nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc littora plangunt.*

This deſcription aſtoniſhes, both by the grandeur, and by the horror, of the ſcene, which is either wrapt in total darkneſs, or made viſible by the glare of lightening. And the poet has expreſſed it with the happieſt ſolemnity of ſtyle, and a ſonorous harmony of numbers.—As examples of the ſame ſort of ſublimity, namely of great images with a mixture of horror, I might call the reader's attention to the ſtorm in the beginning of the Eneid, the death of Cacus in the eighth book, to the account of Tartarus in the ſixth, and that of the burning of Troy in the ſecond. But in the ſtyle of dreadful magnificence, nothing is ſuperior, and ſcarce any thing equal, to Milton's repreſentation of hell and chaos, in the firſt and ſecond books of Paradiſe Loſt.

In the concluding paragraph of the ſame work, there is brought together, with uncommon ſtrength of fancy, and rapidity of narrative, a number of circumſtances, wonderfully adapted to the purpoſe of filling the mind with ideas of terrifick grandeur: the deſcent of the cherubim; the flaming ſword; the archangel leading in haſte our firſt parents down from the heights of paradiſe, and then diſappearing; and, above all, the ſcene that preſents itſelf on their looking behind them.

They, looking back, all th' eaſtern cliff beheld
Of Paradiſe, ſo late their happy ſeat,
Waved over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces throng'd and fiery arms.

To which the laſt verſes form the moſt ſtriking contraſt that can be imagined.

Some natural tears they drop'd, but wiped them ſoon.
The world was all before them, where to chuſe
Their place of reſt, and Providence their guide.
They, hand in hand, with wandering ſteps, and ſlow,
Through Eden took their ſolitary way.

The final couplet renews our ſorrow; by exhibiting, with picturesque accuracy, the moſt mournful ſcene in nature; which yet is ſo prepared, as to raiſe comfort, and diſpoſe to reſignation. And thus, while we are at once melting in tenderneſs, elevated with pious hope, and overwhelmed with the grandeur of deſcription, the divine poem concludes. What luxury of mental gratification is here! Who would exchange this frame of mind (if nature could ſupport it) for any other! How exquiſitely does the faith of a Chriſtian accord with the nobleſt feelings of humanity!

3. Poetry is ſublime, when, without any great pomp of images or of words, it infuſes horror by a happy choice of circumſtances. When Macbeth (in Shakeſpeare) goes to conſult the witches, he finds them performing rites in a cave; and upon aſking what they were employed about, receives no other anſwer than this ſhort one, "A deed without a name." One's blood runs cold at the thought, that their work was of ſo accurſed a nature, that they themſelves had no name to expreſs

it by, or were afraid to ſpeak of it by any name. Here is no ſolemnity of ſtyle, nor any accumulation of great ideas; yet here is the true ſublime: becauſe here is ſomething that aſtoniſhes the mind, and fills it, without producing any real inconvenience.

Among other omens, which preceded the death of Dido, Virgil relates, that, when ſhe was making an oblation of wine, milk and incenſe upon the altar, ſhe obſerved the milk grow black, and found that the wine was changed into blood. This the poet improves into a circumſtance of the utmoſt horror, when he adds, that ſhe never mentioned it to any perſon, not even to her ſiſter, who was her confidante on all other occaſions: inſinuating, that it filled her with ſo dreadful apprehenſion, that ſhe had not courage even to attempt to ſpeak of it.—Perhaps I may be more ſtruck with this, than many others are; as I once knew a young man, who was in the ſame ſtate of mind, after having been frightened in his ſleep, or, as he imagined, by a viſion, which he had ſeen about two years before he told me of it. With much intreaty I prevailed on him to give me ſome account of his dream: but there was one particular, which he ſaid that he would not, nay that he durſt not, mention; and, while he was ſaying ſo, his haggard eyes, pale countenance, quivering lips, and faltering voice, preſented to me ſuch a picture of horror, as I never ſaw before or ſince. I ought to add, that he was, in all other reſpects, in his perfect mind, chearful, and active, and not more than twenty years of age.

Horror has long been a powerful, and a favourite, engine in the hands of the Tragic poet. Eſchylus employed it more than any other ancient artiſt. In his play called *the Furies*, he introduced Oreſtes haunted by a company of thoſe frightful beings; intending thereby an allegorical repreſentation of the torment which that hero ſuffered in his mind, in conſequence of having ſlain his mother Clytemneſtra, for the part ſhe had taken in the murder of his father. But to raiſe the greater horror in the ſpectators, the poet was at pains to deſcribe, with amazing force of expreſſion, the appearance of the Furies; and he brought upon the ſtage no fewer than fifty of them; whoſe infernal looks, hideous geſtures, and horrible ſcreams, had ſuch effects on the women and children, that, in the ſubſequent exhibitions of the play, the number of furies was by an expreſs law limited, firſt to fifteen, and afterwards to twelve. There are, no doubt, ſublime ſtrokes in the poet's account of theſe furies; and there is ſomething very great in the idea of a perſon haunted by his own thoughts, in the form of ſuch terrifick beings. Yet horror of this kind I would hardly call ſublime, becauſe it is addreſſed rather to the eyes, than to the mind; and becauſe it is eaſier to diſfigure a man ſo, as to make him have the appearance of an ugly woman, than, by a brief deſcription, or well-choſen ſentiment, to alarm and aſtoniſh the fancy. Shakeſpeare has, in my opinion, excited horror of more genuine ſublimity, and withal more uſeful in a moral view, when he makes Macbeth, in ſhort and broken ſtarts of exclamation, and without any pomp of images or of

words, give an utterance half-suppressed to those dreadful thoughts that were passing in his mind immediately before and after the murder of Duncan, his guest, kinsman, sovereign, and benefactor. The agonies of a guilty conscience were never more forcibly represented, than in this tragedy; which may indeed be said, in the language of Aristotle, to purify the mind by the operation of terror and pity; and which abounds more in that species of the sublime whereof I now speak, than any other performance in the English tongue.—See its merits examined and explained, with the utmost correctness of judgment, beauty of language, and vivacity of imagination, in Mrs. Montagu's *Essay on the writings and genius of Shakespeare.*

4. Poetry is sublime, when it awakens in the mind any great and good affection, as piety, or patriotism. This is one of the noblest effects of the art. The Psalms are remarkable, beyond all other writings, for their power of inspiring devout emotions. But it is not in this respect only that they are sublime. Of the divine nature they contain the most magnificent descriptions that the soul of man can comprehend. The hundred and fourth psalm, in particular, displays the power and goodness of Providence, in creating and preserving the world, and the various tribes of animals in it, with such majestick brevity and beauty, as it is vain to look for in any human composition. The morning song of Adam and Eve *, and many other parts of Paradise Lost, are noble effusions of piety, breathed in the most captivating strains: and Thomson's Hymn on the Seasons, if we overlook an unguarded word or two, is not inferior.

Of that sublimity which results from the strong expression of patriotic sentiments, many examples might be quoted from the Latin poets, particularly Virgil, Horace, and Lucan: but there is a passage in Homer that suits the present purpose better than any other that now occurs. While Hector is advancing to attack the Greek intrenchments, an eagle lets fall a wounded serpent in the middle of his army. This Polydamas considers as a bad omen, and advises him to order a retreat. Hector rejects the advice with indignation. "Shall I be deterred from my duty, (says he) and from executing "the commands of Jupiter, by "the flight of birds? Let them "fly on my right hand or on my "left, towards the setting or towards the rising sun, I will "obey the counsel of Jove, who "is the king of gods and of men." And then he adds that memorable aphorism, "To defend our country is the best of all auguries†:" or, as Pope has very well expressed it,

Without a sign, his sword the brave man draws,
And asks no omen, but his country's cause.

If we attend to all the circumstances, and reflect that both Hector and Homer believed in auguries, we must own that the sentiment is wonderfully great.

I might also quote, from the

* Par. Lost, book v.

† Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης. Iliad, xii. 243.

fame

ſame book of the Iliad, Sarpedon's ſpeech to Glaucus; which contains the nobleſt leſſon of political wiſdom, and the moſt enlivening motives to magnanimity. I ſhall not tranſlate it literally, but confine myſelf to the general ſcope of the argument; and I ſhall give it in proſe, that it may not ſeem to derive any part of its dignity from the charm of poetical numbers. "Why, O Glaucus, do we receive from our people in Lycia "the honours of ſovereignty, "and ſo liberal a proviſion? Is it "not in the hope, that we are "to diſtinguiſh ourſelves by our "virtue, as much as we are diſtinguiſhed by our rank? Let "us act accordingly: that, when "they ſee us encountering the "greateſt perils of war, they "may ſay, we deſerve the "honours and the dignity which "we poſſeſs. If indeed (continues he) by declining danger "we could ſecure ourſelves a-"gainſt old age and the grave, I "ſhould neither fight myſelf in "the front of the battle, nor exhort you to do ſo. But ſince "death is unavoidable, and may "aſſail us from ſo many thouſand "quarters, let us advance, and "either gain renown by victory, "or by our fall give glory to the "conqueror." The whole is excellent; but the grandeur and generoſity of the concluſion can never be too highly applauded.

5. Poetry is alſo ſublime, when it deſcribes in a lively manner the viſible effects of any of thoſe paſſions that give elevation to the character. Such is that paſſage, in the concluſion of the ſame twelfth book of the Iliad, which paints the impetuoſity and terrible appearance of Hector, ſtorming the intrenchments, and purſuing the enemy to their ſhips. Extraordinary efforts of magnanimity, valour, or any other virtue, and extraordinary exertions of ſtrength or power, are grand objects, and give ſublimity to thoſe pictures or poems, in which they are well repreſented. All the great poets abound in examples.

Yet in great ſtrength, for example, there may be unwieldneſs, or awkwardneſs, or ſome other contemptible quality, whereby the ſublime is deſtroyed. Polyphemus is a match for five hundred Greeks; but he is not a grand object. We hate his barbarity, and deſpiſe his folly, too much, to allow him a ſingle grain of admiration. Ulyſſes, who in the hands of Polypheme was nothing, is incomparably more ſublime, when, in walking to his palace, diſguiſed like a beggar, he is inſulted, and even kicked, by one of his own ſlaves, who was in the ſervice of thoſe rebels that were tempting his queen, plundering his houſehold, and alienating the affections of his people. Homer tells us, that the hero ſtood firm, without being moved from his place by the ſtroke; that he deliberated for a moment, whether he ſhould at one blow fell the traitor to the earth; but that patience and prudential thoughts reſtrained him. The brutal force of the Cyclops is not near ſo ſtriking as this picture; which diſplays bodily ſtrength and magnanimity united. For what we deſpiſe we never admire; and therefore deſpicable greatneſs cannot be ſublime.

Homer and Virgil have, each of them, given a deſcription of a

horſe, which is very much, and juſtly, celebrated. But they dwell rather upon the ſwiftneſs and beauty of the animal, or on ſuch of his paſſions as have little or no dignity; and therefore their deſcriptions, though moſt elegant and harmonious, cannot properly be termed ſublime. In the book of Job, we have the picture of a war-horſe in the moſt magnificent ſtyle. The inſpired poet expatiates upon the nobler qualities of that animal, his ſtrength, impetuoſity, and contempt of danger: and ſeveral of the words made uſe of, being figurative, and in their proper meaning expreſſive of human emotions, convey uncommon vivacity and elevation to the whole paſſage.

"Haſt thou given the horſe ſtrength? Haſt thou clothed his neck with thunder?"—alluding, perhaps, either to the noiſe of cavalry advancing; or to their ſpeed, which the poet inſinuates may be compared to that of lightning. "Canſt thou make him afraid as a graſhopper? the glory of his noſtrils is terrible;"—that is, the breath coming from his noſtrils, which appear red with diſtenſion, make him look as if fire and ſmoke were iſſuing from them; an idea, which Virgil has finely expreſſed in that line,

Collectumque premens volvit ſub naribus ignem.

"He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his ſtrength; he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, neither turneth he back from the ſword. The quiver rattleth againſt him, the glittering ſpear and the ſhield. He ſwalloweth the ground with fierceneſs and rage;" which probably ſignifies, according to ſome tranſlations, "he looks as if he would ſwallow the ground *; neither believeth he that it is the ſound of the trumpet. He ſaith among the trumpets, ha, ha;" deſpiſes their alarm as much as we do that of a threatening which only provokes our laughter: "and he ſmelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains, and the ſhouting." Beſides the grandeur of the animal, as here painted, the ſublimity of the paſſage is heightened exceedingly by the landſcape; which preſents to our view an army in order of battle, and makes us think we hear the craſhing of armour, and the ſhouts of encountering multitudes."

On Taſte, *from Lectures on* Rhetoric *and* Belles Lettres, *by* Hugh Blair, *D. D. one of the Miniſters of the High Church, and Profeſſor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres in the Univerſity of* Edinburgh.

"THE characters of Taſte when brought to its moſt perfect ſtate are all reducible to two, Delicacy and Correctneſs.

Delicacy of Taſte reſpects principally the perfection of that natural ſenſibility on which Taſte is founded. It implies thoſe finer organs or powers which enable us to diſcover beauties that lie hid

* In a very ingenious criticiſm on this paſſage in the Guardian, theſe words are differently underſtood.

from

from a vulgar eye. One may have ſtrong ſenſibility, and yet be deficient in delicate Taſte. He may be deeply impreſſed by ſuch beauties as he perceives; but he perceives only what is in ſome degree coarſe, what is bold and palpable; while chaſter and ſimpler ornaments eſcape his notice. In this ſtate Taſte generally exiſts among rude and unrefined nations. But a perſon of delicate Taſte both feels ſtrongly, and feels accurately. He ſees diſtinctions and differences where others ſee none; the moſt latent beauty does not eſcape him, and he is ſenſible of the ſmalleſt blemiſh. Delicacy of Taſte is judged of by the ſame marks that we uſe in judging of the delicacy of an external ſenſe. As the goodneſs of the palate is not tried by ſtrong flavours, but by a mixture of ingredients, where, notwithſtanding the confuſion, we remain ſenſible of each; in like manner delicacy of internal Taſte appears, by a quick and lively ſenſibility to its fineſt, moſt compounded, or moſt latent objects.

Correctneſs of Taſte reſpects chiefly the improvement which that faculty receives through its connexion with the underſtanding. A man of correct Taſte is one who is never impoſed on by counterfeit beauties; who carries always in his mind that ſtandard of good ſenſe which he employs in judging of every thing. He eſtimates with propriety the comparative merit of the ſeveral beauties which he meets with in any work of genius; refers them to their proper claſſes; aſſigns the principles, as far as they can be traced, whence their power of pleaſing us flows; and is pleaſed himſelf preciſely in that degree in which he ought, and no more.

It is true that theſe two qualities of Taſte, Delicacy and Correctneſs, mutually imply each other. No Taſte can be exquiſitely delicate without being correct; nor can be thoroughly correct without being delicate. But ſtill a predominancy of one or other quality in the mixture is often viſible. The power of Delicacy is chiefly ſeen in diſcerning the true merit of a work; the power of Correctneſs, in rejecting falſe pretenſions to merit. Delicacy leans more to feeling; Correctneſs more to reaſon and judgment. The former is more the gift of nature; the latter, more the product of culture and art. Among the antient critics, Longinus poſſeſſed moſt Delicacy; Ariſtotle, moſt Correctneſs. Among the moderns, Mr. Addiſon is a high example of delicate Taſte; Dean Swift, had he written on the ſubject of criticiſm, would perhaps have afforded the example of a correct one.

Having viewed Taſte in its moſt improved and perfect ſtate, I come next to conſider its deviations from that ſtate, the fluctuations and changes to which it is liable; and to enquire whether, in the midſt of theſe, there be any means of diſtinguiſhing a true from a corrupted Taſte. This brings us to the moſt difficult part of our taſk. For it muſt be acknowledged, that no principle of the human mind is, in its operations, more fluctuating and capricious than Taſte. Its variations have been ſo great and frequent, as to create a ſuſpicion with ſome, of its being

being merely arbitrary; grounded on no foundation, aſcertainable by no ſtandard, but wholly dependent on changing fancy; the conſequence of which would be, that all ſtudies or regular enquiries concerning the objects of Taſte were vain. In architecture, the Grecian models were long eſteemed the moſt perfect. In ſucceeding ages, the Gothic architecture alone prevailed, and afterwards the Grecian Taſte revived in all its vigour, and engroſſed the public admiration. In eloquence and poetry, the Aſiatics at no time reliſhed any thing but what was full of ornament, and ſplendid in a degree that we would denominate gaudy; whilſt the Greeks admired only chaſte and ſimple beauties, and deſpiſed the Aſiatic oſtentation. In our own country, how many writings that were greatly extolled two or three centuries ago, are now fallen into entire diſrepute and oblivion? Without going back to remote inſtances, how very different is the taſte of poetry which prevails in Great Britain now, from what prevailed there no longer ago than the reign of king Charles II. which the authors too of that time deemed an Auguſtan age: when nothing was in vogue but an affected brilliancy of wit; when the ſimple majeſty of Milton was overlooked, and Paradiſe Loſt almoſt entirely unknown; when Cowley's laboured and unnatural conceits were admired as the very quinteſſence of genius; Waller's gay ſprightlineſs was miſtaken for the tender ſpirit of Love poetry; and ſuch writers as Suckling and Etheridge were held in eſteem for dramatic compoſition?

The queſtion is, what concluſion we are to form from ſuch inſtances as theſe? Is there any thing that can be called a ſtandard of Taſte, by appealing to which we may diſtinguiſh between a good and a bad Taſte? Or, is there in truth no ſuch diſtinction; and are we to hold that, according to the proverb, there is no diſputing of Taſtes; but that whatever pleaſes is right, for that reaſon that it does pleaſe? This is the queſtion, and a very nice and ſubtile one it is, which we are now to diſcuſs.

I begin by obſerving, that if there be no ſuch thing as any ſtandard of Taſte, this conſequence muſt immediately follow, that all Taſtes are equally good; a poſition, which though it may paſs unnoticed in ſlight matters, and when we ſpeak of the leſſer differences among the Taſtes of men, yet when we apply it to the extremes, its abſurdity preſently becomes glaring. For is there any one who will ſeriouſly maintain that the Taſte of a Hottentot or a Laplander is as delicate and as correct as that of a Longinus or an Addiſon? or, that he can be charged with no defect or incapacity who thinks a common news-writer as excellent an hiſtorian as Tacitus? As it would be held downright extravagance to talk in this manner, we are led unavoidably to this concluſion, that there is ſome foundation for the preference of one man's Taſte to that of another; or, that there is a good and a bad, a right and a wrong in Taſte, as in other things.

But to prevent miſtakes on this ſubject, it is neceſſary to obſerve next, that the diverſity of Taſtes

which prevails among mankind, does not in every caſe infer corruption of Taſte, or oblige us to ſeek for ſome ſtandard in order to determine who are in the right. The Taſtes of men may differ very conſiderably as to their object, and yet none of them be wrong. One man reliſhes poetry moſt; another takes pleaſure in nothing but hiſtory. One prefers comedy; another, tragedy. One admires the ſimple; another, the ornamental ſtyle. The young are amuſed with gay and ſprightly compoſitions. The elderly are more entertained with thoſe of a graver caſt. Some nations delight in bold pictures of manners, and ſtrong repreſentations of paſſion. Others incline to more correct and regular elegance both in deſcription and ſentiment. Though all differ, yet all pitch upon ſome one beauty which peculiarly ſuits their turn of mind; and therefore no one has a title to condemn the reſt. It is not in matters of Taſte, as in queſtions of mere reaſon, where there is but one concluſion that can be true, and all the reſt are erroneous. Truth, which is the object of reaſon, is one; beauty, which is the object of Taſte, is manifold. Taſte therefore admits of latitude and diverſity of objects, in ſufficient conſiſtency with goodneſs or juſtneſs of Taſte.

But then, to explain this matter thoroughly, I muſt obſerve farther, that this admiſſible diverſity of Taſtes can only have place where the objects of Taſte are different. Where it is with reſpect to the ſame object that men diſagree, when one condemns that as ugly, which another admires as highly beautiful; then it is no longer diverſity, but direct oppoſition of Taſte that takes place; and therefore one muſt be in the right, and another in the wrong, unleſs that abſurd paradox were allowed to hold, that all Taſtes are equally good and true. One man prefers Virgil to Homer. Suppoſe that I, on the other hand, admire Homer more than Virgil. I have as yet no reaſon to ſay that our Taſtes are contradictory. The other perſon is moſt ſtruck with the elegance and tenderneſs which are the characteriſtics of Virgil; I, with the ſimplicity and fire of Homer. As long as neither of us deny that both Homer and Virgil have great beauties, our difference falls within the compaſs of that diverſity of Taſtes, which I have ſhewed to be natural and allowable. But if the other man ſhall aſſert that Homer has no beauties whatever; that he holds him to be a dull and ſpiritleſs writer, and that he would as ſoon peruſe any old legend of knight-errantry as the Iliad; then I exclaim, that my antagoniſt either is void of all Taſte, or that his Taſte is corrupted in a miſerable degree; and I appeal to whatever I think the ſtandard of Taſte, to ſhew him that he is in the wrong.

What that ſtandard is, to which, in ſuch oppoſition of Taſtes, we are obliged to have recourſe, remains to be traced. A ſtandard properly ſignifies, that which is of ſuch undoubted authority as to be the teſt of other things of the ſame kind. Thus a ſtandard weight or meaſure, is that which is appointed by law to regulate all other meaſures and weights. Thus the court is ſaid to be the ſtandard of good breeding; and

and the ſcripture, of theological truth.

When we ſay that nature is the ſtandard of Taſte, we lay down a principle very true and juſt, as far as it can be applied. There is no doubt, that in all caſes where an imitation is intended of ſome object that exiſts in nature, as in repreſenting human characters or actions, conformity to nature affords a full and diſtinct criterion of what is truly beautiful. Reaſon hath in ſuch caſes full ſcope for exerting its authority; for approving or condemning; by comparing the copy with the original. But there are innumerable caſes in, which this rule cannot be at all applied; and conformity to nature, is an expreſſion frequently uſed, without any diſtinct or determinate meaning. We muſt therefore ſearch for ſomewhat that can be rendered more clear and preciſe, to be the ſtandard of Taſte.

Taſte, as I before explained it, is ultimately founded on an internal ſenſe of beauty, which is natural to men, and which, in its application to particular objects, is capable of being guided and enlightened by reaſon. Now, were there any one perſon who poſſeſſed in full perfection all the powers of human nature, whoſe internal ſenſes were in every inſtance exquiſite and juſt, and whoſe reaſon was unerring and ſure, the determinations of ſuch a perſon concerning beauty, would, beyond doubt, be a perfect ſtandard for the Taſte of all others. Wherever their Taſte differed from his, it could be imputed only to ſome imperfection in their natural powers. But as there is no ſuch living ſtandard, no one perſon to whom all mankind will allow ſuch ſubmiſſion to be due, what is there of ſufficient authority to be the ſtandard of the various and oppoſite Taſtes of men? Moſt certainly there is nothing but the Taſte, as far as it can be gathered, of human nature. That which men concur the moſt in admiring, muſt be held to be beautiful. His Taſte muſt be eſteemed juſt and true, which coincides with the general ſentiments of men. In this ſtandard we muſt reſt. To the ſenſe of mankind the ultimate appeal muſt ever lie, in all works of Taſte. If any one ſhould maintain that ſugar was bitter and tobacco was ſweet, no reaſonings could avail to prove it. The Taſte of ſuch a perſon would infallibly be held to be diſeaſed, merely becauſe it differed ſo widely from the Taſte of the ſpecies to which he belongs. In like manner, with regard to the objects of ſentiment or internal Taſte, the common feelings of men carry the ſame authority, and have a title to regulate the Taſte of every individual.

But have we then, it will be ſaid, no other criterion of what is beautiful, than the approbation of the majority? Muſt we collect the voices of others, before we form any judgment for ourſelves, of what deſerves applauſe in eloquence or poetry? By no means; there are principles of reaſon and ſound judgment which can be applied to matters of Taſte, as well as to the ſubjects of ſcience and philoſophy. He who admires or cenſures any work of genius, is always ready, if his Taſte be in any degree improved, to aſſign

ſome

ſome reaſons of his deciſion. He appeals to principles, and points out the grounds on which he proceeds. Taſte is a ſort of compound power, in which the light of the underſtanding always mingles, more or leſs, with the feelings of ſentiment.

But, though reaſon can carry us a certain length in judging concerning works of Taſte, it is not to be forgotten that the ultimate concluſions to which our reaſonings lead, refer at laſt to ſenſe and perception. We may ſpeculate and argue concerning propriety of conduct in a tragedy, or an epic poem. Juſt reaſonings on the ſubject will correct the caprice of unenlightened Taſte, and eſtabliſh principles for judging of what deſerves praiſe. But, at the ſame time, theſe reaſonings appeal always, in the laſt reſort, to feeling. The foundation upon which they reſt, is what has been found from experience to pleaſe mankind moſt univerſally. Upon this ground we prefer a ſimple and natural, to an artificial and affected ſtyle; a regular and well-connected ſtory, to looſe and ſcattered narratives; a catastrophe which is tender and pathetic, to one which leaves us unmoved. It is from conſulting our own imagination and heart, and from attending to the feelings of others, that any principles are formed which acquire authority in matters of Taſte*.

When we refer to the concurring ſentiments of men as the ultimate teſt of what is to be accounted beautiful in the arts, this is to be always underſtood of men placed in ſuch ſituations as are favourable to the proper exertions of Taſte. Every one muſt perceive, that among rude and uncivilized nations, and during the ages of ignorance and darkneſs, any looſe notions that are entertained concerning ſuch ſubjects carry no authority. In thoſe ſtates of ſociety, Taſte has no materials on which to operate. It is either totally ſuppreſſed, or appears in

* The difference between the authors who found the ſtandard of Taſte upon the common feelings of human nature aſcertained by general approbation, and thoſe who found it upon eſtabliſhed principles which can be aſcertained by reaſon, is more an apparent than a real difference. Like many other literary controverſies, it turns chiefly on modes of expreſſion. For they who lay the greateſt ſtreſs on ſentiment and feeling, make no ſcruple of applying argument and reaſon to matters of Taſte. They appeal, like other writers, to eſtabliſhed principles, in judging of the excellencies of Eloquence or Poetry; and plainly ſhew, that the general approbation to which they ultimately recur, is an approbation reſulting from diſcuſſion as well as from ſentiment. They, on the other hand, who, in order to vindicate Taſte from any ſuſpicion of being arbitrary, maintain that it is aſcertainable by the ſtandard of reaſon, admit nevertheleſs, that what pleaſes univerſally, muſt on that account be held to be truly beautiful; and that no rules or concluſions concerning objects of Taſte, can have any juſt authority, if they be found to contradict the general ſentiments of men. Theſe two ſyſtems, therefore, differ in reality very little from one another. Sentiment and Reaſon enter into both; and by allowing to each of theſe powers its due place, both ſyſtems may be rendered conſiſtent. Accordingly, it is in this light that I have endeavoured to place the ſubject.

its loweſt and moſt imperfect form. We refer to the ſentiments of mankind in poliſhed and flouriſhing nations; when arts are cultivated and manners refined; when works of genius are ſubjected to free diſcuſſion, and Taſte is improved by ſcience and philoſophy.

Even among nations, at ſuch a period of ſociety, I admit, that accidental cauſes may occaſionally warp the proper operations of Taſte; ſometimes the ſtate of religion, ſometimes the form of government, may for a while pervert it; a licentious court may introduce a taſte for falſe ornaments, and diſſolute writings. The uſage of one admired genius may procure approbation for his faults, and even render them faſhionable. Sometimes envy may have power to bear down, for a little, productions of great merit; while popular humour, or party ſpirit, may, at other times, exalt to a high, though ſhort-lived, reputation, what little deſerved it. But though ſuch caſual circumſtances give the appearance of caprice to the judgments of Taſte, that appearance is eaſily corrected. In the courſe of time, the genuine taſte of human nature never fails to diſcloſe itſelf, and to gain the aſcendant over any fantaſtic and corrupted modes of Taſte which may chance to have been introduced. Theſe may have currency for a while, and miſlead ſuperficial judges; but being ſubjected to examination, by degrees they paſs away; while that alone remains which is founded on ſound reaſon, and the native feelings of men.

I by no means pretend, that there is any ſtandard of Taſte, to which, in every particular inſtance, we can reſort for clear and immediate determination. Where, indeed, is ſuch a ſtandard to be found for deciding any of thoſe great controverſies in reaſon and philoſophy, which perpetually divide mankind? In the preſent caſe, there was plainly no occaſion for any ſuch ſtrict and abſolute proviſion to be made. In order to judge of what is morally good or evil, of what man ought, or ought not in duty to do, it was fit that the means of clear and preciſe determination ſhould be afforded us. But to aſcertain in every caſe with the utmoſt exactneſs what is beautiful or elegant, was not at all neceſſary to the happineſs of man. And therefore ſome diverſity in feeling was here allowed to take place; and room was left for diſcuſſion and debate, concerning the degree of approbation to which any work of genius is entitled.

The concluſion, which it is ſufficient for us to reſt upon, is, that Taſte is far from being an arbitrary principle, which is ſubject to the fancy of every individual, and which admits of no criterion for determining whether it be falſe or true. Its foundation is the ſame in all human minds. It is built upon ſentiments and perceptions which belong to our nature; and which, in general, operate with the ſame uniformity as our other intellectual principles. When theſe ſentiments are perverted by ignorance and prejudice, they are capable of being rectified by reaſon. Their ſound and

and natural ſtate is ultimately determined, by comparing them with the general Taſte of mankind. Let men declaim as much as they pleaſe, concerning the caprice and the uncertainty of Taſte, it is found, by experience, that there are beauties, which, if they be diſplayed in a proper light, have power to command laſting and general admiration. In every compoſition, what intereſts the imagination, and touches the heart, pleaſes all ages and all nations. There is a certain ſtring, which, being properly ſtruck, the human heart is ſo made as to anſwer to it.

Hence the univerſal teſtimony which the moſt improved nations of the earth have conſpired, throughout a long tract of ages, to give to ſome few works of genius; ſuch as the Iliad of Homer, and the Æneid of Virgil. Hence the authority which ſuch works have acquired, as ſtandards in ſome degree of poetical compoſition; ſince from them we are enabled to collect what the ſenſe of mankind is, concerning thoſe beauties which give them the higheſt pleaſure, and which therefore poetry ought to exhibit. Authority or prejudice may, in one age or country, give a temporary reputation to an indifferent poet, or a bad artiſt; but when foreigners, or when poſterity examine his works, his faults are diſcerned, and the genuine Taſte of human nature appears. "Opinionum commenta delet dies; naturæ judicia confirmat." Time overthrows the illuſions of opinion, but eſtabliſhes the deciſions of nature."

Comparative Strictures on Tillotſon, *Sir* William Temple, Addiſon, *Lord* Shafteſbury, *and Lord* Bolingbroke, *in Point of* Style. *From the ſame Work.*

"SIMPLICITY is the great beauty of Archbiſhop Tillotſon's manner. Tillotſon has long been admired as an eloquent writer, and a model for preaching. But his eloquence, if we can call it ſuch, has been often miſunderſtood. For, if we include, in the idea of eloquence, vehemence and ſtrength, picturеſque deſcription, glowing figures, or correct arrangement of ſentences, in all theſe parts of oratory the archbiſhop is exceedingly deficient. His ſtyle is always pure, indeed, and perſpicuous, but careleſs and remiſs, too often feeble and languid; little beauty in the conſtruction of his ſentences, which are frequently ſuffered to drag unharmoniouſly; ſeldom any attempt towards ſtrength or ſublimity. But, notwithſtanding theſe defects, ſuch a conſtant vein of good ſenſe and piety runs through his works, ſuch an earneſt and ſerious manner, and ſo much uſeful inſtruction conveyed in a ſtyle ſo pure, natural, and unaffected, as will juſtly recommend him to high regard, as long as the Engliſh language remains; not, indeed, as a model of the higheſt eloquence, but as a ſimple and amiable writer, whoſe manner is ſtrongly expreſſive of great goodneſs and worth. I obſerved before, that ſimplicity of manner may be conſiſtent with ſome degree of negligence in ſtyle; and it is only the

the beauty of that ſimplicity which makes the negligence of ſuch writers ſeem graceful. But, as appears in the archbiſhop, negligence may ſometimes be carried ſo far as to impair the beauty of ſimplicity, and make it border on a flat and languid manner.

Sir William Temple is another remarkable writer in the ſtyle of ſimplicity. In point of ornament and correctneſs, he riſes a degree above Tillotſon; though, for correctneſs, he is not in the higheſt rank. All is eaſy and flowing in him; he is exceedingly harmonious; ſmoothneſs, and what may be called amænity, are the diſtinguiſhing characters of his manner; relaxing, ſometimes, as ſuch a manner will naturally do, into a prolix and remiſs ſtyle. No writer whatever has ſtamped upon his ſtyle a more lively impreſſion of his own character. In reading his works, we ſeem engaged in converſation with him; we become thoroughly acquainted with him, not merely as an author, but as a man; and contract a friendſhip for him. He may be claſſed as ſtanding in the middle, between a negligent ſimplicity, and the higheſt degree of ornament, which this character of ſtyle admits.

Of the latter of theſe, the higheſt, moſt correct, and ornamented degree of the ſimple manner, Mr. Addiſon, is, beyond doubt, in the Engliſh language, the moſt perfect example: and, therefore, though not without ſome faults, he is, on the whole, the ſafeſt model for imitation, and the freeſt from conſiderable defects, which the language affords. Perſpicuous and pure he is in the higheſt degree; his preciſion, indeed, not very great; yet nearly as great as the ſubjects which he treats of require: the conſtruction of his ſentences eaſy, agreeable, and commonly very muſical; carrying a character of ſmoothneſs, more than of ſtrength. In figurative language, he is rich; particularly, in ſimilies and metaphors; which are ſo employed, as to render his ſtyle ſplendid without being gaudy. There is not the leaſt affectation in his manner; we ſee no marks of labour; nothing forced or conſtrained; but great elegance joined with great eaſe and ſimplicity. He is, in particular, diſtinguiſhed by a character of modeſty, and of politeneſs, which appears in all his writings. No author has a more popular and inſinuating manner; and the great regard which he every where ſhews for virtue and religion, recommends him highly. If he fails in any thing, it is in want of ſtrength and preciſion, which renders his manner, though perfectly ſuited to ſuch eſſays as he writes in the Spectator, not altogether a proper model for any of the higher and more elaborate kinds of compoſition. Though the public have ever done much juſtice to his merit, yet the nature of his merit has not always been ſeen in its true light: for, though his poetry be elegant, he certainly bears a higher rank among the proſe writers, than he is intitled to among the poets; and, in proſe, his humour is of a much higher, and more original ſtrain, than his philoſophy. The character of Sir Roger de Coverley diſcovers more genius than the critique on Milton.

Such

Such authors as thoſe, whoſe characters I have been giving, one never tires of reading. There is nothing in their manner that ſtrains or fatigues our thoughts: we are pleaſed, without being dazzled by their luſtre. So powerful is the charm of ſimplicity in an author of real genius, that it atones for many defects, and reconciles us to many a careleſs expreſſion. Hence, in all the moſt excellent authors, both in proſe and verſe, the ſimple and natural manner may be always remarked; although other beauties being predominant, this forms not their peculiar and diſtinguiſhing character. Thus Milton is ſimple in the midſt of all his grandeur; and Demoſthenes in the midſt of all his vehemence. To grave and ſolemn writings, ſimplicity of manner adds the more venerable air. Accordingly, this has often been remarked as the prevailing character throughout all the ſacred ſcriptures: and indeed no other character of ſtyle was ſo much ſuited to the dignity of inſpiration.

Of authors, who, notwithſtanding many excellencies, have rendered their ſtyle much leſs beautiful by want of ſimplicity, I cannot give a more remarkable example than Lord Shaftſbury. This is an author on whom I have made obſervations ſeveral times before, and ſhall now take leave of him, with giving his general character under this head. Conſiderable merit, doubtleſs, he has. His works might be read with profit for the moral philoſophy which they contain, had he not filled them with ſo many oblique and invidious inſinuations againſt the Chriſtian religion; thrown out, too, with ſo much ſpleen and ſatire, as do no honour to his memory, either as an author or a man. His language has many beauties. It is firm, and ſupported in an uncommon degree: it is rich and muſical. No Engliſh author, as I formerly ſhewed, has attended ſo much to the regular conſtruction of his ſentences, both with reſpect to propriety, and with reſpect to cadence. All this gives ſo much elegance and pomp to his language, that there is no wonder it ſhould have been ſometimes highly admired. It is greatly hurt, however, by perpetual ſtiffneſs and affectation. This is its capital fault. His lordſhip can expreſs nothing with ſimplicity. He ſeems to have conſidered it as vulgar, and beneath the dignity of a man of quality, to ſpeak like other men. Hence he is ever in buſkins; full of circumlocutions and artificial elegance. In every ſentence, we ſee the marks of labour and art; nothing of that eaſe, which expreſſes a ſentiment coming natural and warm from the heart. Of figures and ornament of every kind, he is exceedingly fond; ſometimes happy in them; but his fondneſs for them is too viſible; and having once laid hold of ſome metaphor or alluſion that pleaſed him, he knows not how to part with it. What is moſt wonderful, he was a profeſſed admirer of ſimplicity; is always extolling it in the ancients, and cenſuring the moderns for the want of it; though he departs from it himſelf as far as any one modern whatever. Lord Shaftſbury poſſeſſed delicacy

and refinement of taſte, to a degree that we may call exceſſive and ſickly; but he had little warmth of paſſion; few ſtrong or vigorous feelings: and the coldneſs of his character led him to that artificial and ſtately manner which appears in his writings. He was fonder of nothing than of wit and raillery; but he is far from being happy in it. He attempts it often, but always awkwardly; he is ſtiff, even in his pleaſantry; and laughs in form, like an author, and not like a man *.

From the account which I have given of Lord Shaftſbury's manner, it may eaſily be imagined, that he would miſlead many who blindly admired him. Nothing is more dangerous to the tribe of imitators, than an author, who, with many impoſing beauties, has alſo ſome very conſiderable blemiſhes. This is fully exemplified in Mr. Blackwell of Aberdeen, the author of the Life of Homer, the Letters on Mythology, and the Court of Auguſtus; a writer of conſiderable learning, and of ingenuity alſo; but infected with an extravagant love of an artificial ſtyle, and of that parade of language which diſtinguiſhes the Shaftſburean manner.

Having now ſaid ſo much to recommend ſimplicity, or the eaſy and natural manner of writing, and having pointed out the defects of an oppoſite manner; in order to prevent miſtakes on this ſubject, it is neceſſary for me to obſerve, that it is very poſſible for an author to write ſimply, and yet not beautifully. One may be free from affectation, and not have merit. The beautiful ſimplicity ſuppoſes an author to poſſeſs real genius; to write with ſolidity, purity, and livelineſs of imagination. In this caſe, the ſimplicity or unaffectedneſs of his manner, is the crowning ornament; it heightens every other beauty; it is the dreſs of nature, without which, all beauties are imperfect. But if mere unaffectedneſs were ſufficient to conſtitute the beauty of ſtyle, weak, trifling, and dull writers might often lay claim to this beauty. And, accordingly, we frequently meet with pretended critics, who extol the dulleſt writers on account of what they call the "Chaſte ſimplicity of their manner;" which, in truth, is no other than the abſence of every ornament, through the mere want of genius and imagination. We muſt diſtinguiſh, therefore, between that ſimplicity which accompanies true genius, and which is perfectly compatible with every proper ornament of ſtyle, and that which is no other than a careleſs and ſlovenly manner. Indeed, the diſtinction is eaſily made from

* It may perhaps be not unworthy of being mentioned, that the firſt edition of his Enquiry into Virtue was publiſhed, ſurreptitiouſly I believe, in a ſeparate form, in the year 1699; and is ſometimes to be met with; by comparing which, with the corrected edition of the ſame treatiſe, as it now ſtands among his works, we ſee one of the moſt curious and uſeful examples that I know, of what is called *Limæ labor*; the art of poliſhing language, breaking long ſentences, and working up an imperfect draught into a highly finiſhed performance.

the

the effect produced. The one never fails to intereſt the reader; the other is inſipid and tireſome.

I proceed to mention one other manner or character of Style, different from any that I have yet ſpoken of; which may be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Vehement. This always implies ſtrength; and is not, by any means, inconſiſtent with Simplicity: but in its predominant character is diſtinguiſhable from either the ſtrong or the ſimple manner. It has a peculiar ardour; it is a glowing Style; the language of a man, whoſe imagination and paſſions are heated, and ſtrongly affected by what he writes; who is therefore negligent of leſſer graces, but pours himſelf forth with the rapidity and fulneſs of a torrent. It belongs to the higher kinds of oratory; and indeed is rather expected from a man who is ſpeaking, than from one who is writing in his cloſet. The orations of Demoſthenes furniſh the full and perfect example of this ſpecies of Style.

Among Engliſh writers, the one who has moſt of this character, though mixed, indeed, with ſeveral defects, is Lord Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke was formed by nature to be a factious leader; the demagogue of a popular aſſembly. Accordingly, the Style that runs through all his political writings, is that of one declaiming with heat, rather than writing with deliberation. He abounds in Rhetorical Figures; and pours himſelf forth with great impetuoſity. He is copious to a fault; places the ſame thought before us in many different views; but generally with life and ardour. He is bold, rather than correct; a torrent that flows ſtrong, but often muddy. His ſentences are varied as to length and ſhortneſs; inclining, however, moſt to long periods, ſometimes including parentheſes, and frequently crowding and heaping a multitude of things upon one another, as naturally happens in the warmth of ſpeaking. In the choice of his words, there is great felicity and preciſion. In exact conſtruction of ſentences, he is much inferior to Lord Shaftſbery; but greatly ſuperior to him in life and eaſe. Upon the whole, his merit, as a writer, would have been very conſiderable, if his matter had equalled his Style. But whilſt we find many things to commend in the latter, in the former, as I before remarked, we can hardly find any thing to commend. In his reaſonings, for moſt part, he is flimſy, and falſe; in his political writings, factious; in what he calls his philoſophical ones, irreligious and ſophiſtical in the higheſt degree."

Comparative Merit of the Ancients *and* Moderns; *from* Vol. II. *of the ſame Work.*

"WHEN we ſpeak comparatively of the Ancients and the Moderns, we generally mean by the Ancients, ſuch as lived in the two firſt of theſe periods, including alſo one or two who lived more early, as Homer in particular; and by the Moderns, thoſe who flouriſhed in the two laſt of theſe ages, including alſo the eminent Writers down to our own times. Any compariſon between

theſe two claſſes of writers, cannot be other than vague and looſe, as they comprehend ſo many, and of ſuch differenr kinds and degrees of genius. But the compariſon is generally made to turn, by thoſe who are fond of making it, upon two or three of the moſt diſtinguiſhed in each claſs. With much heat it was agitated in France, between Boileau and Mad. Dacier, on the one hand, for the Antients, and Perrault and La Motte, on the other, for the Moderns; and it was carried to extreams on both ſides. To this day, among men of taſte, and letters, we find a leaning to one or other ſide. A few reflections may throw light upon the ſubject, and enable us to diſcern upon what grounds we are to reſt our judgment in this controverſy.

If any one, at this day, in the eighteenth century, takes upon him to decry the acient claſſics; if he pretends to have diſcovered that Homer and Virgil are Poets of inconſiderable merit, and that Demoſthenes and Cicero are not great Orators, we may boldly venture to tell ſuch a man, that he is come too late with his diſcovery. The reputation of ſuch writers is eſtabliſhed upon a foundation too ſolid, to be now ſhaken by any arguments whatever; for it is eſtabliſhed upon the almoſt univerſal taſte of mankind, proved and tried throughout the ſucceſſion of ſo many ages. Imperfections in their works he may indeed point out; paſſages that are faulty he may ſhew; for where is the human work that is perfect? But, if he attempts to diſcredit their works in general, or to prove that the reputation which they have gained is, on the whole, unjuſt, there is an argument againſt him, which is equal to full demonſtration. He muſt be in the wrong; for human nature is againſt him. In matters of taſte, ſuch as Poetry and Oratory, to whom does the appeal lie? where is the ſtandard? and where the authority of the laſt deciſion? where is it to be looked for, but, as I formerly ſhewed, in thoſe feelings and ſentiments that are found, on the moſt extenſive examination, to be the common ſentiments and feelings of men? Theſe have been fully conſulted on this head. The Public, the unprejudiced Public, has been tried and appealed to for many centuries, and throughout almoſt all civilized nations. It has pronounced its verdict; it has given its ſanction to thoſe writers; and from this tribunal there lies no farther appeal.

In matters of mere reaſoning, the world may be long in an error; and may be convinced of the error by ſtronger reaſonings, when produced. Poſitions that depend upon ſcience, upon knowledge, and matters of fact, may be overturned according as ſcience and knowledge are enlarged, and new matters of fact are brought to light. For this reaſon, a ſyſtem of Philoſophy receives no ſufficient ſanction from its antiquity, or long currency. The world, as it grows older, may be juſtly expected to become, if not wiſer, at leaſt more knowing; and ſuppoſing it doubtful whether Ariſtotle, or Newton, were the greater genius, yet Newton's Philoſophy may prevail over Ariſtotle's, by means of later diſcoveries, to which Ariſtotle was a ſtranger.

But

But nothing of this kind holds as to matters of Taſte; which depend not on the progreſs of knowledge and ſcience, but upon ſentiment and feeling. It is in vain to think of undeceiving mankind, with reſpect to errors commited here, as in Philoſophy. For the univerſal feeling of mankind is the natural feeling; and becauſe it is the natural, it is, for that reaſon, the right feeling. The reputation of the Iliad and the Æneid muſt therefore ſtand upon ſure ground, becauſe it has ſtood ſo long; though that of the Ariſtotelian or Platonic philoſophy, every one is at liberty to call in queſtion.

It is in vain alſo to alledge, that the reputation of the ancient Poets, and Orators, is owing to authority, to pedantry, and to the prejudices of education, tranſmitted from age to age. Theſe, it is true, are the authors put into our hands at ſchools and colleges, and by that means we have now an early prepoſſeſſion in their favour; but how came they to gain the poſſeſſion of colleges and ſchools? Plainly, by the high fame which theſe authors had among their own cotemporaries. For the Greek and Latin were not always dead languages. There was a time, when Homer, and Virgil, and Horace, were viewed in the ſame light as we now view Dryden, Pope, and Addiſon. It is not to commentators and univerſities, that the claſſics are indebted for their fame. They became claſſics and ſchool-books, in conſequence of the high admiration which was paid them by the beſt judges in their own country and nation. As early as the days of Juvenal, who wrote under the reign of Domitian, we find Virgil and Horace become the ſtandard books, in the education of youth.

Quot ſtabant pueri, cum totus decolor eſſet
Flaccus, & hæreret nigro fuligo Maroni.
SAT. 7 *.

From this general principle, then, of the reputation of great ancient claſſics being ſo early, ſo laſting, ſo univerſal, among all the moſt poliſhed nations, we may juſtly and boldly infer that their reputation cannot be wholly unjuſt, but muſt have a ſolid foundation in the merit of their writings.

Let us guard, however, againſt a blind and implicit veneration for the Ancients, in every thing. I have opened the general principle, which muſt go far in inſtituting a fair compariſon between them and the Moderns. Whatever ſuperiority the Ancients may have had in point of genius, yet in all arts, where the natural progreſs of knowledge has had room to produce any conſiderable effects, the Moderns cannot but have ſome advantage. The world may, in certain reſpects, be conſidered as a perſon, who muſt needs gain ſomewhat by advancing in years. Its improvements have not, I confeſs, been always in proportion to the centuries that have paſſed over it; for, during the courſe of ſome ages, it has ſunk as into a total lethargy. Yet, when rouſed from that lethargy, it has generally been able to avail itſelf, more

* "Then thou art bound to ſmell, on either hand,
"As many ſtinking lamps, as ſchoolboys ſtand,
"When Horace could not read in his own ſully'd book,
"And Virgil's ſacred page was all beſmeared with ſmoke." DRYDEN.

or leſs, of former diſcoveries. At intervals, there aroſe ſome happy genius, who could both improve on what had gone before, and invent ſomething new. With the advantage of a proper ſtock of materials, an inferior genius can make greater progreſs, than a much ſuperior one, to whom theſe materials are wanting.

Hence, in Natural Philoſophy, Aſtronomy, Chemiſtry, and other ſciences that depend on an extenſive knowledge and obſervation of facts, Modern Philoſophers have an unqueſtionable ſuperiority over the Ancient. I am inclined alſo to think, that in matters of pure reaſoning, there is more preciſion among the Moderns, than in ſome inſtances there was among the Ancients; owing perhaps to a more extenſive literary intercourſe, which has improved and ſharpened the faculties of men. In ſome ſtudies too, that relate to taſte and fine writing, which is our object, the progreſs of ſociety muſt, in equity, be admitted to have given us ſome advantages. For inſtance, in Hiſtory; there is certainly more political knowledge in ſeveral European nations at preſent, than there was in ancient Greece and Rome. We are better acquainted with the nature of government, becauſe we have ſeen it under a greater variety of forms and revolutions. The world is more laid open than it was in former times; commerce is greatly enlarged; more countries are civilized; poſts are every where eſtabliſhed; intercourſe is become more eaſy; and the knowledge of facts, by conſequence, more attainable. All theſe are great advantages to hiſtorians; of which, in ſome meaſure, as I ſhall afterward ſhow, they have availed themſelves. In the more complex kinds of Poetry, likewiſe, we may have gained ſomewhat, perhaps, in point of regularity and accuracy. In Dramatic Performances, having the advantage of the ancient models, we may be allowed to have made ſome improvements, in the variety of the characters, the conduct of the plot, attentions to probability, and to decorums.

Theſe ſeem to me the chief points of ſuperiority we can plead above the Ancients. Neither do they extend as far, as might be imagined at firſt view. For if the ſtrength of genius be on one ſide, it will go far, in works of taſte at leaſt, to counterbalance all the artificial improvements which can be made by greater knowledge and correctneſs. To return to our compariſon of the age of the world with that of a man; it may be ſaid, not altogether without reaſon, that if the advancing age of the world bring along with it more ſcience and more refinement, there belong, however, to its earlier periods, more vigour, more fire, more enthuſiaſm of genius. This appears indeed to form the characteriſtical difference between the Ancient Poets, Orators, and Hiſtorians, compared with the Modern. Among the Ancients, we find higher conceptions, greater ſimplicity, more original fancy. Among the Moderns, ſometimes more art and correctneſs, but feebler exertions of genius. But, though this be in general a mark of diſtinction between the Ancients and Moderns, yet, like all general obſervations, it muſt be under-

underſtood with ſome exceptions; for in point of poetical fire and original genius, Milton and Shakeſpeare are inferior to no Poets in any age.

It is proper to obſerve, that there were ſome circumſtances in ancient times, very favourable to thoſe uncommon efforts of genius which were then exerted. Learning was a much more rare and ſingular attainment in the earlier ages, than it is at preſent. It was not to ſchools and univerſities that the perſons applied, who ſought to diſtinguiſh themſelves. They had not this eaſy recourſe. They travelled for their improvement into diſtant countries, to Egypt, and to the Eaſt. They enquired after all the monuments of learning there. They converſed with Prieſts, Philoſophers, Poets, with all who had acquired any diſtinguiſhed fame. They returned to their own country full of the diſcoveries which they had made, and fired by the new and uncommon objects which they had ſeen. Their knowledge and improvements coſt them more labour, raiſed in them more enthuſiaſm, were attended with higher rewards and honours, than in modern days. Fewer had the means and opportunities of diſtinguiſhing themſelves, than now; but ſuch as did diſtinguiſh themſelves, were ſure of acquiring that fame, and even veneration, which is of all other rewards, the greateſt incentive to genius. Herodotus read his hiſtory to all Greece aſſembled at the Olympic games, and was publicly crowned. In the Peloponneſian war, when the Athenian army was defeated in Sicily, and the priſoners were ordered to be put to death, ſuch of them as could repeat any verſes of Euripides were ſaved, from honour to that Poet, who was a citizen of Athens. Theſe were teſtimonies of public regard, far beyond what modern manners confer upon genius.

In our times, good writing is conſidered as an attainment, neither ſo difficult, nor ſo high and meritorious.

Scribimus indocti, doctique, Poëmata paſſim*.

We write much more ſupinely, and at our eaſe, than the Ancients. To excel, is become a much leſs conſiderable object. Leſs effort, leſs exertion is required, becauſe we have many more aſſiſtances than they. Printing has rendered all books common, and eaſy to be had. Education for any of the learned profeſſions can be carried on without much trouble. Hence a mediocrity of genius is ſpread over all. But to riſe beyond that, and to overtop the crowd, is given to few. The multitude of aſſiſtances which we have for all kinds of compoſition, in the opinion of Sir William Temple, a very competent judge, rather depreſſes, than favours, the exertions of native genius. "It is very poſſible," ſays that ingenious Author, in his Eſſay on the Ancients and Moderns, "that men may loſe rather than gain by theſe; may "leſſen the force of their own "genius, by forming it upon

* "Now every deſperate blockhead dares to write;
"Verſe is the trade of every living wight."
FRANCIS.

" that of others; may have leſs " knowledge of their own, for " contenting themſelves with that " of thoſe before them. So a " man that only tranſlates, ſhall " never be a Poet; ſo people " that truſt to others charity, ra- " ther than their own induſtry, " will be always poor. Who can " tell," he adds, " whether " learning may not even weaken " invention, in a man that has " great advantages from nature? " Whether the weight and num- " ber of ſo many other men's " thoughts and notions may not " ſuppreſs his own; as heaping " on wood ſometimes ſuppreſſes a " little ſpark, that would other- " wiſe have grown into a flame? " The ſtrength of mind, as well " as of body, grows more from " the warmth of exerciſe, than " of clothes; nay, too much of " this foreign heat, rather makes " men faint, and their conſtituti- " ons weaker than they would be " without them."

From whatever cauſe it happens, ſo it is, that among ſome of the Ancient Writers, we muſt look for the higheſt models in moſt of the kinds of elegant compoſition. For accurate thinking and enlarged ideas, in ſeveral parts of Philoſophy, to the Moderns we ought chiefly to have recourſe. Of correct and finiſhed writing in ſome works of taſte, they may afford uſeful patterns; but for all that belongs to original genius, to ſpirited, maſterly, and high execution, our beſt and moſt happy ideas are, generally ſpeaking, drawn from the Ancients. In Epic Poetry, for inſtance, Homer and Virgil, to this day, ſtand not within many degrees of any rival. Orators, ſuch as Cicero and Demoſthenes, we have none. In hiſtory, notwithſtanding ſome defects, which I am afterwards to mention in the ancient hiſtorical plans, it may be ſafely aſſerted, that we have no ſuch hiſtorical narration, ſo elegant, ſo pictureſque, ſo animated, and intereſting as that of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, Tacitus, and Salluſt. Although the conduct of the drama may be admitted to have received ſome improvements, yet for Poetry and Sentiment we have nothing to equal Sophocles and Euripides; nor any dialogue in Comedy, that comes up to the correct, graceful, and elegant ſimplicity of Terence. We have no ſuch Love Elegies as thoſe of Tibullus; no ſuch Paſtorals as ſome of Theocritus's: and for Lyric Poetry, Horace ſtands quite unrivalled. The name of Horace cannot be mentioned without a particular encomium. That " Cu- " rioſa Felicitas," which Petronius has remarked in his expreſſion; the ſweetneſs, elegance, and ſpirit of many of his Odes, the thorough knowledge of the world, the excellent ſentiments, and natural eaſy manner which diſtinguiſh his Satyres and Epiſtles, all contribute to render him one of thoſe very few authors whom one never tires of reading; and from whom alone, were every other monument deſtroyed, we would be led to form a very high idea of the taſte and genius of the Auguſtan Age.

To all ſuch then, as wiſh to form their taſte, and nouriſh their genius, let me warmly recommend the aſſiduous ſtudy of the Ancient Claſſics, both Greek and Roman.

Nocturnâ

Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ *.

Without a considerable acquaintance with them, no man can be reckoned a polite scholar; and he will want many assistances for writing and speaking well, which the knowledge of such authors would afford him. Any one has great reason to suspect his own taste, who receives little or no pleasure from the perusal of writings, which so many ages and nations have consented in holding up as objects of admiration. And I am persuaded, it will be found, that in proportion as the Ancients are generally studied and admired, or are unknown and disregarded in any country, good taste and good composition will flourish, or decline. They are commonly none but the ignorant or superficial, who undervalue them.

At the same time, a just and high regard for the prime writers of antiquity is to be always distinguished, from that contempt of every thing which is modern, and that blind veneration for all that has been written in Greek or Latin, which belongs only to pedants. Among the Greek and Roman authors, some assuredly deserve much higher regard than others; nay, some are of no great value. Even the best of them lie open occasionally to just censure; for to no human performance is it given, to be absolutely perfect. We may, we ought therefore to read them with a distinguishing eye, so as to propose for imitation their beauties only; and it is perfectly consistent with just and candid criticism, to find fault with parts, while, at the same time, it admires the whole."

A Letter from Bishop Atterbury *to Mr.* Prior, *extracted from Vol.* II. *of* Atterbury's *Epistolary Correspondence, &c. collected and published by* J. Nichols.

Dear Sir,

Bromley, Aug. 26, 1718.

THE first news I heard of your being ill, was under your own hand. It was a pleasure to me to find that the worst of your illness was over. I am well acquainted with that distemper, having smarted severely under it myself; and depend upon it, it is an acquaintance that will not easily be shook off: you will hear more of it, if you give it the least encouragement to renew its visits. But temperance, good hours, and a little exercise (to all which you are well inclined), will keep it at a distance. Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late. I had already disposed of the living †. However, I frankly said to him, what I now say to you, that, if I had not been engaged, I should not have been willing to give it him. It is a vicarage in a great market-town, which requires perpetual residence, and he has another vicarage, which, with his minor-canonry ‡, is of a value

* "Read them by day, and study them by night." Francis.

† To Mr. Charles Chambers, who was collated to it Sept. 20, 1718.

‡ Of Rochester, by which dean and chapter, Mr. John Clough, was presented to the vicarage of Ashford, in Kent, in August, 1721. He died Dec. 4, 1764.

equal to that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both conſiſtent. That is a ſcheme which I can no way approve, eſpecially in a young ſingle man, who does not want a tolerable ſupport; for he has a good 100l. *per annum* now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully juſtify myſelf when I ſee you—but when will that be? Do you remember the ſolemn promiſe you made me of coming over hither this ſummer? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience; my peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they rotted; and one of my poetical neighbours, who obſerved my uneaſineſs, and thought I liked your company better than his, applied theſe verſes of Virgil to me:

Mirabar, quid mœſte Deos, Franciſce, vocares:
Cui pendere ſuâ patereris in arbore poma.
Tityrus hinc aberat: ipſæ te, Tityre, pinus,
Ipſi te fontes, ipſa hæc arbuſta vocabant*.

And what excuſe ſhall I make for Tityrus; that he neglected his little friends for the ſake of his great ones, that he was paying his court, and getting the cholic? You know what Tityrus ſays for himſelf in the lines that follow:

Quid facerem? neque ſervitio me exire licebat,
Nec tam præſentes alibi cognoſcere divos †.

Would I could ſay of any one of thoſe *divi* in your name, as he does in his own,

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipſum
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permiſit agreſti ‡!

Thoſe two words *quæ vellem* touch me to the very heart: they are worth the whole eclogue.

You ſee what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn on yourſelf, by that half line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without obſerving to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this caſe has over the original. Virgil, in thoſe five little words, *dum ſpiritus hos reget artus*, has expreſſed the whole force of a line and half in Homer,

εἰσόκ' ἄϋτμὴ
Ἐν στήθεσι μίνυ, καὶ μοι φίλα γυῖα ὀρώρῃ §.

* Oft, Amaryllis, I with wonder heard
Thy vows to heaven in ſoft diſtreſs preferr'd:
With wonder oft thy lingering fruits ſurvey'd;
Nor knew for whom the bending branches ſtay'd:
'Twas Tit'rus was away—for thee detain'd,
The pines, the ſhrubs, the bubbling ſprings complain'd.
Dr. WARTON.

† What could I do? where elſe expect to find
One glimpſe of freedom, or a god ſo kind? Ibid.

‡ He gave my oxen, as thou ſee'ſt, to ſtray,
And me, at eaſe, my favourite ſtrains to play. Ibid.

§ "Whilſt life's warm ſpirit beats within my breaſt." POPE.
Literally,
——while breath within my breaſt remains,
And moves my friendly knees.

Reget

Reget artus takes in all that Homer means, and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of εἰλα γόνατα (friendly knees), which adds not to the beauty or ſtrength of the image, and is therefore better omitted than expreſſed.

The riſe of this reflection is from the gout, which has at preſent laid hold of me; ſhould it take away the uſe of my εἰλα γόνατα, I ſhould be nevertheleſs yours, becauſe I am ſo while I breathe.

To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Weſtminſter, every where; in Greek, in Latin, in Engliſh, and (which is more) in good earneſt, I am, Sir, your faithful humble ſervant,

FR. ROFFEN.

Reflections on a late ſcandalous Report about the Repeal of the Teſt Act*; extracted from Vol.* II. *of the ſame Work.*

THE peculiar character of the men of this age is, that they readily believe every thing but truth; and, as great infidels as they are in matters of religion, yet in politics, whatever idle report is ſtirring, they give into it with an amazing degree of credulity. How elſe could it happen that ſo many ſhould in good earneſt be alarmed with the late rumor we have had of a deſign to *repeal the Teſt*; a fiction every way ridiculous and childiſh, fit only to frighten ſuch as believe in *Fairies!* There are thoſe indeed who know how to make their advantages of a ſtate-lye, if they can paſs it upon the world for an hour: but it was impudence in the forger of this to imagine that it could laſt a moment. For, ſet this odd project in what light, and view it on what ſide you pleaſe, the abſurdities of it are ſo evident and glaring, that one would think the weakeſt eye could not miſs diſcovering them.

Every one knows the original of the Teſt Act; how juſt the fears were that occaſioned it, and how well it was calculated every way to remove them. The dangers which then threatened our conſtitution were of two ſorts: and the wiſdom of the legiſlature took care equally to guard againſt both of them. That part of this act, which makes the renouncing the corporal preſence in the Euchariſt a neceſſary qualification for an office, would have excluded the Papiſts as effectually as any additional teſt whatſoever: and therefore the other part of it, which enjoins receiving the ſacrament, muſt have been aimed chiefly at the Diſſenters. And if, in that reſpect, it were then thought neceſſary, with what face can any one pretend that it is unneceſſary now? We did not look upon ourſelves as ſecure, without a ſacramental teſt, even at a time when a toleration was not as yet granted by law; and he muſt have an extraordinary turn of head, who, at this time of day, can imagine that there is leſs reaſon for continuing, than there was at firſt for impoſing, it. Since the birth of the

* I believe this has never been publiſhed. It is now printed from the biſhop's own hand-writing.

Teſt,

Teſt, have we, by any new fences, been ſheltered againſt the attacks of Diſſenters? or are they grown leſs formidable by the favours of more than one reign, and twenty years legal indulgence? Have they loſt their old reliſh of power, by the late allowances they have had to taſte of it? Or have they given us any reaſon to think, they would uſe it better than their moderate predeceſſors did in the times of anarchy and confuſion; when they were not content to exclude church-of-England-men from civil offices, but made it penal for them even to teach a child, or ſay grace in a private family? We have an inſtructive inſtance, in a neighbouring nation, how the ſpirit of fanaticiſm works when dominant; and they who will not be convinced by it, neither would they be perſuaded, though Bradſhaw and Ireton, Venners and Marſhal, ſhould riſe from the dead, and once again exerciſe their dominion over us.

The church of England hath ever juſtly been eſteemed the great bulwark of the reformation; and, I am ſure, the Teſt Act may as juſtly be reckoned the chief bulwark of the church; for, by the means of it, that power which alone can protect or deſtroy her has been kept in the hands of her friends, or of thoſe at leaſt who deſired to be thought ſuch, and could not therefore openly do any thing diſagreeable to that character. But, whenever thoſe who are not of her communion are let into a ſhare of this power, it is as eaſy to foretell, as it will be impoſſible to prevent, the ſad conſequences of it. We muſt be allowed at that juncture to ſay (what every one will ſee) that ſhe is in extreme danger; and that no ſtate-phyſician, be his ſkill ever ſo great, or his intentions ever ſo good, will then be able to ſave her. She has perhaps the leaſt influence of any church upon earth, by virtue of that diſcipline and authority which ſhe is permitted to exerciſe; and no method hath been left unattempted to make her looſe the hold ſhe had in the affections and reverence of the people. That which ſupports her under theſe diſadvantages is, the incapacity that lies on her enemies as to places and power. Let this incapacity be ever removed, ſhe is from that moment at mercy, and can ſubſiſt only (as the primitive church was planted) by miracle.

It being evident, that theſe are the conſequences of repealing the Teſt Act, and as evident that it can be repealed only by thoſe who profeſs themſelves of the church of England, one would wonder, how it was poſſible to raiſe a jealouſy, that, in our preſent circumſtances, it would ever be attempted. For who is there likely to make or abet ſuch a propoſal in public? The Scotch members are pointed at as the men who are to introduce it under the notion of improving the union. As if the proper way of improving the union were, to take the firſt opportunity of breaking in upon the terms of it! one of which is, that (not only the "Statute of uniformity," and the 13th of Eliz. which are expreſsly mentioned, but) "all and ſingular acts of parliament, now in force for the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of the church of England, ſhall

ſhall remain, and be in full force for ever." And if the Teſt and Corporation Acts (which muſt ſtand and fall together) be not in the number of theſe, I deſpair of finding any ſuch in the ſtatute-book. Sure we are, the great influence of theſe acts was ſo well underſtood in a late reign, that her enemies, how widely ſoever differing in other opinions, yet agreed in this, that a repeal of them would be the ſureſt and readieſt way towards her ruin. The church itſelf thought ſo too; and therefore ſtruggled for them as for life, and even ventured a revolution to ſecure them.

The Scotch members are ſenſible that ſeveral laws anent the ſecurity of their kirk are perpetuated by like general words in the Act of Union; and will be wary therefore, how they weaken our ſecurity which ſtands upon the ſame bottom with theirs, leſt the precedent, ſet here, ſhould be followed elſewhere, and a way opened by the means of it to ſubvert their preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. Beſides, ſuch a propoſal for ſetting Diſſenters upon an equal foot of privilege with the members of the eſtabliſhed church, would come with a very ill grace from them, that deny even to tolerate thoſe of the epiſcopal perſuaſion amongſt them. An authentic evidence of their principles in this point is, the repreſentation, which the commiſſion of their general aſſembly made to the Scotch parliament, a little before the union, wherein they "are bold in the Lord, and in the name of the church of God in their land, earneſtly to atteſt his grace [the high commiſſioner] and the moſt honourable eſtates, that no motion of any legal toleration to thoſe of prelatical principles may be entertained by the parliament, being perſuaded that in the preſent caſe and circumſtances of that church and nation, to enact a toleration for thoſe of that way (which God of his infinite mercy avert!) would be to eſtabliſh iniquity by a law, and would bring upon the promoters thereof, and upon their families, the dreadful guilt of all thoſe ſins, and pernicious effects, both in church and ſtate, that might enſue thereupon." Thus they then proteſted; and, to do them right, however they may have been miſrepreſented, their practice ever ſince hath been exactly conformable to their opinion.

Well then, no proper advocate for this repeal is to be found among the Scotch members of parliament, and much leſs ſurely among the Engliſh, who are all ſons of that church which would be ſtruck at by ſuch an attempt, and can no more be out-witted, than out-voted, in a caſe where their intereſt is ſo evidently concerned. Many of them are of tried virtue, and did, with a memorable firmneſs, oppoſe this deſign, even when the crown, with all its weight, came in to promote it. And there are none of them but will acknowledge that our preſent ſafety and happineſs are owing to the honourable ſtand which was then made. We need not doubt, therefore, but that, if occaſion were given them, they would be as ready to imitate that conduct as they are to applaud it.

The Houſe of Commons have already expreſſed their opinion, that

that the Teſt Act is a fundamental part of the union, by declaring upon their Journal, that "it is effectually and eſſentially provided for" by the Act of Security; and the Lords were of the ſame mind, when they gave the ſame reaſon in their debates, why an expreſs mention of it was needleſs.

It is impoſſible to conceive that the biſhops ſhould not unanimouſly withſtand ſuch a project; and we may be ſure, they have intereſt enough to prevent the bringing in any bill, which touches the church ſo nearly, againſt their concurring opinion. Indeed, if Parker and Cartwright * were alive, they would be fit tools to work with on this occaſion: but I know of no one Engliſh prelate now upon the bench that can come within the reach of ſuch a ſuſpicion. My lord of Sarum † has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for preſerving the Teſt Act, and given ſuch ſtrong reaſons for it from the Hague as can never be anſwered here in England; and we may be ſatisfied, from his character, that his lordſhip will always be found conſiſtent with himſelf, and perſevere to the death in that opinion. Beſides, ſuch an infringement of the union here would, as I have ſhewed, be attended with ſome danger to the conſtitution and diſcipline of the Scotch kirk, for which his lordſhip muſt be allowed, on the account both of his birth and comprehenſive charity, to have a particular tenderneſs.

From what party, or ſet of men amongſt us, can ſuch a propoſal as this probably come? The body of thoſe we call Whigs have imbibed revolution principles ſo deeply, and remember them ſo well, as not to be willingly dipped in a deſign of doing that very thing which the revolution was intended to prevent. They cannot forget that one chief motive of the prince's coming over, expreſſed in his declaration from the Hague, was, to quaſh that "wicked deſign" (I ſpeak his highneſs's words) "of repealing the Teſt." The attempt will not be thought leſs wicked, or more ſeaſonable now, if we conſider either our domeſtic or foreign circumſtances. Nor can that party be ſo ſure of their preſent power and numbers, as to be willing to hazard all their credit and intereſt upon ſo dangerous an experiment.

The Pretender's friends (who are alſo for revolution principles in their way) cannot hope to advance his intereſt by laying ſo open and barefaced a ſcheme for the introduction of popery; which, if ever it takes place here, muſt come in upon us by ſtealth, and not by act of parliament. Nor will the continuance of that part of the act which affects the Papiſts remove this objection: for the taking away one branch of our ſecurity evidently weakens the whole; and the repealing acts by piecemeal is a trick ſo often tried that every body is aware of it. Beſides, this ſort of men is too

* Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, and Cartwright, Biſhop of Cheſter, both preferred in 1686 by King James II. See their characters in Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. II. p. 398. 8vo. edit.

† Biſhop Burnet.

inconſiderable for numbers and intereſt, to enter on ſuch a project, unleſs joined by others of greater power and popularity. And, were it poſſible to conceive that there ſhould be any underſtanding between the Pretender and ſome of his pretended enemies, yet, we may be ſure, they would be very ſhy of owning it, or of doing any thing that might open the ſecret of ſuch a correſpondence.

The favourers of Diſſenters never eſpouſed them on any other foot than that of an allowance to worſhip God in their own way; which they now amply enjoy, and are under no apprehenſions of loſing. To plead for any thing farther in their behalf would be to take off the maſk, and to diſcover to us, that though liberty of conſcience was their pretence, yet their true meaning was, power and places.

They who ſtood up for occaſional conformity argued for it upon this principle, that it would, by degrees, win men over to the church, and extinguiſh the ſchiſm. And, to ſay truth, it has had ſome ſucceſs that way; and will have more, if we let it continue. But if the Teſt be taken off, there is an end of occaſional conformity, and of all its boaſted advantages. Separatiſts will no longer make approaches to the church, when, by ſerving God in their own way, they do not find that they are a jot leſs capable of ſerving themſelves. And therefore, ſince occaſional conformity has ſo neceſſary a connexion with the Teſt, they who are profeſſed friends to the one, cannot poſſibly be enemies to the other.

Dutch counſels have ſometimes had their influence on our affairs, and we have been warmly preſſed to adjuſt things here at home to the model of Holland. But there is no room for ſuch advice at preſent: for our caſe is already much the ſame with theirs. They too have their Teſts, by which the government of the ſtate is ſecured in the hands of thoſe who are of the eſtabliſhed religion; nor do they think that the tolerated ſects have a right to be admitted into ſo much power as will enable them to ſubvert the conſtitution. When the Dutch give up their Teſts, I dare engage, we ſhall be ready to part with ours: but, till this is done, no argument drawn from the practice of that wiſe people can prove any thing, but that we are fools if we ſurrender.

There is but one ſort of men more that can be thought capable of intereſting themſelves in this affair; perſons of ſincere piety, who are offended at the frequent prophanations of the ſacrament, occaſioned by this act. But ſuch will conſider, that the diſcipline of the univerſal church lies open to the very ſame objection; ſince ſet-times, every year, are, we know, preſcribed by the Canons, when all adult Chriſtians are to receive the ſacrament, under the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. And though many, by this means, have been induced to receive unworthily, yet the church never thought itſelf anſwerable for their ill conduct, or obliged to withdraw her injunctions for the avoiding of ſcandal. Good men will ſee the force of this reaſoning, and forbear to take offence. But their number is not great; the oppoſers of the Teſt Act have gene-

generally nothing leſs at heart than to prevent ſuch prophanations. I am ſure, the way to prevent them is not what ſome have propoſed, to make it a ſufficient qualification for an office if the ſacrament be received in any place of religious worſhip: for this propoſal would only extend thoſe prophanations to conventicles as well as churches, and by that means rather propagate than diminiſh the ſcandal.

The reſult of theſe inquiries is, that, ſince wherever we caſt our eyes, within the church or without it, at home or abroad, no undertaker can be found likely to engage in ſuch a work, there is no ground to ſuſpect it was ever intended: malice might raiſe the report, and folly might ſpread it; but it is too groſs to impoſe upon any but thoſe who are weak enough to be alarmed with the news of a ſecond invaſion *.

A Letter from Biſhop Atterbury *to Lord* Inverneis †, *after that Biſhop's Baniſhment from* England; *extracted from Vol.* III. *of the ſame Work.*

Paris, Feb. 1732.

My Lord,

About the beginning of December laſt I wrote to your lordſhip, and ſent you a paper which I had lately printed here ‡. To that letter, though your lordſhip uſed to anſwer all mine without delay, I had no manner of return. I heard indeed, ſoon after I had written to you, of what had happened on St. Andrew's day laſt at Avignon §, but I did not think a change of religion made any change in the forms of civility; and therefore I ſtill wondered at your ſilence. Perhaps a reflection on your not having conſulted me in that great affair, though I was the only biſhop of the church of England on this ſide the water, might make you ſhy of writing to me on any other account, and willing to drop the correſpondence. You may remember, my lord, that when you firſt retired from the K. at Piſa, and when you afterwards left Rome and went to Avignon; on both theſe occaſions, you opened to me by letter the reaſon of your conduct, and gave me an opportunity by that means of expreſſing my thoughts to you in the manner I uſed always to do, that is, frankly and without reſerve. In this laſt ſtep, my lord, you have acted far otherwiſe; and yet in this I had moſt reaſon to expect, that you would not merely have informed me of what had paſt, but even conſulted me before you took your full and final reſolution.

* This refers to an invaſion projected about 1708.

† Indorſed "Paris, March 3, 1732;" the day it was received by Lord Inverneis, not that on which it was written. The biſhop died Feb. 15; and a letter from him written after the ſecond day of that month has been already printed in vol. I. p. 295. The preſent one is probably of ſtill later date, and, nervous as it is, may be the laſt he ever wrote. The zeal ſo eminently conſpicuous in it for the Proteſtant religion is an irrefragable anſwer to the calumny of his having been inclined to Popery. As to his political attachments, they by no means prove his having been engaged in a conſpiracy againſt England. By being baniſhed, he was abſolved from his allegiance.

‡ The piece he had "lately printed" was the "Vindication, &c." in vol. I. p. 278. Paris, 1731.

§ Lord Inverneſs's abjuration of Proteſtantiſm.

My

My character and courſe of ſtudies qualified me much better for ſuch an application, than for paſſing my judgment in matters of ſtate and political managements. If your lordſhip entertained any doubts concerning your ſafety in that religion wherein you had been bred, I might perhaps, upon your propoſing them, have been ſo happy as to have ſolved them, and ſhewn you that whatever reaſon you might have, as to this world, for quitting the communion you were of, you had none, you could have none, as to another.

Since you were not pleaſed to give me an occaſion of writing to you at this time, I have determined to take it, and to purſue my former method of telling you, with ſuch plainneſs as perhaps nobody elſe will, what the world ſays of your late conduct.

My lord, they who ſpeak of it moſt ſoftly, and with greateſt regard to your lordſhip, ſay, that it is a *coup de deſeſpoir*; and that your lordſhip perceiving the prejudices of the K's Proteſtant ſubjects to run high againſt you, ſo that you would never be ſuffered to be about his perſon and in the ſecret of his affairs with their conſent, was reſolved to try what could be done by changing ſides, and whether you might not at long run be able to gain by one party what you had loſt by another. They repreſent you as thinking the K's reſtoration not ſoon likely to happen; and therefore as reſolved, ſince you were obliged to live in exile in Roman Catholic countries, to make the beſt of your circumſtances, and recommend yourſelf, as much as you could, to the natives; that ſo, if his cauſe ſhould prove deſperate for a time, you might find your way back again into his ſervice, when it would be no longer reckoned prejudicial to his affairs. And they quote ſome words, which they ſay fell from your lordſhip, to this purpoſe: "That ſince you ſaw nothing was likely to be done for the K. you thought it high time to take care of your ſoul." I hope in God they belye you, ſince it gives us, who are at a diſtance from the ſecret of affairs, but a very diſcouraging proſpect of the K's reſtoration, of the probability or improbability of which you, my lord, muſt be allowed a more competent judge. And withal, ſuch a ſaying carries in it ſomething more diſhonourable to your lordſhip, ſince it implies, that, had the reſtoration been near and probable, you would not have troubled your head about matters of religion, but ſuffered your ſoul to ſhift for itſelf. They who thus interpret your laſt ſtep proceed further, and ſay, that you intended by that means, if you could not find your way again into the general and open management of the K's affairs, at leaſt to have that part of them attached to you which related to foreign princes and courts, to whom what you had done muſt have rendered you grateful; and thus, while your brother-in-law ſhould have the care of the domeſtic correſpondence, and you all the reſt, the whole would have run in proper channels. They affirm, that even upon your firſt coming back to the K. from Piſa, there was a general expectation at Rome, encouraged by the court of Rome itſelf,

itſelf, that you would then have declared yourſelf a Roman Catholic, and that it was prevented only by the repreſentations made at that time to your diſadvantage from the K's friends, which occaſioned your abrupt retreat to Avignon: and they ſuppoſe ſome private audiences you had at that time tended to this point; that happened then to be defeated, and the declaration itſelf was poſtponed to a more convenient opportunity. This indeed claſhes a little with the former ſcheme mentioned. God forbid I ſhould expoſe * either of them! I do not, I merely relate them, and having done ſo, leave it to your lordſhip to make ſuch uſe of them as you in your wiſdom ſhall judge proper.

There are others, my lord, that reflect on your conduct ſtill more unkindly, and put it in a more odious light; there are theſe (nor are they few) who are ſo prejudiced againſt you as to ſuppoſe (for none of them have pretended to prove) that you have played the ſame game as my Lord Mar did, had a ſecret underſtanding with the miniſters on the other ſide, and received the reward of it; theſe men, being, as they are, your profeſſed enemies, ſtick not to ſay, that ſince you could not any longer derive merit to yourſelf from your management near the K. you were reſolved to do as much miſchief as you could to his affairs at parting, by an action which naturally tended to raiſe in the minds of his Proteſtant ſubjects ſuch diſadvantageous opinions of him as I need not explain, ſuch as of all others will have the greateſt influence toward hindering his reſtoration. They conſider your lordſhip as one that has ſtudied your maſter's temper, and perfectly knows it; as one that never did any thing but what you judged would be perfectly agreeable to him, nothing but with his privity and by his direction. In this light, my lord, when they ſee what you have lately done, it is no wonder if they draw ſtrange inferences from it, and impute to your lordſhip views which your heart, I hope, abhors. But they will certainly perſiſt in that way of thinking, if they find that your lordſhip has ſtill credit with the K. and a ſhare in his confidence; and this, even at this diſtance, my lord, will in a little time appear to watchful obſervers. They ſay it is a ſure rule, not to do that which our worſt enemies, provided they are wiſe and underſtand their own intereſt, would above all things have us do; and yet your lordſhip, they think, has acted after that manner on the preſent occaſion, there being nothing that could either gratify your enemies more, or diſpleaſe your friends (ſuch, I mean, as are alſo enemies and friends to the r— cauſe) than the ſtep you have taken, and they will not believe, but that if you had meant the K. as well as you ought to do, this ſingle conſideration would have reſtrained you. They urge, that the difficulties into which the K. is brought by this means are exceeding great. Let him be ever ſo well perſuaded of your civi-

* Probably "ſuppoſe."

lities,

lities *, integrity, and zeal; he yet cannot make a free uſe of them, without exciting new jealouſies, on very tender points, and in very honeſt hearts, where one would wiſh that they might by all poſſible means be allayed. Let him have been ever ſo much a ſtranger to what paſſed at Avignon till it was over, he cannot yet prudently declare himſelf on that head, becauſe of the inconveniencies with which ſuch a declaration, in his preſent circumſtances, will be attended on the one ſide, as his total ſilence will be liable to miſconſtructions, on the other: every way this affair will perplex him with reſpect to the different intereſts he has ſeparately to manage. Abroad, if he were thought to be at the bottom of it, it might do him no harm; at home it certainly will, and there his great intereſt lies, to which he is, above all others, to attend. Nor will the judgement be paſſed on this occaſion in haſte, ſince it cannot be formed on any thing now given out, but will depend on future facts and appearances.

I have made little mention all this while of what your lordſhip may think a full anſwer to all theſe reflections and refinements, that you have followed a motion of conſcience in what you have done, and depended on that for your juſtification. It may, my lord, and I hope will, juſtify you before God, if you ſincerely acted on that principle; but as for men, the misfortune is (and I beg your lordſhip's pardon for venturing to tell you ſo) that no perſon, whom I have ſeen or heard of, will allow what you have done to be the effect of conviction. In that caſe, they ſay, you would have proceeded otherwiſe than merely by adviſing with thoſe into whoſe communion you were haſtening; eſpecially ſince it is ſuppoſed that your lordſhip has not ſpent much time in qualifying yourſelf for the diſcuſſion of ſuch points by a peruſal of books of controverſy. Men, they ſay, of ſincerity and truth are often kept in a religion to which they have been accuſtomed, without enquiring ſtrictly into the grounds of it; but ſeldom any man, who has a ſenſe of piety and honour, quits a religion in which he has been educated, without carefully conſidering what may be ſaid for and againſt it. Men indeed may be ſometimes enlightened and convinced of all at once by an over-ruling impreſſion from above. But, as theſe caſes are exceeding rare, ſo I need not tell your lordſhip that in yours, they that object to your proceedings are by no means diſpoſed to make you ſuch allowances. They think that, had you aimed only at ſatisfying your conſcience, you might have done what you did in a more private manner, and enjoyed the benefit of it in ſecret, without giving a public and needleſs alarm; but, when you choſe St. Andrew's day for entering on the work, Chriſtmas day for compleating it, and the Pope's inquiſitor at Avignon to receive your abjuration, they conclude that you intended to make an *eclat*, and to give notice to all the world of

* Probably *abilities*; but the communicator of the letter would not venture to make any alteration.

your embracing a different communion; which might be useful indeed with regard to some political views, but could not be necessary toward satisfying those of mere conscience.

These, my lord, are the reflections which have been made in various conversations, where I was present, on the subject of what lately passed at Avignon. Many of them cannot be more unwelcome to you than they are to me, who suffer in a cause which such steps are far from promoting. I am mortified, my lord, to see it thus go backward, instead of forward, and have a right to express my own free sense in such a case, though I have in this letter chiefly represented the sense of others; losers must have leave to speak, and therefore I make no apology for the freedom I have taken. You seem to have approved it on other occasions; and will not, I hope, blame it on this, when it is equally intended for your information and service. At the distance we are now, and are likely to continue, I know not how to offer a better proof of the regard with which I am, my lord, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

THE

THE Spaniſh government has continually been too jealous of their *American riches*, ever to permit any authentic accounts of them to get abroad, and they have been particularly ſo with regard to all matters of revenue ariſing from their poſſeſſions in that part of the world. We think therefore the following tract, taken from an original paper that has fallen into our hands, may not be unacceptable to the public.

An Abſtract from the King's Books in the Royal Treaſury at Goanaxuato *ſince the Eſtabliſhment of that Office the 30th of April,* 1665, *to December* 31, 1778, *ſhewing, by Accounts made up every five Years, the Weight of the Gold and Silver on which Duties have been paid, and the whole Amount of thoſe Duties during the above Period of* 114 *Years.*

Periods of five Years.	Caſtellans of fine Gold of 22 Carats.			Marks of Silver of 12 Dwts.			Duties on Gold.			Duties on Silver.			Total of both Duties.		
							Rials.			Rials.			Rials.		
From 1665 to 1669 —	26,315	7	7	193,120	3	6	11,937	6	4	184,166	6	3	196,104	4	7
1670 to 1674 —	28,336	3	5	269,902	7	–	12,727	0	10	258,484	7	8	271,212	0	6
1675 to 1679 —	61,710	5	5	383,901	6	–	27,711	4	7	365,464	4	3	393,176	0	10
1680 to 1684 —	16,578	6	9	300,517	0	0	7,431	6	8	287,356	5	2	294,788	3	10
1685 to 1689 —	82,599	7	1	394,701	7	–	36,944	6	11	375,924	0	8	412,868	7	7
1690 to 1694 —	74,361	4	4	404,736	6	–	34,481	5	7	385,553	7	10	420,035	5	5
1695 to 1699 —	79,848	2	4	429,708	7	–	34,856	1	2	409,946	2	3	444,802	3	5
1700 to 1704 —	20,275	4	9	532,346	3	–	9,684	4	10	564,518	7	4	574,203	4	2
1705 to 1709 —	26,073	2	10	474,899	4	–	12,496	5	3	505,760	1	4	518,256	6	7
1710 to 1714 —	24,099	7	7	475,499	2	–	11,600	1	–	506,596	5	–	518,196	6	–
1715 to 1719 —	22,145	6	–	637,081	7	–	10,656	0	9	679,037	2	2	689,693	2	11
1720 to 1724 —	35,729	5	2	707,247	5	–	14,034	5	3	753,415	0	10	767,449	6	1
1725 to 1729 —	43,896	7	2	1,018,640	5	–	12,127	2	9	1,084,419	1	8	1,096,546	4	5
1730 to 1734 —	164,225	1	2	1,159,069	2	–	45,350	0	11	1,236,564	1	9	1,281,914	2	8
1735 to 1739 —	531,352	4	2	1,292,578	6	–	146,613	2	2	1,379,636	2	5	1,526,249	4	7

Periods of five Years.	Caſtellans of fine Gold of 22 Carats.			Marks of Silver of 12 Dwts.			Duties on Gold.			Duties on Silver.			Total of both Duties.		
							Rials.			Rials.			Rials.		
From 1740 to 1744	742,326	3	10	1,400,526	5	-	219,071	-	3	1,494,337	4	6	1,713,364	4	6
1745 to 1749	287,269	0	4	1,928,723	7	-	93,774	7		2,059,072	3	1	2,152,847	2	4
1750 to 1754	133,672	6	4	1,611,754	0	0	43,630	6	4	1,722,139	3	11	1,765,730	2	3
1755 to 1759	170,302	2	10	1,349,661	7	-	55,584	-	-	1,441,626	0	4	1,497,210	0	4
1760 to 1764	220,014	4	2	1,318,300	4	-	71,793	-	-	1,407,007	5	3	1,478,800	5	6
1765 to 1769	184,104	6	9	1,379,148	6	6	60,088	4	5	1,471,292	7	2	1,531,381	3	7
1770 to 1774	241,738	3	1	1,909,234	1	7	78,888	6	-	2,039,664	7	6	2,118,553	5	6
1775 to 1778	330,912	5	6	2,122,785	6	3	78,685	3	7	2,137,658	6	3	2,216,344	1	10
Totals	3547,891	5	5	21,694,088	4	6	1130,126	2	10	22,749,644	6	7	23,879,771	1	5

The *Royal Treaſury* of *Goanaxuato* was eſtabliſhed by the Marquis de Maniera, when viceroy of the kingdom of Mexico, the 30th of April, 1665; and it appears by this account, that the ſum total of the duties on gold and ſilver paid into the royal exchequer during 114 years, was 23,879,771 rials, 1 tom. 5 gr.

The *Caſtellan* of gold of 22 carats was worth 18 rials, from the 30th of April, 1665, to December following, and was then reduced to $16\frac{32}{34}$ rials, or dollars $2\frac{32}{272}$. On the 25th of June, 1743, the value of the *Caſtellan* got up to dollars $2\frac{192}{272}$, or rials $21\frac{21}{34}$: on the 18th of May, 1744, it was fixed, and ſtill remains without any variation, at dollars $2\frac{152}{272}$, or rials $20\frac{1}{2}$.

Every mark of ſilver of 12 dwts. was worth, from the time of the eſtabliſhment of this office to the 8th of March, 1677, dollars $8\frac{3}{4}$; the value then was reduced $\frac{4}{272}$ maravedies, and at that rate it has continued to this day, viz. dollars 8, 5 rials, 30 maravedies.

Notes.

The duties on gold bullion were firſt rated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the groſs, and $\frac{1}{5}$ of the net, value, which amounted to $21\frac{1}{5}$ per cent. and ſo continued till Auguſt 1, 1701. The ſovereignty-duty of four dollars per 100 caſtellans, which before had been collected at the mint, was then added, and the whole amounted to $22\frac{7}{10}$ per cent. at which rate they continued till November 1723. The duties were then reduced (ſubject however to variation according to the price of the bullion) to $12\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. and underwent no other alteration till

January

January 1777. A farther reduction then took place, to about 11⅓ per cent. and on the 12th of September following the duties were fixed at 3 per cent. and have remained on that footing to this day.

The silver mines contributed their share to the revenue, at the rate of 10$\frac{9}{16}$ per cent. till June 1700, at which time the sovereignty duty of 1 rial per mark of 11 dwts, allowing the deduction for other imposts, the cost, and freight of the (Azoques) quicksilver, used in smelting was transferred from the mint hither; so that from the said date to the 26th January 1777, the silver from the mines was subject to 12$\frac{7}{24}$ per cent. but since then, the sovereignty duty being taken off, the rate of duties has reverted to its old establishment of 10$\frac{9}{16}$ per cent.

The silver in ingots, which the merchants barter for other articles of trade, including even the samples, were at different times, till 18th November 1723, subject to imposts of 20 and 22 per cent. but since then the silver appropriated for this traffick has been put on the same footing as that of the miners.

Plate, or whatever quantity of bullion was intended to be wrought, at first paid the same duties (except the sovereignty duty) as that intended for coinage, being considered of the same class; but in 1708 and 1709, the duties were no more than 10$\frac{9}{16}$ per cent. on the value of all wrought silver. In 1768, an additional tax of 1 dollar upon every mark of 11 dwts. was exacted, and wrought gold continually bore a proportionate share of the duties till January 1777, when both gold and silver bullion was exempted from the sovereignty duty: all silver plate however was rated at about 12½; and all gold plate taxed only at 3 per cent, according to the regulations then made, which still remain in practice.

It is worthy remark, that the duties in general were never, during the whole course of 114 years, so low as at present; nor the produce paid into the Royal Exchequer so great at any period, as during the last 4 years, from 1775, to 1778.

Mexico, 19th June, 1779.

[Signed]

JUAN ORDONNEZ.
Keeper of the Records.

A particular Account relative to an Hindoo Woman's *burning herself alive with her deceased Husband; taken from an authentic Letter, dated* Calcutta, 25th *July* 1779.

"GOCUL Chundes Gosaul, a Bramin of superior cast, whose character as a merchant and a man of integrity was very respectable amongst Europeans, and exceedingly so with every native of this country who had any knowledge of him; for he maintained a great many poor daily at his house, and in the neighbourhood where he lived;—and he extended his generosity to many Europeans, by lending them money when in distress.—He was Governor Verelst's Banian; and from that circumstance, I believe, you can confirm all I have advanced in Gocul's favour.

Gocul had been confined to his room about a fortnight by a fever and flux: I frequently visited him in that time, but did

not apprehend his diſſolution was ſo near, till laſt Tueſday morning, the 20th inſt. when on ſending to enquire after his health, my ſervant informed me he was removed from his own houſe to the banks of a creek that runs from Collyghaut (a place held ſacred by the Hindoos, and where the water is taken up that is uſed in adminiſtering oaths to Hindoos in and about Calcutta) into the river Ganges, as you know is cuſtomary with them, in order to die in or near that river, or ſome creek that runs into it. At about nine o'clock in the evening of that day I went to ſee him, where he lay on a Fly Palanquin in a boat in that creek. His ſervant told me he could hear, but was not able to ſpeak to any body. I went near him, and called to him by name; he knew my voice, turned about, and held out his hand to me: I took hold of it, and found it very cold: he preſſed mine, and ſaid he was obliged to me for coming to ſee him. I told him he would get his death by lying expoſed without covering (for he was naked to his hips) to the moiſt air this rainy ſeaſon, cloſe to a naſty muddy bank: he ſaid, he wiſhed to be cold, for that he was then burning with heat, (although his hand, as obſerved before, was very cold). I then put my hand to his forehead, which was alſo very cold; ſtill he inſiſted that he was burning with heat. I begged him to allow me to order him to be carried back to his own houſe; he ſhook his head, but ſaid nothing in anſwer. I repeated the requeſt, but he ſhook his head again without ſaying a word. I did not imagine ſuch a propoſition would be attended to, becauſe it is an invariable cuſtom, you know, amongſt the Hindoos, when given over by their Doctors, to be removed to the banks of the Ganges, or of ſome creek that runs into it, which they have a very ſuperſtitious veneration for; and I have heard that if a Hindoo dies in his own houſe, it is razed to the ground. Gocul's is a very large houſe, and ſuch a circumſtance would conſequently be a great detriment to the eſtate. I ſtaid about a quarter of an hour with him. On coming away he repeated his obligations to me for the viſits I paid him during his illneſs, and for my attention to him at that time in particular, and preſſed my hand very hard at parting, for he was perfectly ſenſible, and I believe, if proper care had been taken of him, it was in the power of medicine to have reſtored his health. There were a vaſt number of Bramins reading and praying near him. Early the next morning I ſent my ſervant to aſk how he was: he brought me for anſwer that Gocul was in the ſame ſtate as when I left him the preceding night; and whilſt I was at breakfaſt one of his dependants came to tell me he was dead. I went to ſee him ſoon after, and found him covered with a ſheet. I then enquired if either of his wives (for he had two) would burn with him; but nobody there could inform me. I deſired one of his dependants to let me know if either of them reſolved to burn, that I might be preſent: this was about eight o'clock laſt Wedneſday morning.

At

At ten o'clock the corps was carried to Collyghaut, a little village about a mile higher up the creek, and about 2½ miles from Calcutta. Between twelve and one o'clock the ſame day, Mr. Shakeſpeare, who had an eſteem for Gocul, whoſe nephew Joynerain Goſaul is Mr. Shakeſpeare's Banian, called on me to let me know that Gocul's firſt wife Tarrynell was reſolved to burn. We accordingly went together, and reached Collyghaut in time, where Gocul lay on a pile of Sandal wood and dry ſtraw, about 4 feet from the ground, on the banks of the creek, as naked as when I ſaw him the night before. His wife, we were told, was praying on the edge of the creek, where we were informed her children (two boys and one girl), one of the boys ſeven years the other five, and the girl thirteen months old, were preſent with her and Kiſtenchurn, Gocul's eldeſt brother: that at firſt ſight of her children, the ſtrong ties of human nature ſtruggling with her reſolution, drew a tear from her; but ſhe ſoon recovered herſelf, and told her children their father was dead, and ſhe was going to die with him; that they muſt look up to their uncle, pointing to Kiſtenchurn, who, with his ſon Joynerain beforementioned, would be both father and mother to them; and that they muſt therefore obey them in the ſame manner as they would Gocul and herſelf if living. Then turning to Kiſtenchurn, ſhe enjoined him, and recommended him to enjoin Joynerain (who was then at Dacca) to be fathers and protectors to her children, and committed them to their care.

This done, ſhe left her children, and advanced towards the funeral pile, which was ſurrounded by a vaſt concourſe of people, chiefly Bramins, about eight or ten feet from it, ſo that there was a free paſſage round the pile. Mr. Shakeſpeare and I were in front of the circle, and had a perfect view of the following ſcene.

As ſoon as ſhe appeared in the circle, I thought ſhe was ſomewhat confuſed; but whether from the ſight of her huſband laying dead on the pile, or the great crowd of people aſſembled, or at ſeeing Europeans among them, for there were two beſides Mr. Shakeſpeare and myſelf, I cannot tell: however, ſhe recovered herſelf almoſt inſtantaneouſly. She then walked unattended gently round the pile in ſilence, ſtrewing flowers as ſhe went round; and when ſhe had nearly compleated the third time, at Gocul's feet ſhe got upon the pile without aſſiſtance, ſtrewed flowers over it, and then laid herſelf down on the left ſide of her huſband, raiſing his head and puting her right arm under his neck; and turning her body to his, threw her left arm over him; and one of the Bramins raiſed his right leg, and put it over her legs without a ſingle ſyllable being uttered. They being thus cloſely embraced, a blue ſhawl was laid over them, and they were not ſeen afterwards by any body. Some dry ſtraw was laid over the ſhawl, and then ſome light billets of Sandal wood was put on the ſtraw; but all together not ſufficient to prevent her raiſing herſelf up, throwing all off, and entirely extricating herſelf from the pile, if ſhe had repented, or from

feeling the heat of the fire or ſmoak ſhe had been inclined to ſave her life: the dry ſtraw which compoſed a part of the pile was then lighted. During all which time, that is, from the moment Gocul's wife made her appearance in the circle, to lighting the pile, there was a profound ſilence. But on the pile being lighted the Bramins called out aloud, ſome dancing and brandiſhing cudgels or ſticks, which I took to be praying and a part of the ceremony; perhaps to prevent her cries being heard by the multitude, ſo as to give them a bad impreſſion of it, or deter other women from following what the Hindoos term a laudable example. But I was ſo near the pile, that notwithſtanding the noiſe made by the Bramins, and thoſe who danced round it, I ſhould have heard any cries or lamentations ſhe might have made: I am convinced ſhe made none, and that the ſmoak muſt have ſuffocated her in a very ſhort ſpace of time. I ſtaid about ten minutes after the pile was lighted, for ſuch a ſight was too dreadful to remain long at; beſides, nothing more was to be ſeen except the flames, which Mr. Shakeſpeare and I had a perfect view of at a diſtance, as we returned from the funeral pile.

Gocul's wife was a tall, well-made, good-looking woman, fairer than the generality of Hindoo women are, about twenty or perhaps twenty-two years of age at moſt: ſhe was decently dreſſed in a white cloth round her waiſt, and an Oorney of white cloth with a red ſilk border thrown looſely over her head and ſhoulders; but her face, arms, and feet were bare. I have heard and indeed ſuppoſed that women in that ſituation intoxicate themſelves with bang or toddy; but from the relation given me of what paſſed between Gocul's wife, her children and brother-in-law, as well as what Mr. Shakeſpeare and I ſaw at the funeral pile, I am perſuaded ſhe was as free from intoxication during the whole ceremony as it is poſſible; for ſhe appeared to be perfectly compoſed, not in the leaſt flurried, except at firſt for an inſtant of time, as before obſerved; but went through it deliberately, with aſtoniſhing fortitude and reſolution.

This barbarous cuſtom, ſo ſhocking to Europeans, if I miſtake not, was practiſed by our anceſtors in Britain in the times of the Druids; but whether our country-women in thoſe days, who did not ſacrifice themſelves, were treated with the ſame contempt after the death of their huſbands, as the Hindoo women are, I know not; for by the religion of the Hindoos they never can marry again, or have commerce with another man, without prejudice to their caſts, which to them is as dear as life itſelf; but generally are reduced to perform the moſt menial offices in the family of which they were before the miſtreſs.

This reflection, together with the great credit they gain amongſt the Bramins in undergoing ſo painful and horrid a religious ceremony, may be very ſtrong inducements to their continuing this practice.

The Mooriſh government in theſe provinces have frequently prevented ſuch ſacrifices, which I have

have heard is very eaſily done; for that any perſon not a Hindoo, or even a Hindoo of an inferior caſt to the victim, barely touching the woman during the ceremony, will have that effect. Job Channock, who obtained the firſt Phirmaund from the King at Delhi for the Engliſh Company, I am told, and I dare ſay you have heard it too, ſaved a woman from burning by touching her whilſt ſhe was going through the ceremony, and was afterwards married to her. Mr. Verelſt was the means of ſaving the life of Gocul's mother, who intended to burn herſelf with her huſband, and ſhe is now living; but Gocul's wife was ſo reſolute, ſhe declared laſt Wedneſday morning, that if ſhe was not allowed to burn with her huſband, ſhe would find means to put an end to her life in the courſe of that or the next day. As a proof of her compoſure, and being in her perfect ſenſes, immediately on receiving news of Gocul's death ſhe reſolved to ſacrifice herſelf, and took an inventory of all the jewels and effects which ſhe was in poſſeſſion of.

I have now given you a full and circumſtantial relation of the whole matter reſpecting Gocul Goſaul's wife ſacrificing herſelf on the funeral pile of her huſband. Such parts of it as were told me, of what was done out of my ſight, I have no reaſon to doubt; and what I have written, as ſeen by myſelf, you may depend on as literally true, which Mr. Shakeſpeare will confirm in every part. But I omitted to obſerve, that tho' the Bramins ſhed tears when praying by Gocul the night previous to his death, there did not appear the leaſt concern in any of them during the ceremony at the funeral pile, not even in Kiſtenchurn, the elder brother of Gocul, or any of his dependants.

I am told that Gocul's other wife, named Rajeſerry, would alſo have ſacrificed herſelf, at the ſame time, if ſhe was not with child: And that if ſhe has preſerved a lock of his hair, it is conſiſtent with the Hindoo laws or cuſtoms for her to go through the ſame ceremony by burning herſelf with that lock of hair, on another pile, whenever ſhe thinks proper. Gocul had four children by this laſt-mentioned wife, one girl ten years, one girl ſix years, one boy ſeven years, and another boy five years of age.

I am, dear ſir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
JOSEPH CATOR."

To Thomas Pearſon, Eſq.

An Extract from the Sequel *to* Emilius *and* Sophia, *by* J. J. Rouſſeau, *found amongſt his Papers after his death.*

"ON drawing near to the capital,* my mind was filled with fatal impreſſions which I never experienced before. The moſt gloomy prepoſſeſſions aroſe in my boſom. All I had ſeen, all you had told me of great cities, made me tremble for my abode here. I was frightened at expoſing ſo pure an union to ſo many ſurrounding dangers. I trembled to think, on beholding the melancholy Sophia, that I was precipitating ſo much virtue, and ſo many

* Paris.

many charms, into that gulf of prejudice and vices, where innocence and happineſs are ſure to be ſhipwrecked.

Certain, however, of her and of myſelf, I deſpiſed, contemned the remonſtrances of prudence, and looked on my fears as groundleſs: while I ſuffered them to torment me, I conſidered them as illuſions. Alas! I did not expect to ſee them ſo ſoon and ſo cruelly verified. I little imagined, that, inſtead of finding danger in the capital, it followed me thither.

How ſhall I tell you of the two years we have remained in that fatal city, and the cruel effect which that infectious reſidence had on my mind, and on my fortunes? You know too well thoſe ſad calamities, remembrance of which, effaced by happier days, now doubles my ſorrows, by bringing me back to their ſource. What a change was wrought in me, through my weakneſs for two agreeable connexions, which habit began to change into friendſhip! How did example and imitation, againſt which you had ſo ſtrongly armed my mind, give it inſenſibly a taſte for thoſe frivolous pleaſures, which, when younger, I had deſpiſed? How different is it to ſee things by themſelves, and when our minds are diſtracted by other objects? The time was now paſt, when my glowing imagination only deſired Sophia, and ſpurned every thing elſe. I was no longer ſollicitous about her; I poſſeſſed her, and the power, of her charms caſt a luſtre on thoſe objects, which, in my youth, it had obſcured. But theſe objects ſoon weakened my deſires by dividing them. My heart, gradually relaxed by theſe frivolous amuſements, inſenſibly loſt its firſt ſpring, and became incapable of warmth or ſtrength; I roved reſtleſsly from pleaſure to pleaſure; I ſought after every thing, and grew tired of every thing; I liked only thoſe places where I was not, and endeavoured to forget myſelf in diſſipation. I experienced a revolution, of which I wiſhed not to convince myſelf; I did not give myſelf time to return to myſelf, through a dread of not finding myſelf. All my attachments were leſſened, all my affections were cooled. I had ſubſtituted a jargon of morality and ſentiment in the place of truth. I was a gallant without paſſion, a ſtoick without virtue, a philoſopher buſied about trifles.—I had nothing of your Emilius but the name, and ſome profeſſions. The freedom of my diſcourſe, the independence of my ſpirit, my pleaſures, my duties—you—my ſon, even Sophia herſelf; all that before animated, that elevated my ſoul, and conſtituted the plenitude of my exiſtence, quitting me by degrees, ſeemed to make me quit myſelf, and left in my depraved mind only a troubleſome ſenſation of vacancy and abjection. In a word, I no longer loved, or at leaſt thought ſo. This violent flame, which ſeemed almoſt extinct, lay hid under the embers only to blaze forth ſhortly with more fury than ever.

But what is infinitely more inconceivable: how came it that ſhe, who was the pride and happineſs of my life, now formed its ſhame and deſperation? How ſhall I deſcribe ſo deplorable a change? No! the dreadful ſtory

ſhall

ſhall never come from my mouth nor my pen; it is too injurious to the memory of the beſt of wives, too grievous, too horrible for my recollection, too diſcouraging to virtue; I ſhould die a hundred times over before I could finiſh it. Morality of the world, ye ſnares of vice and example, treachery of falſe friendſhip, inconſtancy and weakneſs of humanity, which of us is proof againſt you? Oh! if Sophia has ſullied her nature; what woman dare rely upon her's? But what a ſoul muſt that have been, which, having ſuch a heighth to fall, was able to recover herſelf.

It is of your regenerated children that I am about to ſpeak to you: all their errors have been known to you: I ſhall only ſpeak of what regards their return to virtue, and is neceſſary to throw light on the ſtory of their repentance.

Sophia conſoled, or rather diſſipated by her female friend, and by the ſocieties into which ſhe led her, had no longer that decided taſte for private life and retirement; ſhe forgot all ſhe had loſt, and almoſt all that was left her. Her ſon, as he grew up, became leſs dependent on her, and ſhe by degrees learnt to be happy without him. I was myſelf no longer her Emilius: I was but her huſband, and the huſband of a faſhionable woman in great cities is a man whom ſhe treats in public with all poſſible reſpect and attention, but whom ſhe ſees not in private. Our ſocieties were for a conſiderable time the ſame. They changed inſenſibly. Each of us hoped to be more at eaſe when at a diſtance from the other's inſpection. We were no longer one, we were two diſtinct perſons; the tyranny of faſhion had divided us, and our hearts ſought no re-union. We never ſaw each other, but when our country neighbours, or town friends brought us together. The wife, after ſeveral advances, which I had ſometimes no ſmall difficulty to reſiſt, was at length diſguſted, and attaching herſelf entirely to Sophia, they became inſeparable. The huſband paſſed much of his time in company with his wife, and of conſequence with mine. Their exterior deportment was regular and decent, but their maxims ſhould have alarmed me. Their harmony proceeded leſs from a real attachment, than from a mutual indifference to the duties of their ſtate. Little jealous of their reciprocal rights, they pretended their love was the greater, as they impoſed leſs reſtraint on each other; and neither was offended in not being the object of the other's attention. "Above "all (ſaid the wife) let my huſ-"band live happy."—"Provided my wife be my friend, I am contented (ſaid the huſband). Our ſentiments, continued he, do not depend on ourſelves, but our actions do; each contributes as much as poſſible to the happineſs of the other. Can we better ſhow our love for thoſe who are dear to us, than by agreeing to all they deſire? We avoid the cruel neceſſity of flying from each other."

This ſyſtem, abruptly laid open, ſhould have ſhocked us. But it is not eaſy to imagine, what power the overflowings of friendſhip have in reconciling us to things which otherwiſe would diſguſt us; nor

nor how much a philoſophy, ſo well adapted to the vices of human nature — a philoſophy which, inſtead of thoſe affections we are no longer capable of entertaining— inſtead of that inward duty which torments and benefits no one, preſents——nothing but politeneſs, reſpect, complaiſance, attention —— nothing but freedom, liberty, ſincerity, confidence: it is not eaſy, I ſay, to imagine what charms every thing that maintains an union between the perſons, when the hearts are no longer united, has for the beſt diſpoſitions, and how attractive it becomes under the maſk of propriety. Reaſon would with difficulty defend herſelf, if conſcience did not come to her aid. It was this that made Sophia and me aſhamed to ſhow a fondneſs which we had not. Our two friends, who had ſubjugated us, quarrelled without reſtraint, and thought they loved one another. But an habitual reſpect, which we could not lay aſide, made it impoſſible for us to give mutual pain without ſhunning each other. Though we appeared to be a burthen to each other, we were nearer a reconciliation than thoſe who were always together. Not to quit one another when in anger is a ſure ſymptom of eternal diſunion.

But when our diſunion was moſt evident, every thing changed in the moſt extraordinary manner poſſible. Sophia, on a ſudden, became as ſedentary and retired as ſhe was before diſſipated. Her temper, naturally unequal, became continually ſad and gloomy. Shut up from morning to night in her chamber, without ſpeaking, without weeping, without regarding any one, ſhe could not bear to be interrupted. Even her female friend became inſupportable to her: ſhe told her ſo, and gave her an ill reception without preventing her return: ſhe beſought me more than once to deliver her from her. I quarrelled with her for this caprice, which I attributed to jealouſy. I even told her of it one day in jeſt. "No, Sir, I am not jealous (anſwered ſhe, with a cold and decided air) but I deteſt that woman, and all I aſk of you is, that I may never ſee her." Struck with theſe words, I deſired to know the cauſe of her hatred: ſhe refuſed to anſwer me. She had already denied admittance to the huſband; I was obliged to treat the wife in the ſame manner, and we ſaw them no more.

Her melancholy, however, continued and became alarming. I began to be diſturbed by it; but how ſhould I find out the cauſe which ſhe perſiſted in concealing? I could not pretend to dictate to ſo haughty a ſoul: we had ceaſed for ſo long a time to be the confidents of each other, that I was little ſurpriſed ſhe diſdained to unboſom herſelf to me. It was neceſſary to merit that confidence; and whether her afflicting melancholy had re-kindled an extinguiſhed paſſion, or that the flame only waited an opportunity of blazing out afreſh, I perceived no great effort was neceſſary on my part, to ſhow her all the attentions by which I hoped to conquer her ſilence.

I quitted her no more: but it was in vain that I returned to her, and marked my return with the moſt tender anxiety; I ſaw with ſorrow that I made no advances. I attempted to reſume the privileges of a huſband, which I had too long renounced: I experienced the

the moſt invincible reſiſtance. It was no longer thoſe ſtimulating denials given to enhance the value of what is granted, nor yet thoſe tender and modeſt, but abſolute refuſals which intoxicated me with love while I was forced to reſpect them. They were the ſerious repulſes of a decided mind, which conſiders doubt as an inſult. She reminded me with vehemence of thoſe engagements formerly entered into in your preſence. "However it may be (ſaid ſhe) with regard to me, you ſhould ſet a proper value upon yourſelf, and reſpect for ever the promiſe of Emilius. My faults do not authoriſe you to violate your own promiſes. You may puniſh me, but you cannot force me; and be aſſured I ſhall never admit your embraces." What could I anſwer, what could I do, but try to move her, to ſoften her, to conquer her obſtinacy by perſeverance? Theſe vain efforts at once excited my love and my pride. Difficulties inflamed my heart, and I made it a point of honour to ſurmount them. Never, perhaps, after ten years of marriage, and after ſo long an eſtrangement, did the paſſion of a huſband blaze forth with more violence. I never, during the firſt ardour of my paſſion, ſhed ſo many tears at her feet: yet all was in vain—ſhe remained inexorable.

I was as much ſurpriſed as afflicted, knowing well that this inflexibility of heart was not natural to her. I was not diſheartened; and, if I did not overcome her obſtinacy, I imagined I ſaw in it leſs averſion. Some ſigns of ſorrow and pity tempered the bitterneſs of her refuſals; I ſometimes thought it was with pain ſhe denied me—her languid eyes let fall on me ſome looks not leſs ſorrowful, but leſs wild, and which ſeemed to indicate compaſſion. I ſuppoſed that the ſhame of ſuch exceſſive caprice rendered her ſo obdurate, that ſhe perſevered as not being able to excuſe herſelf, and that perhaps ſhe waited only for a little compulſion, that ſhe might ſeem to give to force what ſhe dared not now beſtow of herſelf. Struck with an idea which flattered my deſires, I gave myſelf up to it with tranſport; I wiſhed to pay this additional attention to her that I might ſpare her the embarraſſment of yielding after ſo long a reſiſtance.

One day, when carried away by deſire, I joined to the moſt tender ſupplications the moſt ardent careſſes; I ſaw ſhe was moved, I endeavoured to complete my victory. Oppreſſed and palpitating, ſhe was near yielding; when on a ſudden, changing her air and whole deportment, ſhe puſhed me back with inexpreſſible violence and agitation, and beholding me with an eye which fury and deſpair rendered dreadful—"Hold, Emilius (ſaid ſhe), and know that I am no longer your's; another has defiled your bed—I am with child—our perſons ſhall never be united—" and, ruſhing with impetuoſity into her cloſet, ſhe ſhut the door.

I remain confounded.———

My friend, this is not the hiſtory of the events of my life; they are little worthy to be related; it is the hiſtory of my paſſions, of my feelings, of my ideas. Suffer me to ſpeak at large of the moſt terrible revolution that ever my heart experienced.

The greater wounds of the mind,

mind, as well as of the body, do not bleed the moment they are given, nor is the pain they occaſion immediately felt. Nature collects all her force to ſuſtain its violence, and the mortal wound is often given before it is felt. At this unexpected ſcene, at theſe words which my ears ſeemed to ſhut out, I remain motionleſs, annihilated; my eyes cloſe, a deadly cold runs through my veins; without fainting, I feel all my ſenſes benumbed, all my faculties ſuſpended; an univerſal anarchy reigns in my mind, like the chaotick appearance of a changing theatre, when the preſent ſcene diſappears to give place to a new creation.

I am ignorant how long I remained in this ſituation, on my knees, and without daring to move, leſt I ſhould diſcover that all which had happened was not a dream. I wiſh that this ſtate of ſtupefaction had laſted for ever. Being rouſed at length, my firſt ſenſation was an inexplicable horror for every thing that ſurrounded me. I riſe immediately, I ruſh out of the room and down ſtairs, without ſeeing any thing, without ſpeaking to any one; I get out into the ſtreet, and, with haſty ſtrides, fly away with the rapidity of a ſtag, which thinks to avoid, by his velocity, the dart he carries buried in his ſide.

Thus I ran without ſtopping, without moderating my flight, into a public garden. The ſight of day, and of the heavens, was a burden to me; I ſought for darkneſs under the trees: at length, being out of breath, I let myſelf fall, half dead, upon the graſs—Where am I? What is become of me? What have I heard? What a cataſtrophe? Madman! what a chimera have you followed? Love, honour, faith, virtue, what is become of you? The elevated the noble Sophia, is nothing but a proſtitute! this exclamation, extorted by deſpair, was followed by ſuch agonies of mind, that, choaked with my ſobs, my breath and utterance remained ſuſpended. Had it not been for the ſtorm of paſſion that followed, this agony would have ſtrangled me. O who could expreſs that conflict of different ſenſations, which ſhame, love, rage, ſorrow, pity, jealouſy, raiſed all at once in my mind. No, ſuch a ſituation, ſuch a war of paſſions, cannot be deſcribed. The intoxications of extreme joy, which by an uniform progreſſion ſeems to dilate, and, as it were, rarefy our whole being, we eaſily conceive. But when exceſſive anguiſh aſſembles in the breaſt of a ſingle wretch all the furies of hell; when, wounded on every ſide by a thouſand different ſtings, he feels all, without being able to diſtinguiſh any; when torn a hundred different ways, by a hundred different cords—multiplied in his ſufferings, he ſeems to loſe the unity of his being, and every ſingle torment takes up his whole exiſtence. Such was my ſituation, and ſuch it remained during ſeveral hours. — How ſhall I picture it to you? volumes would be neceſſary to deſcribe the ſufferings of every ſingle inſtant. Happy mortals! you, whoſe narrow and frozen minds are inſenſible to every thing but the viciſſitudes of fortune, undiſturbed by every paſſion but the deſire of gain, may you always conſider this dreadful ſtate as a fiction, and never experience the

cruel

cruel torments, which the diſunion of more worthy attachments occaſions, in hearts capable of feeling them.

Our powers are bounded, and all violent emotions have their intervals. In one of thoſe moments of ſuſpenſion, when nature prepares herſelf for new ſufferings, I happened to think on a ſudden of my youth—of you, my friend—of your inſtructions. I recollected that I was a man, and I aſked myſelf immediately, what injury have I ſuffered in my perſon? what crime have I committed? what part of myſelf have I loſt? If at this moment I were to fall, ſuch as I am, from the clouds to commence my exiſtence, could I conſider myſelf as an unhappy being? This reflection, quicker than lightening, illumined my mind for an inſtant: I ſoon loſt this light, but it was ſufficient to diſcover me to myſelf. I ſaw myſelf clearly in my place: the uſe I made of this moment of reaſon was to learn that I was incapable of reaſoning. The dreadful agitation that reigned in my mind prevented me from taking notice of any object: I was not in a condition to ſee any thing, to compare, to deliberate, to reſolve, to judge. All attempts, therefore, to diſcover by deliberation what was beſt to be done, would have been but an uſeleſs torment; they would have aggravated my ſufferings to no purpoſe, and my only care was to gain time, that I might compoſe my ſenſes and ſettle my imagination. I believe this is the only thing you could have done yourſelf had you been preſent to inſtruct me. Determined to let the fury of thoſe paſſions ſubſide which I could not overcome, I ſet about this reſolution with a kind of voluptuous deſperation, as having removed all the obſtacles to my grief. I riſe with precipitation, I proceed to walk as before without following any determinate path: I run, I wander, different ways; I give up my body to all the agitation of my mind; I follow its ſuggeſtion without reſtraint; I put myſelf out of breath, and, increaſing the difficulty of reſpiration by the frequency of my ſighs, I feel myſelf at times on the point of ſuffocation.

The violence of this exerciſe diverted my pain, by ſuſpending my feelings. Inſtinct, in violent paſſions, ſuggeſts certain exclamations, motions, and geſtures, which give vent to the ſpirits, and turn the tide of paſſion another way. Agitation is but a ſymptom of rage. A gloomy ſilence is more to be dreaded; it is the neighbour of deſpair. That very night, I experienced this difference in a manner almoſt to be laughed at; if any thing, that ſhows the folly and miſery of mankind, could appear ſo to man.

After innumerable wanderings, of which I was altogether unconſcious, I found myſelf in the middle of the city, ſurrounded by carriages, in the neighbourhood of a theatre, and about the hour of its opening. I ſhould have been trampled upon by the crowd, if ſomebody, who pulled me by the arm, had not told me of my danger: I throw myſelf into a door that was open; it was a coffeehouſe. I was there accoſted by people of my accquaintance, who, after telling me I know not what, carried me I know not where.

Struck with the ſound of muſick and the ſplendour of lights, I come to myſelf, I open my eyes and look about me: I find myſelf in the pit, on the night of a firſt repreſentation, preſſed by the crowd, and unable to get out.

I trembled; but I reſigned myſelf to my ſituation; I ſaid nothing; I preſerved an air of apparent tranquillity, however dear it coſt me. The noiſe was great, and of the perſons ſpeaking on all ſides of me, ſome addreſſed themſelves to me; underſtanding nothing, what anſwer could I give? But one of thoſe who had brought me there, having accidentally mentioned my wife, at this fatal name, I ſent forth a piercing cry which was heard by all the aſſembly, and occaſioned much noiſe. I quickly compoſed myſelf, and every thing was quiet. However, having by this cry attracted the attention of thoſe who ſtood round me, I ſought the moment of eſcape, and, drawing near the door by degrees, I at length got out before they had finiſhed.

On entering the ſtreet, happening to look at my hand, which I had kept in my boſom during the whole repreſentation, I ſaw that my fingers were ſtained with blood, and I thought I felt ſome trickling down my breaſt. I open my boſom, I look, I find it bloody and lacerated like the heart it encloſed. You may eaſily imagine that a ſpectator, undiſturbed, in ſuch circumſtances, was no very good judge of the piece he had ſeen performed.

I quickened my pace, trembling leſt I ſhould be again met with; night favouring my wanderings, I ſet about walking the ſtreets a ſecond time, as if to make amends for the reſtraint I had juſt experienced. I wandered for ſeveral hours without reſting one moment; at length, being hardly able to ſupport myſelf, and finding that I was near home, I enter, not without a dreadful palpitation of the heart. I aſk where my ſon is; I am told he is aſleep; I remain ſilent and ſigh; my ſervants wiſh to ſpeak to me; I command them to be ſilent; I throw myſelf on my bed, and deſire them all to go to reſt. After a few hours repoſe, worſe than the agitation of the preceding day, I riſe before it is light, and croſſing the apartments without noiſe, come to Sophia's chamber; there, unable to reſtrain myſelf, with the moſt deſpicable meanneſs, I cover with a thouſand kiſſes, and bathe with a torrent of tears, the threſhold of her door; retreating then with the fear and precaution of a guilty perſon, I walk quietly out of the houſe, reſolved never to reenter it."

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1783.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Esq. Poet-Laureat.*

YE Nations, hear th' important tale,
Tho' armies preſs, tho' fleets aſſail,
Tho' vengeful war's collected ſtores
At once united Bourbon pours,
Unmov'd amidſt th' inſulting bands,
Emblem of Britain, Calpe ſtands!
Th' all-conquering hoſts their baffled efforts mourn,
And, tho' the wreath's prepar'd, unwreath'd the chiefs return.

Ye nations, hear! Nor fondly deem
Britannia's ancient ſpirit fled;
Or gloſing weep her ſetting beam,
Whoſe fierce meridian rays her rivals dread.
Her Genius ſlept; her Genius wakes;
Nor ſtrength deſerts her, nor high Heaven forſakes.

To Heaven ſhe bends, and Heaven alone,
Who all her wants, her weakneſs knows:
And ſupplicates th' eternal Throne,
To ſpare her crimes, and heal her woes.
Proud man with vengeance ſtill
Purſues, and aggravates even fancied ill:
Far gentler means offended Heaven employs.
With mercy Heaven corrects, chaſtiſes, not deſtroys.

When hope's laſt gleam can hardly dare
To pierce the gloom, and ſooth deſpair,
When flames th' uplifted bolt on high,
In act to cleave th' offended ſky,
It's iſſuing wrath can Heaven repreſs,
And win to virtue by ſucceſs.
Then, O! to Heaven's protecting hand
Be praiſe, be prayer addreſt,
Whoſe mercy bids a guilty land
Be virtuous and be bleſt!

So ſhall the riſing year regain
The erring ſeaſons wonted chain;
The rolling months that gird the ſphere
Again their wonted liveries wear;
And health breathe freſh in every gale,
And plenty clothe each ſmiling vale
With all the bleſſings nature yields
To temperate ſuns from fertile fields.

So ſhall the proud be taught to bow,
Pale Envy's vain contentions ceaſe,
The ſea once more its ſovereign know,
And glory gild the wreaths of peace.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1783.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Eſq. Poet-Laureat.*

AT length the troubled waters reſt,
And, ſhadowing Ocean's calmer breaſt,
Exulting Commerce ſpreads her woven wings:
Free as the winds that waft them o'er,
Her iſſuing veſſels glide from ſhore to ſhore,
And in the bending ſhrouds the careleſs ſea-boy ſings.

Is Peace a bleſſing?—Aſk the mind
That glows with love of human kind,
That knows no guile, no partial weakneſs knows,
Contracted to no narrow ſphere,
The world, the world at large, is umpire here,
They feel, and they enjoy, the bleſſings peace beſtows.

Then, oh! what bliſs his boſom ſhares,
Who, conſcious of ingenuous worth,
Can nobly ſcorn inferior cares,
And ſend the generous edict forth;
To diſtant ſighs of modeſt woe,
Can lend a pitying liſt'ning ear,
Nor ſee the meaneſt ſorrows flow
Without a ſympathiſing tear.

Tho' rapine with her fury train
Rove wide and wild o'er earth and main,
In act to ſtrike, tho' ſlaughter cleave the air,
At his command they drop the ſword,
And in their midway courſe his potent word
Arreſts the ſhafts of death, of terror, of deſpair.

When

When thoſe who have the power to bleſs
Are readieſt to relieve diſtreſs,
When private virtues dignify a crown,
The genuine ſons of freedom feel
A duty which tranſcends a ſubject's zeal,
And dread the man's reproach more than the monarch's frowſt.

Then to *this* day be honours paid
The world's proud conqu'rors never knew;
Their laurels ſhrink, their glories fade,
Expos'd to reaſon's ſober view.
But reaſon, juſtice, truth, rejoice,
When diſcord's baneful triumphs ceaſe,
And hail with one united voice
The friend of man, the friend of peace.

Extract from MASON's *Tranſlation of* Du Freſnoy's *Art of Painting.*

"RISE then, ye youths! while yet that warmth inſpires,
While yet nor years impair, nor labour tires,
While health, while ſtrength are yours, while that mild ray,
Which ſhone auſpicious on your natal day,
Conducts you to Minerva's peaceful quire,
Sons of her choice, and ſharers of her fire,
Riſe at the call of art: expand your breaſt,
Capacious to receive the mighty gueſt,
While, free from prejudice, your active eye
Preſerves its firſt unſullied purity;
While new to beauty's charms, your eager ſoul
Drinks copious draughts of the delicious whole,
And Memory on her ſoft, yet laſting page,
Stamps the freſh image which ſhall charm thro' age.
When duly taught each geometric rule,
Approach with awful ſtep the Grecian ſchool,
The ſculptur'd reliques of her ſkill ſurvey,
Muſe on by night, and imitate by day;
No reſt, no pauſe till, all her graces known,
A happy habit makes each grace your own.
As years advance, to modern maſters come,
Gaze on their glories in majeſtic Rome;
Admire the proud productions of their ſkill
Which Venice, Parma, and Bologna fill;
And, rightly led by our preceptive lore,
Their ſtyle, their colouring, part by part, explore.
See RAPHAEL there his forms celeſtial trace,
Unrivall'd ſovereign of the realms of grace.
See ANGELO, with energy divine,
Seize on the ſummit of correct deſign.

Learn how, at JULIO's birth, the Muſes ſmil'd,
And in their myſtic caverns nurs'd the child;
How, by th' Aonian powers their ſmile beſtow'd,
His pencil with poetic fervor glow'd;
When faintly verſe Apollo's charms convey'd,
He oped the ſhrine, and all the God diſplay'd:
His triumphs more than mortal pomp adorns,
With more than mortal rage his battle burns,
His heroes, happy heirs of fav'ring fame,
More from his art than from their actions claim.
Bright, beyond all the reſt, CORREGGIO flings
His ample lights, and round them gently brings
The mingling ſhade. In all his works we view
Grandeur of ſtyle, and chaſtity of hue.
Yet higher ſtill great TITIAN dar'd to ſoar,
He reach'd the loftieſt heights of colouring's power;
His friendly tints in happieſt mixture flow,
His ſhades and lights their juſt gradations know,
He knew thoſe dear deluſions of the art,
That round, relieve, inſpirit ev'ry part:
Hence deem'd divine, the world his merit own'd,
With riches loaded, and with honours crown'd.
From all their charms combin'd, with happy toil,
Did ANNIBAL compoſe his wond'rous ſtyle:
O'er the fair fraud ſo cloſe a veil is thrown,
That every borrow'd grace becomes his own.
If then to praiſe like theirs your ſouls aſpire,
Catch from their works a portion of their fire;
Revolve their labors all, for all will teach,
Their finiſh'd picture, and their ſlighteſt ſketch.
Yet more than theſe to meditation's eyes
Great nature's ſelf redundantly ſupplies:
Her preſence, beſt of models! is the ſource
Whence genius draws augmented power and force;
Her precepts, beſt of teachers! give the powers,
Whence art, by practice, to perfection ſoars.
Theſe uſeful rules from time and chance to ſave,
In Latian ſtrains, the ſtudious Freſnoy gave;
On Tiber's peaceful banks the poet lay,
What time the pride of Bourbon urg'd his way,
Thro' hoſtile camps, and crimſon fields of ſlain,
To vindicate his race and vanquiſh Spain;
High on the Alps he took his warrior ſtand,
And thence, in ardent volley from his hand
His thunder darted; *(ſo the flatterer ſings*
In ſtrains beſt ſuited to the ear of kings)
And like Alcides, with vindictive tread,
Cruſh'd the Hiſpanian lion's gaſping head.

But

But mark the Proteus-policy of ſtate:
Now, while his courtly numbers I tranſlate,
The foes are friends, in ſocial league they dare
On Britain to "let ſlip the dogs of war."
Vain efforts all, which in diſgrace ſhall end,
If Britain, truly to herſelf a friend,
Thro' all her realms bids civil diſcord ceaſe,
And heals her empire's wounds by arts of peace.
Rouſe then, fair freedom! fan that holy flame
From whence thy ſons their deareſt bleſſings claim;
Still bid them feel that ſcorn of lawleſs ſway,
Which intereſt cannot blind, nor power diſmay:
So ſhall the throne, thou gav'ſt the Brunſwick line,
Long by that race adorn'd, thy dread palladium ſhine."

An Extract from THE VILLAGE, *a Poem by the Rev.* G. CRABBE, *Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of* Rutland, *&c.*

"YE gentle ſouls who dream of rural eaſe,
Whom the ſmooth ſtream and ſmoother ſonnet pleaſe;
Go! if the peaceful cot your praiſes ſhare,
Go look within, and aſk if peace be there:
If peace be his—that drooping weary ſire,
Or their's, that offſpring round their feeble fire,
Or her's, that matron pale, whoſe trembling hand
Turns on the wretched hearth th' expiring brand.
Nor yet can time itſelf obtain for theſe
Life's lateſt comforts, due reſpect and eaſe;
For yonder ſee that hoary ſwain, whoſe age
Can with no cares except its own engage;
Who, propt on that rude ſtaff, looks up to ſee
The bare arms broken from the withering tree;
On which, a boy, he clim̃b'd the loftieſt bough,
Then his firſt joy, but his ſad emblem now.
He once was chief in all the ruſtic trade,
His ſteady hand the ſtraiteſt furrow made;
Full many a prize he won, and ſtill is proud
To find the triumphs of his youth allow'd;
A tranſient pleaſure ſparkles in his eyes,
He hears and ſmiles, then thinks again and ſighs:
For now he journeys to his grave in pain;
The rich diſdain him; nay, the poor diſdain;
Alternate maſters now their ſlave command,
And urge the efforts of his feeble hand;
Who, when his age attempts its taſk in vain,
With ruthleſs taunts of lazy poor complain.

Oft may you see him when he tends the sheep,
His winter charge, beneath the hillock weep;
Oft hear him murmur to the winds that blow
O'er his white locks, and bury them in snow;
When rouz'd by rage and muttering in the morn,
He mends the broken hedge with icy thorn.

"Why do I live, when I desire to be
At once from life and life's long labour free?
Like leaves in spring, the young are blown away,
Without the sorrows of a slow decay;
I, like yon wither'd leaf, remain behind,
Nipt by the frost and shivering in the wind;
There it abides till younger buds come on,
As I, now all my fellow swains are gone;
Then, from the rising generation thrust,
It falls, like me, unnotic'd, to the dust.

"These fruitful fields, these numerous flocks I see,
Are others' gain, but killing cares to me;
To me the children of my youth are lords,
Slow in their gifts, but hasty in their words;
Wants of their own demand their care, and who
Feels his own want and succours others too?
A lonely, wretched man, in pain I go,
None need my help and none relieve my woe;
Then let my bones beneath the turf be laid,
And men forget the wretch they would not aid."

Thus groan the old, till by disease oppress,
They taste a final woe, and then they rest.
Their's is yon house that holds the parish poor,
Whose walls of mud scarce bear the broken door;
There, where the putrid vapours, flagging, play,
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;
There children dwell who know no parents' care,
Parents, who know no children's love, dwell there;
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,
Forsaken wives and mothers never wed;
Dejected widows with unheeded tears,
And crippled age with more than childhood-fears;
The lame, the blind, and, far the happiest they!
The moping idiot and the madman gay.

Here too the sick their final doom receive,
Here brought amid the scenes of grief, to grieve;
Where the loud groans from some sad chamber flow,
Mixt with the clamours of the croud below;
Here sorrowing, they each kindred sorrow scan,
And the cold charities of man to man.
Whose laws indeed for ruin'd age provide,
And strong compulsion plucks the scrap from pride;

But

But ſtill that ſcrap is bought with many a ſigh,
And pride embitters what it can't deny.
Say ye, oppreſt by ſome fantaſtic woes,
Some jarring nerve that baffles your repoſe;
Who preſs the downy couch, while ſlaves advance
With timid eye, to read the diſtant glance;
Who with ſad prayers the weary doctor teaze
To name the nameleſs ever-new diſeaſe;
Who with mock patience dire complaints endure,
Which real pain, and that alone can cure;
How would ye bear in real pain to lie,
Deſpis'd, neglected, left alone to die?
How would ye bear to draw your lateſt breath,
Where all that's wretched paves the way for death?
Such is that room which one rude beam divides,
And naked rafters form the ſloping ſides;
Where the vile bands that bind the thatch are ſeen,
And lath and mud is all that lie between;
Save one dull pane, that, coarſely patch'd, gives way
To the rude tempeſt, yet excludes the day:
Here, on a matted flock, with duſt o'erſpread,
The drooping wretch reclines his languid head;
For him no hand the cordial cup applies,
Nor wipes the tear that ſtagnates in his eyes;
No friends with ſoft diſcourſe his pain beguile,
Nor promiſe hope till ſickneſs wears a ſmile.
But ſoon a loud and haſty ſummons calls,
Shakes the thin roof, and echoes round the walls;
Anon, a figure enters, quaintly neat,
All pride and buſineſs, buſtle and conceit;
With looks unalter'd by theſe ſcenes of woe,
With ſpeed that entering, ſpeaks his haſte to go;
He bids the gazing throng around him fly,
And carries fate and phyſic in his eye;
A potent quack, long vers'd in human ills,
Who firſt inſults the victim whom he kills;
Whoſe murd'rous hand a drowſy bench protect,
And whoſe moſt tender mercy is neglect.
Paid by the pariſh for attendance here,
He wears contempt upon his ſapient ſneer;
In haſte he ſeeks the bed where miſery lies,
Impatience mark'd in his averted eyes;
And, ſome habitual queries hurried o'er,
Without reply, he ruſhes on the door;
His drooping patient, long inur'd to pain,
And long unheeded, knows remonſtrance vain;
He ceaſes now the feeble help to crave
Of man, and mutely haſtens to the grave.

But

But ere his death ſome pious doubts ariſe,
Some ſimple fears which "bold bad" men deſpiſe;
Fain would he aſk the pariſh prieſt to prove
His title certain to the joys above;
For this he ſends the murmuring nurſe, who calls
The holy ſtranger to theſe diſmal walls;
And doth not he, the pious man, appear,
He, "paſſing rich with forty pounds a year?"
Ah! no, a ſhepherd of a different ſtock,
And far unlike him, feeds this little flock;
A jovial youth, who thinks his Sunday's taſk
As much as God or man can fairly aſk;
The reſt he gives to loves and labours light,
To fields the morning and to feaſts the night;
None better ſkill'd, the noiſy pack to guide,
To urge their chace, to cheer them or to chide;
Sure in his ſhot, his game he ſeldom miſt,
And ſeldom fail'd to win his game at whiſt;
Then, while ſuch honours bloom around his head,
Shall he ſit ſadly by the ſick man's bed
To raiſe the hope he feels not, or with zeal
To combat fears that ev'n the pious feel?
Now once again the gloomy ſcene explore,
Leſs gloomy now; the bitter hour is o'er,
The man of many ſorrows ſighs no more.
Up yonder hill, behold how ſadly ſlow
The bier moves winding from the vale below;
There lie the happy dead, from trouble free,
And the glad pariſh pays the frugal fee;
No more, oh! Death, thy victim ſtarts to hear
Churchwarden ſtern, or kingly overſeer;
No more the farmer gets his humble bow,
Thou art his lord, the beſt of tyrants thou!
Now to the church behold the mourners come,
Sedately torpid and devoutly dumb;
The village children now their games ſuſpend,
To ſee the bier that bears their antient friend;
For he was one in all their idle ſport,
And like a monarch rul'd their little court;
The pliant bow he form'd, the flying ball,
The bat, the wicket, were his labours all;
Him now they follow to his grave, and ſtand
Silent and ſad, and gazing, hand in hand;
While bending low, their eager eyes explore
The mingled relicks of the pariſh poor;
The bell tolls late, the moping owl flies round,
Fear marks the flight and magnifies the ſound;

The

The buſy prieſt, detain'd by weightier care,
Defers his duty till the day of prayer;
And waiting long, the crowd retire diſtreſt,
To think a poor man's bones ſhould lie unbleſt."

The CONCLUSION *of the ſame* POEM.

"OH! if in life one noble chief appears,
Great in his name, while blooming in his years;
Born to enjoy whate'er delights mankind,
And yet to all you feel or fear reſign'd;
Who gave up pleaſures you could never ſhare,
For pain which you are ſeldom doom'd to bear;
If ſuch there be, then let your murmurs ceaſe,
Think, think of him, and take your lot in peace.
And ſuch there was:—Oh! grief, that checks our pride,
Weeping we ſay there was, for *Manners** died;—
Below'd of heav'n! theſe humble lines forgive,
That ſing of thee, and thus aſpire to live.
As the tall oak, whoſe vigorous branches form
An ample ſhade and brave the wildeſt ſtorm,
High o'er the ſubject wood is ſeen to grow,
The guard and glory of the trees below;
Till on its head the fiery bolt deſcends,
And o'er the plain the ſhatter'd trunk extends;
Yet then it lies, all wond'rous as before,
And ſtill the glory, though the guard no more.
So *thou*, when every virtue, every grace,
Roſe in thy ſoul, or ſhone within thy face;
When, though the ſon of Granby, thou wert known
Leſs by thy father's glory than thy own;
When Honour lov'd, and gave thee every charm,
Fire to thy eye and vigour to thy arm;
Then from our lofty hopes and longing eyes
Fate and thy virtues call'd thee to the ſkies;
Yet ſtill we wonder at thy tow'ring fame,
And loſing thee, ſtill dwell upon thy name.
Oh! ever honour'd, ever valued! ſay
What verſe can praiſe thee, or what work repay?
Yet verſe (in all we can) thy worth repays,
Nor truſts the tardy zeal of future days;—
Honours for thee thy country ſhall prepare,
Thee in their hearts, the good, the brave ſhall bear;
To deeds like thine ſhall nobleſt chiefs aſpire,
The Muſe ſhall mourn thee, and the world admire.

* The late Lord *Robert Manners*, who died of the wounds he received on the memorable 12th of April, 1782, on which day he commanded the *Reſolution* of 74 guns.—Vide his character, &c. page 35.

In

In future times, when ſmit with glory's charms,
The untry'd youth firſt quits a father's arms;
"Oh be like him," the weeping ſire ſhall ſay,
"Like *Manners* walk, who walk'd in honour's way;
In danger foremoſt, yet in death ſedate,
Oh! be like him in all things, but his fate!"
If for that fate ſuch public tears be ſhed,
That victory ſeems to die now *thou* art dead;
How ſhall a friend his nearer hope reſign,
That friend a brother, and whoſe ſoul was thine?
By what bold lines ſhall we his grief expreſs,
Or by what ſoothing numbers make it leſs?
'Tis not, I know, the chiming of a ſong,
Nor all the powers that to the Muſe belong;
Words aptly cull'd, and meanings well expreſt,
Can calm the ſorrows of a wounded breaſt:
But Rutland's virtues ſhall his griefs reſtrain,
And join to heal the boſom where they reign.
Yet hard the taſk to heal the bleeding heart,
To bid the ſtill-recurring thoughts depart;
Huſh the loud grief, and ſtem the riſing ſigh,
And curb rebellious paſſion with reply;
Calmly to dwell on all that pleas'd before,
And yet to know that all can pleaſe no more——
Oh! glorious labour of the ſoul, to ſave
Her captive powers, and bravely mourn the brave!
To ſuch, theſe thoughts will laſting comfort give:—
Life is not valu'd by the time we live;
'Tis not an even courſe of threeſcore years,
A life of narrow views and paltry fears;
Grey hairs and wrinkles, and the cares they bring,
That take from death the terror or the ſting:
But 'tis the ſpirit that is mounting high
Above the world; a native of the ſky;
The noble ſpirit, that, in dangers brave,
Calmly looks on, or looks beyond the grave.
Such *Manners* was, ſo he reſign'd his breath!
If in a glorious, then a timely death.
Ceaſe then that grief, and let thoſe tears ſubſide:
If paſſion rule us, be that paſſion pride;
If reaſon, reaſon bids us ſtrive to raiſe
Our ſinking hearts, and be like him we praiſe;
Or if affection ſtill the ſoul ſubdue,
Bring all his virtues, all his worth in view,
And let affection find its comfort too;
For how can grief ſo deeply wound the heart,
Where admiration claims ſo large a part?

Grief is a foe, expel him then thy ſoul;
Let nobler thoughts the nearer woes controul;
Oh! make the age to come thy better care,
See other Rutlands, other Granbys there;
And as thy thoughts through ſtreaming ages glide,
See other heroes die as *Manners* died;
Victims victorious, who with him ſhall ſtand
In Fame's fair book the guardians of the land;
And from their fate thy race ſhall nobler grow,
As trees ſhoot upward that are prun'd below:
Or, as old Thames, borne down with decent pride,
See his young ſtreams go murmuring by his ſide;
Though ſome, by art cut off, no longer run,
And ſome are loſt beneath the ſummer's ſun;
Yet the ſtrong ſtream moves on, and as it moves,
Its power increaſes, and its uſe improves;
While plenty round its ſpacious waves beſtow,
Still it flows on, and ſhall for ever flow."

On the Death of Dr. ROBERT LEVET.
By Dr. JOHNSON.

CONDEMN'D to hope's deluſive mine,
As on we toil from day to day,
By ſudden blaſts, or ſlow decline,
Our ſocial comforts drop away.

Well tried through many a varying year,
See LEVET to the grave deſcend;
Officious, innocent, ſincere,
Of ev'ry friendleſs name the friend.

Yet ſtill he fills affection's eye,
Obſcurely wiſe, and coarſely kind;
Nor, letter'd arrogance, deny
Thy praiſe to merit unrefin'd.

When fainting nature call'd for aid,
And hov'ring death prepar'd the blow,
His vig'rous remedy diſplay'd
The power of art without the ſhow.

In miſery's darkeſt caverns known,
His uſeful care was ever nigh,
Where hopeleſs anguiſh pour'd his groan,
And lonely want retir'd to die.

No ſummons mock'd by chill delay,
No petty gain diſdain'd by pride,
The modeſt wants of ev'ry day
The toil of ev'ry day ſupplied.

His

His virtues walk'd their narrow round,
Nor made a pauſe, nor left a void;
And ſure th' Eternal Maſter found
The ſingle talent well employ'd.

The buſy day, the peaceful night,
Unfelt, uncounted, glided by;
His frame was firm, his powers were bright,
Tho' now his eightieth year was nigh.

Then with no throbbing fiery pain,
No cold gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And forc'd his ſoul the neareſt way.

FAREWELL *to* BATH.

By Lady M. W. MONTAGU.

TO all you ladies now at Bath,
And eke, ye beaus, to you,
With aking heart, and wat'ry eyes,
I bid my laſt adieu.

Farewell ye nymphs, who waters ſip
Hot reeking from the pumps,
While muſic lends her friendly aid,
To cheer you from the dumps.

Farewell, ye wits, who prating ſtand,
And criticiſe the fair;
Yourſelves the joke of men of ſenſe,
Who hate a coxcomb's air.

Farewell to Deard's, and all her toys,
Which glitter in her ſhop,
Deluding traps to girls and boys,
The warehouſe of the fop.

Lindſay's and Hayes's, both farewell,
Where in the ſpacious hall,
With bounding ſteps, and ſprightly air,
I've led up many a ball.

When Somerville, of courteous mien,
Was part'ner in the dance,
With ſwimming Hawes, and Brownlow blithe,
And Britton, pink of France.

Poor Naſh, farewell! may fortune ſmile,
Thy drooping ſoul revive:
My heart is full, I can no more—
John, bid the coachman drive.

"The

" *The entertaining and facetious Hiſtory of* JOHN GILPIN ; *ſhewing how he went further than he intended, and came home ſafe at laſt.*

To the Tune of —— Chevy Chace.

Extracted from the REPOSITARY : *A ſelect collection of fugitive pieces of wit and humour, in proſe and verſe. By the moſt eminent writers.* 4 vols. *ſmall* 8*vo.*

" JOHN GILPIN was a citizen
Of credit and renown,
A train-band captain eke was he
Of famous London town.

" John Gilpin's ſpouſe ſaid to her dear :
' Though wedded we have been
Theſe twice ten tedious years, yet we
No holiday have ſeen.

" To-morrow is our wedding-day,
And we will then repair
Unto the bell at Edmonton,
All in a chaiſe and pair.

" My ſiſter and my ſiſter's child,
Myſelf and children three,
Will fill the chaiſe ; ſo you muſt ride
On horſeback after we.'

" He ſoon replied, ' I do admire
Of womankind but one,
And you are ſhe, my deareſt dear,
Therefore it ſhall be done.

" I am a linen-draper bold,
As all the world does know,
And my good friend, the callender,
Will lend his horſe to go.'

" Quoth Mrs. Gilpin, ' That's well ſaid ;
And for that wine is dear,
We will be furniſh'd with our own,
Which is ſo bright and clear.'

" John Gilpin kiſs'd his loving wife ;
O'erjoy'd was he to find,
That though on pleaſure ſhe was bent,
She had a frugal mind.

" The morning came, the chaiſe was brought,
But yet was not allow'd
To drive up to the door, leſt all
Should ſay that ſhe was proud.

" So three doors off the chaiſe was ſtaid,
Where they did all get in,
Six precious ſouls, and all agog
To daſh through thick and thin.

" Smack went the whip, round went the wheels,
Were never folks ſo glad;
The ſtones did rattle underneath,
As if Cheapſide were mad.

" John Gilpin at his horſe's ſide
Seiz'd faſt the flowing mane,
And up he got in haſte to ride,
But ſoon came down again.

" For ſaddle-tree ſcarce reach'd had he,
His journey to begin,
When turning round his face he ſaw
Three cuſtomers come in.

" So down he came, for loſs of time
Although it griev'd him ſore,
Yet loſs of pence full well he knew
Would grieve him ſtill much more.

" 'Twas long before the cuſtomers
Were ſuited to their mind,
When Betty ſcream'd into his ears,
—' The wine is left behind.'—

" ' Good lack! quoth he, yet bring it me,
My leathern belt likewiſe,
In which I bear my truſty ſword
When I do exerciſe.'

" Now Mrs. Gilpin, careful ſoul!
Had two ſtone bottles found,
To hold the liquor which ſhe lov'd,
And keep it ſafe and ſound.

" Each bottle had two curling ears,
Through which the belt he drew;
He hung one bottle on each ſide,
To make his balance true.

" Then over all, that he might be
Equipp'd from top to toe,
His long red cloak, well bruſh'd and neat,
He manfully did throw.

" Now ſee him mounted once again
Upon his nimble ſteed,
Full ſlowly pacing o'er the ſtones,
With caution and good heed.

" But

" But finding ſoon a ſmoother road
Beneath his well-ſhod feet,
The ſnorting beaſt began to trot,
Which gall'd him in his ſeat.

" 'So, fair and ſoftly!' John did cry,
But John he cry'd in vain,
That trot became a gallop ſoon,
In ſpite of curb or rein.

" So ſtooping down, as he needs muſt
Who cannot ſit up upright,
He graſp'd the mane with both his hands,
And eke with all his might.

" Away went Gilpin, neck or nought,
Away went hat and wig;
He little dreamt, when he ſet out,
Of running ſuch a rig.

" The horſe, who never had before
Been handled in this kind,
Affrighted fled, and, as he flew,
Left all the world behind.

" The wind did blow, the cloak did fly,
Like ſtreamer long and gay,
—Till loop and button failing both,
At laſt it flew away.

" Then might all people well diſcern
The bottles he had ſlung:
A bottle ſwinging at each ſide,
As has been ſaid or ſung.

" The dogs did bark, the children ſcream'd,
Up flew the windows all;
And every ſoul cried out, 'Well done!'
As loud as he could bawl.

" Away went Gilpin,—who but he!
His fame ſoon ſpread around,—
'He carries weight! he rides a race!—
'Tis for a thouſand pound!'

" And ſtill as faſt as he drew near,
'Twas wonderful to view,
How in a trice the turnpike-men
Their gates wide open threw.

" And now as he went bowing down
His reeking head full low,
The bottles twain, behind his back,
Were ſhatter'd at a blow.

" Down ran the wine into the road,
Moſt piteous to be ſeen,
And made his horſe's flanks to ſmoke,
As he had baſted been.

" But ſtill he ſeem'd to carry weight,
With leathern girdle brac'd,
For ſtill the bottle-necks were left
Both dangling at his waiſt.

" Thus all through merry Iſlington
Theſe gambols he did play,
And till he came unto the Waſh
Of Edmonton ſo gay.

" And there he threw the waſh about
On both ſides of the way,
Juſt like unto a trundling mop,
Or a wild gooſe at play.

" At Edmonton his loving wife
From the balcony ſpied
Her tender huſband, wondering much
To ſee how he did ride.

" ' Stop, ſtop, John Gilpin, here's the houſe!'
They all at once did cry,
' The dinner waits, and we are tir'd'—
Said Gilpin, ' So am I!'

" But ah! his horſe was not a whit
Inclin'd to tarry there,
For why? his owner had a houſe
Full ten miles off at Ware.

" So like an arrow ſwift he flew,
Shot by an archer ſtrong,
So did he fly—which brings me to
The middle of my ſong.

" Away went Gilpin out of breath,
And ſore againſt his will,
Till at his friend's, the callender's,
His horſe at laſt ſtood ſtill.

" The callender, ſurpris'd to ſee
His friend in ſuch a trim,
Laid down his pipe, flew to the gate,
And thus accoſted him:

" ' What news, what news? the tidings tell,
Make haſte and tell me all,
Say why bare-headed you are come,
Or why you come at all?'

" Now

" Now Gilpin had a pleaſant wit,
And lov'd a timely joke,
And thus unto the callender
In merry ſtrains he ſpoke.

" 'I came becauſe your horſe would come;
And, if I well forebode,
My hat and wig will ſoon be here,
They are upon the road.'

" The callender right glad to find
His friend in merry pin,
Return'd him not a ſingle word,
But to the houſe went in.

" Whence ſtrait he came with hat and wig,
A wig that droop'd behind,
A hat not much the worſe for wear,
Each comely in its kind.

" He held them up, and in his turn
Thus ſhow'd his ready wit—
'My head is twice as big as yours,
They therefore needs muſt fit.

" But let me ſcrape the dirt away
That hangs about your face:
And ſtop and eat—for well you may
Be in a hungry caſe.'

" Said John, 'It is my wedding-day,
And folks would gape and ſtare,
If wife ſhould dine at Edmonton,
And I ſhould dine at Ware.'

" Then, ſpeaking to his horſe, he ſaid,
'I am in haſte to dine:
'Twas for your pleaſure you came here,
You ſhall go back for mine.'

" Ah! luckleſs word, and bootleſs boaſt,
For which he paid full dear;
For while he ſpoke, a braying aſs
Did ſing moſt loud and clear.

" Whereat his horſe did ſnort, as if
He heard a lion roar,
And gallop'd off with all his might,
As he had done before.

" Away went Gilpin,—and away
Went Gilpin's hat and wig;
He loſt them ſooner than at firſt:
For why? They were too big.

" Now Gilpin's wife, when ſhe had ſeen
Her huſband poſting down
Into the country far away,
She pull'd out half a crown:

" And thus unto the youth ſhe ſaid,
That drove them to the Bell,
' This ſhall be yours when you bring back
My huſband ſafe and well.'

" The youth did ride, and ſoon they met;
He tried to ſtop John's horſe,
By ſeizing faſt the flowing rein,
But only made things worſe:

" For not performing what he meant,
And gladly would have done,
He thereby frighted Gilpin's horſe,
And made him faſter run.

" Away went Gilpin,—and away
Went poſt-boy at his heels;
The poſt-boy's horſe right glad to miſs
The lumber of the wheels.

" Six gentlemen upon the road
Thus ſeeing Gilpin fly,
With poſt-boy ſcamp'ring in the rear,
They rais'd the hue-and-cry.

" ' Stop thief!—ſtop thief!—a highwayman!"
Not one of them was mute;
So they, and all that paſs'd that way,
Soon join'd in the purſuit.

" But all the turnpike gates again
Flew open in ſhort ſpace,
The men ſtill thinking as before
That Gilpin rode a race.

" And ſo he did, and won it too.
For he got firſt to town,
Nor ſtopp'd till where he firſt got up
He did again get down.

" Now let us ſing—Long live the king,
And Gilpin long live he;
And when he next does ride abroad,
May I be there to ſee!"

On the Marriage of the Honourable Miſs ELIZ. SACKVILLE *to* COLONEL HERBERT.——*By* RICHARD CUMBERLAND, *Eſq.*

YE ſolemn pedagogues, who teach
A language by eight parts of ſpeech,
And with the arm of fleſh drive down,
By force of birch, your noun pronoun;
Can any of you all impart
A rule to conjugate the heart;
To ſhew its preſent, perfect, future;
Its active, paſſive, and its neuter?
Grammarians, did you ever try
To conſtrue and expound the eye?
And, from the ſyntax of the face,
Decline its gender and its caſe?
What ſaid the nuptial tear that fell
From fair Eliza—can you tell?
And yet it ſpoke upon her cheek
As eloquent as tear could ſpeak;
Not audibly, by word of mouth,
As Priſcian-would, or Biſhop Lowth;
Not ſyllables by Dych e'er ſpelt,
Not language heard, but language felt:
" Here, at God's altar as I ſtand,
To plight my faith and yield my hand,
With faltering tongue whilſt I proclaim
The ceſſion of my virgin name;
Whilſt in my ears is read at large
The Rubric's ſtern unſoften'd charge,
Spare me," the ſilent pleader cries,
" O ſpare me, ye ſurrounding eyes!
Surrounded by a blaze of light,
While here I paſs in ſolemn ſight,
Or, kneeling by a father's ſide,
Renounce the daughter for the bride.
Ye ſiſters, to my ſoul ſo dear,
Say, can I check the riſing tear?
When at this awful hour I caſt
My memory back on time that's paſt,
Ungrateful were I to forbear
This tribute to a father's care;
For all he ſuffer'd, all he taught,
Is there not due ſome tender thought?
And may not one fond prayer be given
To a dear ſaint who reſts in heaven?

And you, to whom I now betroth,
In ſight of Heaven, my nuptial oath;
Who to nobility of birth
True honour join, and native worth,
If my recording boſom draws
One ſigh, miſconſtrue not the cauſe;
Truſt me, though weeping, I rejoice,
And, bluſhing, glory in my choice."

—— RACES. *A Ballad. By the late Sir* JOHN MOORE, *Bart.*

O GEORGE *, I've been, I'll tell you where,
But firſt prepare yourſelf for raptures;
To paint this charming, heavenly fair,
And paint her well, would aſk whole chapters.

Fine creatures I've view'd many a one,
With lovely ſhapes and angel faces;
But I have ſeen them all outdone,
By this ſweet maid, at —— Races.

Lords, commoners, alike ſhe rules,
Takes all who view her by ſurpriſe,
Makes e'en the wiſeſt look like fools,
Nay more, makes fox-hunters look wiſe.

Her ſhape—'tis elegance and eaſe,
Unſpoil'd by art, or modern dreſs,
But gently tapering by degrees,
And finely, "beautifully leſs."

Her foot—it was ſo wond'rous ſmall,
So thin, ſo round, ſo ſlim, ſo neat,
The buckle fairly hid it all,
And ſeem'd to ſink it with the weight.

And juſt above the ſpangled ſhoe,
Where many an eye did often glance,
Sweetly retiring from the view,
And ſeen by ſtealth, and ſeen by chance;

Two ſlender ankles peeping out,
Stood like Love's heralds, to declare
That all within the petticoat
Was firm, and full, "and round, and fair."

And then ſhe dances—better far
Than heart can think, or tongue can tell,
Not Heinel, Banti, or Guimar,
E'er mov'd ſo graceful, and ſo well.

* G. Ellis, Eſq.

So

So eaſy glide her beauteous limbs,
True as the echo to the ſound,
She ſeems, as through the dance ſhe ſkims,
To tread on air, and ſcorn the ground.

And there is lightning in her eye,
One glance alone might well inſpire
The clay-cold breaſt of Apathy,
Or bid the frozen heart catch fire.

And Zephyr on her lovely lips
Has ſpread his choiceſt, ſweeteſt roſes;
And there his heavenly nectar ſips,
And there in breathing ſweets repoſes.

And there's ſuch muſic when ſhe ſpeaks,
You may believe me, when I tell ye,
I'd rather hear her, than the ſqueaks
Or far-fam'd ſqualls of Gabrielli.

And ſparkling wit, and ſteady ſenſe,
In that fair form with beauty vie;
But ting'd with virgin diffidence,
And the ſoft bluſh of modeſty.

Had I the treaſures of the world,
All the ſun views, or the ſeas borrow
(Elſe may I to the devil be hurl'd)
I'd lay them at her feet to-morrow.

But as we bards reap only bays,
Nor much of that, though nought grows on it;
I'll beat my brains to ſound her praiſe,
And hammer them into a ſonnet.

And if ſhe deign one charming ſmile,
The bleſt reward of all my labours;
I'll never grudge my pains, or toil,
But pity the dull 'ſquires, my neighbours.

SONG.

OH! I'll reform; I will, I ſwear!
To Hymen I'll addreſs my vows,
And I'll beget a ſon and heir,
And tend my ſheep, and milk my cows,
And doſe and fatten with my ſpouſe!

And I'll grow fond of ſimple nature,
Free from vain arts, and dull grimaces,
And doat upon each flatten'd feature,
Of rural love's athletic graces,
With mottled arms, and cherub faces.

And now the ruſtic's toil I'll ſhare,
And wield the fork, and trail the rake;
Now at the ſermon ſit and ſtare,
'Till dull obſervers ſhall miſtake,
And fancy I am broad awake.

And I will taſte the ſportman's joys,
With hounds and guns purſue my prey;
And find ſuch raptures in a noiſe,
That all the wond'ring 'ſquires ſhall ſay,
I am as wiſe and bleſs'd as they.

Then to the feſtive hall I'll paſs,
And in the jovial chorus join;
And ſick'ning o'er th' unfiniſh'd glaſs,
I'll ſwear our pleaſures are divine,
When dullneſs is improv'd by wine.

Yes, I'll reform! vain world adieu!
Henceforth, with rural joys content,
A life of reaſon I'll purſue.
Of all my former ſins repent—
And die a cuckold and a ſaint.

Mrs. MONTAGUE *happening to fall at St.* James's, *the Day after her accident ſhe received the following Lines, written by Mr.* JERNINGHAM.

YE radiant fair! ye Hebes of the day,
Who heedleſs laugh your little hour away,
Let Caution be your guide whene'er ye ſport
Within the ſplendid precincts of the court:
Th' event of yeſterday for prudence calls,—
'Tis dangerous treading where Minerva falls.

RONDEAU.

BY two black eyes my heart was won,
Sure never wretch was more undone!
To Cælia with my ſuit I came,
But ſhe, regardleſs of her prize,
Thought proper to reward my flame
By two black eyes!

An

An EXPOSTULATION.

WHEN late I attempted your pity to move,
Why ſeem'd you ſo deaf to my pray'rs?
Perhaps it was right to diſſemble your love—
But—why did you kick me down ſtairs?

EPITAPH.

HERE is my much-lov'd Cælia laid,
At reſt from all her earthly labours!
Glory to God! peace to the dead!
And to the ears of all her neighbours?

Account of Books for 1783.

An Account of the Hiſtory of the Reign of Philip *the Third, King of* Spain. *By* Robert Watſon, LL.D. *&c. &c.*

THIS hiſtory is compriſed in ſix books, of which the firſt four are printed verbatim from Dr. Watſon's own manuſcript; the two laſt are the production of the editor*; to whom we think we are paying no trifling compliment, when we ſay that they may be read, and read with pleaſure, although joined in the ſame work with the labours of Dr. Watſon. He at leaſt has ſo finiſhed the piece as not to deſtroy the original deſign. The peculiar and characteriſtic excellence of Dr. Watſon as an hiſtorian, conſiſts in a moſt happy and judicious arrangement of his facts; in bringing every particular forward at the very moment it is wanted, and when it appears with the beſt effect. In this art, the editor is without doubt unequal to Dr. Watſon; in this art, which gives a ſort of conſequence to the moſt trifling incidents in hiſtory, we know of no modern, and perhaps we might go farther back without impeaching the truth of our obſervation, and ſay we know of no antient hiſtorian equal to Dr. Watſon.

The work now before us, muſt be in a peculiar manner acceptable to the public, as it comprehends, together with the Hiſtory of Philip II. of Spain, by the ſame author, as intereſting a period of time as ever exiſted either before or ſince. I mean that period, in which the United Provinces firſt threw off the Spaniſh yoke, and after a ſeries of ſtruggles during three-and-forty years, were at laſt acknowledged free and independent States, by the truce of Antwerp.

The firſt efforts of the United Provinces, the continual and imminent jeopardy they were in during the reign of Philip II. are circumſtances which from their very nature and principle are better calculated to intereſt our feelings and paſſions, than the firm and ſolid ſituation in which we find them in the reign now under our conſideration. Indeed, before we arrive at the commencement of the reign of Philip III. the United Provinces ceaſe to be the object of our fears and apprehenſions; what from the aſſiſtance of foreign powers, and what from the progreſſive increaſe of commerce and wealth, under ſuch active regulations and good government, as always attend a ſtate waxing

* Dr. Thompſon:

faſt

faſt towards manhood, the Provinces preſent to our view, in the hiſtory now before us, a degree of internal ſtrength and internal reſources not to be overthrown by any one particular defeat, or by any one unfortunate campaign.

Philip III. with a diſpoſition naturally weak, profuſe, and improvident; with a prime miniſter (the Duke of Lerma) called by his maſter to that ſituation from a ſimilarity in their temper and habits; with an army brave indeed, and ſufficiently numerous, but mutinous for want of pay; was but an unlikely inſtrument to effect, againſt an enemy in its day of ſtrength, what the vigour and vigilance of his father could not while in its very infancy. It is to the great military abilities of the Marquis of Spinola to which the Spaniards were indebted, for a while delaying the independence of the United Provinces: he removed to a little greater diſtance the truce of Antwerp, but he could do no more. Had indeed the management of the war in the Netherlands, on behalf of the Spaniards, only kept pace with the internal management of their affairs at home, ſomething like the truce of Antwerp muſt have happened at a much earlier period. But that war, eſpecially ſo much of it as is contained in the Hiſtory of Philip III., whether we reſpect the variety it exhibits, the vigour and abilities of the commanders * of both armies, or the object in diſpute, is of as important and intereſting a nature as any that hiſtory relates. It was attended by volunteers of the greateſt rank and conſequence from almoſt all parts of Europe, and in ſhort was the theatre where the greateſt ſoldiers of that time were either actors or ſpectators.

The two firſt books of this Hiſtory are chiefly taken up in relating thoſe military operations, which render this war ſo celebrated.

In the third book Dr. Watſon takes a moſt accurate ſurvey of the origin and progreſs of the commercial affairs of the United Provinces, up to the period of which he is then treating, (viz. up to the year 1607) and which at that time had become ſo general and extenſive as to threaten a total ruin and annihilation to the trade of Spain and Portugal, in the Eaſt Indies, China, Africa, and America. The produce of all theſe different parts of the globe were imported by Spain and Portugal, and the Dutch originally were only the carriers and diſtributors of theſe imports over the more northern parts of Europe; but through the impolitic reſtraint which was laid upon them in this particular, they were driven to explore theſe regions themſelves. They formed companies for the ſupport of their new channels of trade, and from diſtributors merely, became the importers in the firſt inſtance.

The evident ſuperiority which the United Provinces had gained over their enemies by ſuch rapid improvements in their commercial ſyſtem, made a peace extremely neceſſary for the Spaniards, and more than counterbalanced all their ſucceſſes under the Marquis of Spinola. This neceſſity was not a little increaſed by the famous victory of Heemſkirk over the Spa-

* Prince Maurice, and the Marquis of Spinola.

niſh fleet in the bay of Gibraltar: that event brought things ſtill nearer to a concluſion; and on the 9th of April, 1609, a truce was concluded at Antwerp for twelve years, the principal articles of which were, *the Spaniards acknowledging the independence and liberty of the revolted Provinces, and their right to trade in every part of India that was not under the dominion of the crown of Spain.*

The whole of the fourth book is taken up with an account of the Moreſcoes, and of their entire expulſion from Spain, where they had been ſettled upwards of 800 years. This dreadful revolution was effected principally through the means of Don John de Ribera, patriarch of Antioch, and archbiſhop of Valentia, and Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval, brother to the Duke of Lerma, cardinal archbiſhop of Toledo, inquiſitor general and chancellor of Spain.

Hiſtory cannot produce a more ſhocking ſcene of barbarity than the expulſion of theſe harmleſs people; not to ſpeak of the want of all policy in annihilating ſuch a body of the moſt needful manufacturers and mechanics in all Spain. Of the 140,000 that were expelled to Africa, Dr. Watſon, from the beſt authorities concludes, that 100,000 periſhed either at ſea, or by the famine and the Bedouin Arabs, on the coaſt of Barbary. But we ſhall here beg leave to give Dr. Watſon's own words upon the ſubject.

"Their exile from their native country, which juſtly excited in them the moſt bitter regret, and gave them ſo much ground for anxiety with regard to their future fortune, was ſoon ſucceeded by ſtill greater calamities. Great numbers were ſhipwrecked on their paſſage, and never reached the African coaſt; while many others were barbarouſly murdered at ſea, by the crews of the ſhips which they had freighted; this latter calamity befel only thoſe who had choſen to tranſport themſelves in private ſhips; and inſtances are recorded of ſuch inhuman cruelty exerciſed againſt this harmleſs, perſecuted, and defenceleſs people, by the owners and crews of theſe ſhips, as equals any thing of the ſame kind of which we read in hiſtory. The men butchered in the preſence of their wives and children; the women and children afterwards thrown alive into the ſea; of the women, ſome, on account of their beauty, preſerved alive for a few days to ſatiate the luſt of the inhuman murderers of their huſbands and brothers, and then either ſlaughtered or committed to the waves; ſuch were ſome of the horrid deeds of which theſe barbarians were convicted upon their trial, to which they were brought, in conſequence of quarrelling with each other about the diviſion of their prey; and ſuch, if we may credit a contemporary hiſtorian, was the unhappy fate of a great number of the Moreſcoes *.

"Nor was the fate of the greater part of thoſe who reached the coaſt of Barbary leſs deplorable. They had no ſooner landed on this barren inhoſpitable ſhore, than they were attacked by the Bedouin A-

* Fonſeca,

rabs

rabs, a wild banditti who live in tents, and support themselves by hunting and by plunder. The Moreſcoes, unarmed, and incumbered with their wives and children, were often robbed by theſe barbarians, who came upon them in numerous bodies, amounting ſometimes to five or ſix thouſand men; and, as often as the Moreſcoes attempted, with ſtones and ſlings, their only arms, to make reſiſtance, put great numbers of them to the ſword. Still greater numbers periſhed of fatigue and hunger, joined to the inclemencies of the weather, from which they had no means of ſhelter, durring their tedious journey through the African deſarts, to Moſtagan, Algiers, and other places, where they hoped to be permitted to take up their reſidence. Few of them ever arrived at theſe places. Of ſix thouſand, who ſet out together from Conaſtal, a town in the neighbourhood of Oran, with an intention of going to Algiers, a ſingle perſon only, of the name of Pedralvi, ſurvived the diſaſters to which they were expoſed; and of the whole hundred and forty thouſand, who were at this time tranſported to Africa, there is ground to believe, from the concurring teſtimony of perſons who had acceſs to know the truth, that more than a hundred thouſand men, women, and children, ſuffered death in its moſt hideous forms, within a few months after their expulſion from Valentia *."

Thoſe who endeavoured to defend themſelves at home, or to eſcape by diſperſing themſelves amongſt the woods and rocks, met with no better fate. They were cut to pieces, without mercy or diſtinction ſhewn either to age or ſex. "Upwards of 3,000 periſhed," ſays Dr. Watſon. "The number of thoſe who had ſurrendered was 22,000, who were all ſoon after tranſported to Africa, except the children under ſeven years of age, whom the ſoldiers were permitted to ſell for ſlaves." Such as lay hid had a price put upon their heads, and were hunted down by the ſoldiers like ſo many wild beaſts.

Sully in his Memoirs ſpeaks ſomewhat at large of this tranſaction, and mentions the emiſſaries Henry the Fourth of France ſent into Spain to learn the true ſtate and ſtrength of the Moreſcoes. The views which that monarch had with regard to Spain at that period would have been exceedingly gratified, could he have given the Moreſcoes any effectual ſuccour, or enabled them to contend with the Spaniards. But he found them, both from their local ſituation in the country, (namely on the coaſt, where they would have wanted a fleet to protect them) and from their peaceable habits of life, without forts or ſtrong places in their poſſeſſion, incapable of that aſſiſtance he would have wiſhed to have given. What Sully ſays touching this buſineſs is not noticed by Dr. Watſon; but whether from his not thinking it material, or that he had not finiſhed all he would have ſaid on the ſubject had he lived, we cannot tell. The expulſion of the Moreſcoes took place the latter end of the year 1609.

The two remaining books are the production of the editor.

* Fonſeca, Gonſalez Davila, p. 146.

The first, after touching upon the views which Henry the Fourth of France entertained respecting a general settlement of Europe on the ruins of the house of Austria—his death—the succession of his son *—and the intermarriages † betwixt the two crowns of France and Spain, proceeds to treat of the war betwixt Charles Emanuel Duke of Savoy, and the court of Spain. The origin of this war was the Duke of Savoy's claiming the sovereignty of Montferrat upon the death of Francis Gonzaga Duke of Mantua, in 1612.

The energy and conduct of Charles Emanuel during this war with the Spaniards, (which, after three years, terminated honourable for the duke in the treaty of Asti) is set forth in an interesting manner by the editor, from whom we shall beg leave to lay before our readers an extract, in which he has given the character of the Duke of Savoy in a marked and spirited manner.

"Charles Emanuel did not disgrace, but, on the contrary, added lustre to the dignity of his birth. Nature, which had formed this prince of a weakly constitution of body, adorned his soul with a splendid variety of talents and virtues; and these the parental care of Philibert, renowned for his victory over the French at St. Quintin, exalted and matured by a learned and liberal education. The writings of antiquity, so full of heroic actions and rapid conquests, nourished the natural ardour of his mind, and inspired an emulation of the ancient heroes of Italy. Together with that intrepidity of spirit which delights in pursuing great designs, he possessed in an eminent degree those qualities which are requisite in order to carry them into execution; political conduct, and military prowess. His courage was not of that calm and equal kind which is connected with firmness of nerves, and which characterizes the warriors of the North. But, being derived from that vigour of imagination, and sensibility of frame peculiar to southern climates, it was ardent and impetuous. His genius also, like that of the warmer climates, was fertile even to excess, and prone to subtlety and refinement. From a temper so sanguine, and an imagination so luxuriant, he derived an elasticity of spirit that rose under misfortunes; whence, though sometimes defeated, and often disappointed, he was never discouraged. His resources were endless: for there could not be a conjuncture in which the superiority of his genius could not find some favourable opportunity of practising on the passions, and managing the hopes, and fears, and follies of men. So various were his stratagems of policy and of war, that the most penetrating of his cotemporaries professed themselves unable to form any probable conjecture concerning his designs. Something, however, of the vast unbounded characterized his conduct, the ardour of his inventive genius engaging him not unfre-

* Lewis XIII.

† Elizabeth of France and the Prince of Spain, and Lewis XIII. and Anne of Austria.

quently

quently in projects beyond his utmoſt power to accompliſh *. Nor were the powers of his capacious mind wholly abſorbed in ſchemes of ambition. Whatever was elegant or great touched his ſoul, and he was prone to the pleaſures of ſociety and love. He was a friend to men of letters, a patron of all the arts, an enthuſiaſtic admirer and bountiful rewarder of merit of every kind. And the greatneſs of his mind was ſo happily tempered with benignity and grace, that the engaging affability of his noble deportment alleviated in the breaſts of his ſubjects the hardſhips which they ſuffered through his reſtleſs ambition. On the whole, it is difficult to conceive that qualities ſo oppoſite ſhould co-exiſt in the ſame perſon: ſo great boldneſs with ſuch deep deſign; ſuch loftineſs of ſpirit with ſuch ſweetneſs of demeanour; ſuch ardour of mind with ſo much ſubtlety, and ſuch profound diſſimulation †."

If any thing, the editor is perhaps too diffuſe in his ſtyle; and appears more ſo when compared with Dr. Watſon, who, while he is ſufficiently copious as to his facts, is in his manner of relating them wonderfully plain and compreſſed.

This book concludes with an account of the Spaniſh conſpiracy againſt Venice; the chief inſtruments of which were the Marquis of Bedmar, Marquis of Villa Franca, and the Duke d'Oſſuna. From what particular accident this moſt extraordinary conſpiracy failed, the hiſtorians who have wrote upon it, are not at all agreed. But a ſcheme, although ingenious and plauſible in the abſtract, yet ſo complex in its nature and operation as the plot in queſtion, and requiring ſuch a nice concurrence of circumſtances, cannot be ſaid to have threatened the ſtate of Venice with ſuch imminent danger, as the writers of that day ſeem to be impreſſed with.

The laſt book, after relating the fall of the Duke of Lerma, prime miniſter of Spain, and the tragical end of his favourite the Count of Oliva, proceeds to give an account of the war which originated from the revolted Bohemians chuſing Frederic, elector palatine of the Rhine, for their king, in preference to the houſe of Auſtria, and which may be ſaid to have finally terminated in the peace of Weſtphalia. The book concludes with a very minute account of the death of Philip the Third.

An Account of Diſſertations moral and critical, by James Beattie, L L. D. &c. &c.

THERE are few writers upon critical and moral ſubjects, from whom the world would be inclined to expect more than from Dr. Beattie. His Eſſay on Truth, of which there is an account in our Annual Regiſter of 1771, ranks him extremely high in the repub-

* Vaſtus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta ſemper cupiebat. Salluſt.

† In this ſingular character there is not a trait unſupported by the teſtimony of cotemporary hiſtorians, who, all of them, mention this prince with an admiration which could not have been excited but by the moſt amazing talents. See Bellum Sabaudicum, &c. Alfonſo Loſchi; Battiſtia Nani; Siri Memoire recondite; Le Mercure François; Hiſtoire de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, &c. &c.

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lic of letters, and has left him more than an ordinary reputation to ſupport.

The preſent work now under our conſideration, and which is entitled, *Diſſertations Moral and Critical*, conſiſts of ſeparate and diſtinct eſſays, which were delivered by Dr. Beattie in a courſe of lectures, given by him in his official character, as Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the univerſity of Aberdeen. This Dr. Beattie premiſes in his preface, in order to account for that degree of familiarity, and diffuſeneſs of manner and expreſſion, which may here and there occur to the reader, and which in ſome, but in ſome only, of the eſſays, we muſt ſay are certainly very obſervable.

Perhaps no ſubject requires, or becomes, a more cultivated ſtyle, or a greater nicety of arrangement, than diſquiſitions of the nature of theſe in queſtion: and when ſuch a perſon, as the author of the Eſſay on Truth, gratifies the public with his labours, and upon ſubjects, of which he is allowed to be, and is, in a particular manner the maſter, we wiſh and we expect to find ſomething, as well in ſtyle as in matter, as near perfection as the ſubject to be diſcuſſed will allow of. For from the hands of no perſon has this ſpecies of philoſophical criticiſm ever come in ſo favourable a ſhape as from Dr. Beattie. Independent of the learning and taſte with which ſubjects of this nature are diſcuſſed by him, there is a benevolence, a philanthropy, and a ſtrain of morality, which runs through all his works, which muſt ever endear him to all honeſt and wiſe men.

But to return to the work before us. The firſt diſſertation treats of the difference between memory and imagination, and of memory and imagination reſpectively. In treating of the difference between memory and imagination, he confutes what has been ſufficiently confuted before, the theory "that all our livelier ideas are referred to memory, and our fainter to imagination."—He next proceeds to the phænomena and laws of memory, and therein conſiders the importance of an habitual attention. "The act of memory," he ſays, "is attention. Without this one reads and hears to no purpoſe. And we ſhall be more or leſs profited by what we read or hear, as the ſubjects we read or hear are more or leſs important." The different powers and degrees of memory in different perſons are next conſidered, and the methods of improving the natural ſtate of that faculty by attention, recollection, writing, converſation, &c.—he adviſes at the ſame time, and gives direction with reſpect to delivering ſermons from memory. He concludes this ſubject with remarks on the memory of brutes, and draws certain inferences therefrom reſpecting the dignity of our nature. With regard to the real extent of memory in the brute creation it is difficult, nay, perhaps impoſſible, to determine. Dr. Beattie himſelf, in this reſpect, has left the ſubject pretty much where he found it. That there is an inexpreſſible diſtance between the intellectual faculties of man and thoſe of the brute creation, who can doubt? But to endeavour to aſcertain the preciſe limits of thoſe of either, is neither a very eaſy, or very neceſſary enquiry.

The treatiſe on imagination undoubtedly

doubtedly displays a great deal of learning and ability on the subject on which it is written; but it is not arranged in a form so regular and compressed as perhaps becomes a systematic performance.—Had Dr. Beattie originally intended his labours for the public, we should probably, in this part of his work, have found a more scrupulous attention to method. After giving a general account of imagination, he proceeds to treat of the principles of the association of ideas, as connected with that faculty; these he resolves into resemblance, contrariety, nearness of situation, the relation of cause and effect, and custom and habit. Speaking of the associating principle of habit or custom, Dr. Beattie is led to investigate the origin of our ideas on beauty, upon this principle. Or, as he expresses it himself, "from associations founded in habit, many, or perhaps most, of those pleasing emotions are derived, which accompany the perception of what in things visible is called Beauty: those *colours, figures, gestures*, and *motions*, being for the most part accounted beautiful, which convey to the mind pleasurable ideas; and those ugly, or not beautiful, which impart suggestions of an opposite or different nature." These sources of beauty he illustrates by a variety of apposite examples.

The chapter on Taste stands next in order.—To define this quality of the mind, Dr. Beattie enumerates those faculties and talents which must be united in the person who possesses it.—"To be a person of taste," he says, "it seems necessary that one have, first, a lively and correct imagination; secondly, the power of distinct apprehension; thirdly, the capacity of being easily, strongly, and agreeably affected, with sublimity, beauty, harmony, exact imitation, &c. fourthly, sympathy or sensibility of heart; and, fifthly, judgment, or good sense, which is the principal thing, and may not very improperly be said to comprehend all the rest." What is said on this subject under the fifth requisite to form good taste, namely judgment, or good sense, we shall beg leave to lay before our readers.

"The last thing mentioned as necessary to form good taste, is judgment, or good sense; which is indeed the principal thing; and which some would consider, as comprehending most of the foregoing particulars. By judgment, I here understand such a constitution of mind, as disposes a man to attend to the reality of things, and qualifies him for knowing and discovering the truth. It is by means of this faculty, as applied in criticism, that we compare poetical imitations with natural objects, so as to perceive in what they resemble, and in what they differ; that we estimate the rectitude of sentiments, the probability of incidents, and whether fictitious characters be similar to those of real life, and consistent with themselves, and whether any *part* of a composition be unsuitable to the tendency of the whole. Hence too we discern, with respect to the plan of a work, whether it be simple and natural, or confused and unnatural; and whether the author has been careful to make it, both in the general arrangement, and in the structure of each part, conformable to rule.

"Lest this should be misunderstood, I must repeat an observation,

which I have elſewhere had occaſion to make; that, in almoſt every art, two ſorts of rules have obtained authority; the Eſſential, and the Ornamental. The former reſult from the very nature of the work, and are neceſſary to the accompliſhment of the end propoſed by the artiſt. The latter depend rather upon eſtabliſhed cuſtom, than upon nature; and claim no higher origin, than the practice of ſome great performer, whom it has become the faſhion to imitate. To violate an *eſſential* rule, diſcovers want of ſenſe in an author, and conſequently want of taſte: for where ſenſe is not, taſte cannot be. To depart from an *ornamental* or mechanical rule, may be conſiſtent with the ſoundeſt judgment, and is ſometimes a proof both of good taſte and of great genius.

Great wits ſometimes may gloriouſly offend,
And riſe to faults true critics dare not mend:—
—From vulgar bounds with brave diſorder part,
And ſnatch a grace beyond the reach of art.

I am the more anxious to mark, and to dwell on this diſtinction, becauſe the French criticks* in general ſeem to have no notion of it. What is contrary to eſtabliſhed rule, or to faſhion, they condemn as contrary to taſte, without enquiring further. The conſequence is, that, according to them, French authors only can write in taſte, becauſe no other authors write in the French faſhion: and Shakeſpeare's plays muſt be abſurd farces, and their author a barbarian, becauſe they happen to be framed upon a plan, and in a ſtyle, which the critics of Paris have never acknowledged to be good. Criticiſm has been thought an entertaining, and uſeful part, of the philoſophy of mind: but, upon this principle, is as much beyond the reach, or below the notice, of rational inquiry, as modes of hair-dreſſing, or patterns of ſhoe-buckles.

"The following are ſome of the eſſential rules of compoſition, which muſt not be violated on any account.

"1. In philoſophy and hiſtory, the ſtricteſt regard is to be had to truth, in the detail of facts; and the inferences are to be made according to common ſenſe, and the rules of ſound reaſoning.

"2. In works of fiction, a like regard is to be had to probability; and no events are to be introduced, but ſuch as, according to the general opinion of the people to whom they are addreſſed, may be ſuppoſed to happen.

"3. Fictitious characters ought to ſpeak and act ſuitably to their ſuppoſed condition, age, rank, and other circumſtances; and to the paſſions, and ſentiments, that are ſaid to occupy their minds.

"4. External objects are to be deſcribed, both in hiſtory, and in poetry, as they are found to be in nature. The poet, however, is not obliged to enumerate all their qualities, but thoſe only that are neceſſary for his purpoſe.

* I ſhould have ſaid, the French criticks of the preſent age. Few nations have produced more learned men than France. I ſpeak here, not of the Stevens, the Daciers, the Rollins, the Fenelons; but of thoſe writers, who have learned from Voltaire to cenſure becauſe they envy, and to criticize what they do not underſtand.

"5. An

" 5. An author's ſtyle muſt always be perſpicuous, and fit to convey a full view of his meaning to an attentive reader; and ſo contrived as not to hurt, but to pleaſe the ear, when it is pronounced. But in every ſort of ſtyle, the ſame degree of perſpicuity, or of harmony, is not to be expected.

" 6. Every compoſition, whether long or ſhort, from an Epick poem or tragedy, down to a ſermon or ſhort eſſay, ought to have ſome one end in view; and all its parts muſt be ſo diſpoſed, as to promote that end. If it have no end, it has no meaning; if more ends than one, it may confound the attention by its multiplicity: if any of its parts be unſerviceable, or repugnant to its final purpoſe, they are ſuperfluous or irregular, and ought to have been lopped off, or corrected. Of this unity of deſign, Homer's two poems are perfect models. Each contains a great variety of action, converſation, and adventure: but every thing, in the one, tends to the re-eſtabliſhment of Ulyſſes in his kingdom, and, in the other, to diſplay the anger of Achilles, and its lamentable conſequences.

" 7. Every compoſition ought to have a moral tendency, or at leaſt to be innocent. That mind is perverted, which can either produce an immoral book, or be pleaſed with one. Virtue and good taſte are ſo nearly allied, that what offends the former can never gratify the latter.

" 8. As, in every nation, certain cuſtoms of long ſtanding acquire in time the authority of law; ſo, in every art, there are rules, which, though one might have called them diſcretionary or indifferent at their firſt introduction, come at length, after having been invariably obſerved by the beſt authors, to be conſidered as eſſential. One example will explain this. Homer, who invented, or at leaſt who perfected, Epick poetry, adopted in both his poems that meaſure of verſe which is called Hexameter. That *he* might without blame have adopted another, will hardly be queſtioned. His choice therefore was arbitrary. But, as it was a lucky choice; and as the practice of Homer became in this reſpect a law to the poets of antiquity; the hexameter is now, and was in the time of Horace *, and probably long before, held to be indiſpenſable in all Greek and Latin poems of the Epick kind.—For the ſame reaſon, partly; and partly, as Ariſtotle obſerves, becauſe it is too elaborate, and unlike the cadence of converſation, Hexameter verſe would not be tolerated in the Greek or Latin drama; the Iambick, Trochaick, and Anapeſtick meaſures, having been adopted by the beſt authors, in the ancient tragedy and comedy. And, in like manner, if an Engliſh author, in an Epick or dramatic poem, were to attempt any other form of verſe, than our Iambick of five feet, he would be thought to tranſgreſs a rule, which, though at firſt a matter of indifference, is now, after having been eſtabliſhed by the practice of Chaucer, Spenſer, Shakeſpeare, Milton, and all our great poets, become eſſential and unalterable.

* Hor. Ar. Poet. verſ. 73.

"I shall now give an instance or two, of the ornamental or mechanical laws of composition.

"1. That a regular tragedy, or comedy, should consist of five acts, and neither more nor fewer, is a rule, for which it would be difficult to assign any better reason than this, that it has been followed by good authors, and is recommended by Horace. Nor has this rule been invariably followed. The Italian opera, which, as reformed by Metastasio, is a most beautiful species of dramatick poem, consists of but three acts: and we have, in English, many good plays, both serious and comical, divided in the same manner; and some of only two acts, and some even of one. It is true, that a dramatic piece ought not to be too long, because it would fatigue the spectator as well as the actor; nor too short, because it would not be sufficiently interesting: it is reasonable too, that some intervals should be allowed in the representation, for the relief both of the players, and of the audience: but that this purpose could not be answered by five intervals, or three, as well as by four, is a point, which I apprehend it would be difficult to prove.

"2. Most of the French and Greek tragedians observe *the unities of time and place*: that is, they suppose every part of the action to have happened in the same place, because it is all represented on the same stage; and they limit the time of it to a few hours, because the representation is of no longer continuance. Unity of place is violated, when the scene changes from one place to another, from a house to the street, from the town to the country, or from one town or country to another. Unity of time is broken through, when the incidents of the fable are such, as could not have fallen out within a few hours, or at least within the space of one day and one night.

"The observance of these unities may in some cases, no doubt, heighten the probability of the action: but they lay a mighty restraint upon an author's genius; and they may give rise to improbabilities as great as any of those that can be occasioned by the neglect of them. If the subject of the play be a conspiracy, for example, and the scene of action the street; then, if unity of place be held essential, the conspirators must conduct their affairs in the street, so as to be seen and heard by every body: a very unlikely circumstance, and what, one may venture to say, can never happen. Surely, most audiences would be better pleased, and think the whole more natural, if, on such an emergency, the scene were to change from the street to a private apartment.

"The improbabilities, occasioned by disregarding these unities, are not so great as some people imagine. While we sit in the theatre, it is as easy for us to reconcile our minds to the shifting of the scene from the town to the country, or from one country to another; as it is, at our entrance, to suppose the stage a certain place in Rome or Egypt. And, if we can persuade ourselves, that the player, whom we see, and whose name and person we know, has on a sudden become Cato, or Cæsar, or any other ancient hero; we may as well believe, that the evening which we pass in the playhouse comprehends the space of several days or years.

"But

"But in fact, there is not, in dramatical repreſentation, that ſtrict probability which the criticks talk of. We never miſtake the actor for the perſon whoſe character he bears; we never imagine ourſelves in a foreign country, or carried back into the ages of antiquity: our pleaſure is derived from other ſources; and from this chiefly, that we know the whole to be a fiction. —The unities of time and place are violated by Shakeſpeare, in every one of his plays. He often ſhifts the ſcene from one country to another: and the time of his action is not always limited to days or weeks, but extends frequently to months, and even to years. Yet theſe irregularities are not offenſive to thoſe who underſtand him. And hence, I think, we may infer, that the rule, which enjoins the dramatick poet to a rigid obſervance of the unities of time and place, is not an eſſential, but a mechanical rule of compoſition *.

"As to the improvement of taſte in this particular;—I ſhall only remark, that whatever tends to correct, and methodiſe, our knowledge, either of men or of things, is to be conſidered as a means of improving the judgment. Hiſtory, geometry, and grammar; and thoſe parts of philoſophy, which convey clear ideas, and are attended with ſatisfactory proof, are eminently uſeful in this reſpect;—to which muſt be added ſuch an acquaintance with life and manners, as fits a man for buſineſs and converſation. Idleneſs, and habits of ſuperficial ſtudy, are ruinous to the underſtanding; as I have often remarked already, but can hardly repeat too often. And nothing is more detrimental to taſte, and to judgment, than thoſe ſubtleties of ancient and modern metaphyſicks, that encourage verbal controverſy, and lead to nothing but doubt and darkneſs. They exhauſt the vigour of the mind to no purpoſe; they extinguiſh the love of good learning; they withdraw the attention from the concerns of human life, and from thoſe things in art and nature, that warm the heart, and elevate the fancy: they pervert the rational powers, they corrupt good principles, and they poiſon the ſources of human happineſs.

"Taſte, as far as it depends on the knowledge of rules, may be further improved, by reading good books of criticiſm, and comparing them with the authors whom they illuſtrate. Sound judgment, however, we muſt acknowledge to be in a great meaſure conſtitutional: and no perſon will ever acquire true taſte, unleſs nature has made him a man of ſenſe."

In the 5th chapter, Dr. Beattie finiſhes his diſſertation on the Imagination, by giving the reader a variety of practical and moral leſſons for the better regulation of this faculty.

The Eſſay on Dreaming has for ſome time been in the hands of the public; having been introduced into *The Mirror*. The ſubject of this eſſay is of ſuch a nature as ſeems to elude our moſt accurate reſearches; and we can only ſay,

* See Johnſon's Preface to Shakſpeare; and Calſabigi's *Diſſertazione ſu le Poeſie Drammatiche del S. A. P. Metaſtaſio.*

that the account here given is as ſatisfactory and rational as any other we have met with.

The diſſertation on the Theory of Language, which we now come to, is a work, in our opinion, of the greateſt merit and conſequence in the whole book, and finiſhed throughout in a manner worthy of its author. Dr. Beattie has in this treatiſe analyzed our language with ſuch a critical accumen, and with ſuch an accurate perception of its ſtructure, as diſplays the moſt intimate acquaintance with its principles.

The firſt part treats of the origin and general nature of ſpeech. The ſecond part of univerſal grammar.

We are ſorry the limits of our work will not allow us to enter ſo minutely into the different parts of this diſſertation as we could wiſh. We cannot however help laying before our readers what he ſays concerning the meaſure of Engliſh verſe, and of its being regulated ſolely by *emphaſis*.

This theory is as agreeable to truth, as it is peculiarly ingenious.

"But on what" ſays he, "does the meaſure of Engliſh verſe depend? —Some have ſaid, on the number of ſyllables. But that is a miſtake. —The three following lines are of the ſame Iambick ſpecies; and yet, the firſt conſiſts of ten, the ſecond of nine, and the third of eight, ſyllables:

And many a youth, and many a maid,
Were dancing in the neighbouring ſhade,
In holiday attire array'd.

Of theſe four lines the firſt and third have eight ſyllables, and the ſecond and fourth have nine; yet the meaſure is the ſame throughout;

Yet do not my folly reprove;
She was fair, and my paſſion begun;
She ſmiled, and I could not but love;
She is faithleſs, and I am undone.

The four that follow might all ſtand in the ſame verſe of the ſame ſong, and be ſung to the ſame tune, though in the firſt there are eleven ſyllables, in the ſecond twelve, thirteen in the third, and fourteen in the laſt.

And when I am gone, may the better ſort ſay,
He had ſenſe, he was modeſt, and harmleſly gay,
And a kind, unaffected, and good honeſt fellow,
In the morning when ſober, in the evening when mellow.

Our heroick verſe, too, may conſiſt of ten ſyllables (which is the ſimpleſt and moſt common form of it) or of eleven, or of twelve: as,

Arms and the man I ſing, who forced by fate.—
Bellowing along the plains the monſter ran.—
Many a wide lawn, and many a waving grove.—

The following has been given, as a heroick line of fourteen ſyllables,

And many an humourous, many an amourous lay.

And, admitting a ſupernumerary ſyllable, the ſecond line of this couplet might be tolerated, though it has fifteen:

The hapleſs poet pen'd, alas! for pity,
Full many an amorous, many a querulous ditty.

"It has indeed been thought by ſome criticks, that in our heroick verſe, when the ſyllables exceed ten in number, there muſt be redundant vowels, which in reading are ſuppreſſed or cut off, and inſtead of which, in printed books, the apoſtrophe is often inſerted. But,

But, whatever be the caſe in printing, and writing, this is contrary to the practice of all good readers; who pronounce every ſyllable diſtinctly, and by ſo doing gratify our ear much more than if they had made the ſuppoſed eliſions. For, how ridiculous would it be, if one were to read the laſt line thus!

Full man' an am'rous, man' a quer'lous ditty.

This might indeed be called meaſure, but it could not be called Engliſh.

"Some have imagined, that the rhythm of our verſe depends, like that of the Greek and Latin, not upon the number, but upon the *quantity*, of ſyllables. And it is true, that an Engliſh heroick line may be made up of a ſhort and long ſyllable five times repeated; in which caſe we may ſay, without any impropriety, that it is a pure Iambick of five feet: as,

Dĕſpaīr, rĕvēnge, rĕmōrſe tŏrmēnt thĕ ſōūl.

But it is no leſs true, that an Engliſh heroick line *may* be compoſed, wherein there ſhall not be one long ſyllable, except the laſt: as,

The buſy bodies flutter tattle ſtill.

Whatever may be ſaid of this line in other reſpects, it will at leaſt be allowed to be of the Engliſh heroick ſpecies: and yet, if we were to pronounce the ſecond, fourth, ſixth, and eighth ſyllables as if they were long, the articulation would be ridiculous:

The buzz-y bode-ies flütt-er tatt-le ſtill.

I grant, that thoſe heroick lines, which abound in ſyllables that are at once emphatical and ſhort, are not ſo proper for expreſſing ſentiments or images of dignity; yet ſtill they are of the heroick ſpecies; and no critick will ſay, that they are inconſiſtent with rule, or not juſtifiable by authority.

"On what then does the meaſure of Engliſh verſes depend? Not on the *number* of the ſyllables, as we have ſeen: nor on their *quantity*; ſince an Engliſh heroick line may conſiſt of five ſhort and five long ſyllables, or of nine ſhort and one long ſyllable.—In fact, this matter is regulated by the *emphaſis*. In our verſe, there muſt be in every foot one emphatick ſyllable, whether long or ſhort. And the alternate ſucceſſion of emphatick and non-emphatick ſyllables is as eſſential to Engliſh numbers, as that of long and ſhort is to the Latin and Greek.—Thus in that line,

The buſy bodies flutter tattle ſtill,

though there is not one long ſyllable till you come to the end, there are five emphatick ſyllables, each of them preceded by a ſyllable of no emphaſis. And in the other line,

Deſpair, remorſe, revenge, torment the ſoul,

there are alſo five emphatick ſyllables, each preceded by a non-emphatick ſyllable.

"In what reſpect, then, do theſe two lines (which are allowed to be of the ſame ſpecies) reſemble each other, and in what reſpect do they differ? They differ in this reſpect, that one is made up of ſhort and long ſyllables alternately diſpoſed, while the other has in it only one long ſyllable: they agree in this, that both the one and the other is compoſed of non-emphatick and emphatick ſyllables placed alternately. It follows, that, though long and ſhort, or ſhort and

long, syllables *may sometimes* form the rhythm of English verse, yet that which *invariably* and *essentially* forms it, is the interchange of emphatick and non-emphatick syllables.

" In lines, that are intended to imitate the sense by the articulation, or to be remarkably concise and significant, an exuberance of emphatick syllables may sometimes be found. But such lines, whatever merit they may have in respect of energy, are not well-tuned; and perhaps could hardly be known to be verse, if we did not find them among other verses. The imperfection of their harmony, however, we overlook, if they have any other beauty to counterbalance it. Such is this of Milton:

Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death.

And such is that, in a late Prologue, which I have heard Mrs. Abington pronounce very humourously:

Some great fat wife of some great fat shopkeeper.

" Our language abounds in words of one syllable, many of which, being of ambiguous quantity, have no other emphasis, but the rhetorical, which is fixed upon them by the sense. In lines of monosyllables, therefore, that are well-tuned, those words, which by the rule of the verse would have the syllabick emphasis, have also the rhetorical emphasis from the importance of their signification. If we were to mistake the following line for prose,—

The sun was set, and all the plains were still,

yet, if we read it with understanding, the rhetorical emphasis, coinciding with the syllabick, and having indeed the same effect, would prove it to be poetical, and of the heroick species.

" I shall conclude this part of the subject with two remarks. The first is, that tho' our poetry derives its measure from the emphasis of syllables, and the Greek and Latin theirs from the quantity, we must not look upon the former as barbarous, and upon the latter as alone susceptible of true harmony: the only inference we can reasonably make is, that Greek and Latin verses are more uniform than ours in respect of time. The rhythm of sounds may be marked by the distinction of loud and soft, as well as by that of long and short. Every nation has a right to determine for itself in these matters; and it is probable, that the English numbers are as delightful to us, as the Latin and Greek were to the Romans and Grecians. In like manner, though rhimes are intolerable in ancient poetry, it does not follow, that they are contemptible in themselves: most modern nations have them, and children and peasants are charmed with them; which could not be, if they had not in certain circumstances the power of pleasing.

" My second remark is, that tho' those terms in ancient grammar, *trochæus*, *iambus*, *dactylus*, *anapæstus*, *spondæus*, &c. do properly signify certain limited arrangements of *long* and *short* syllables, it can do no harm to adopt them in English prosody. For our emphatick syllables are often long, and our non-emphatick syllables are often short; and where this is the case, we use these terms without impropriety. And where this

is

is not the case, if we call that foot a *trochee* (for example) which consists of an emphatick and non-emphatick syllable, both of them short, as *body*, we do not depart from the original meaning of words more than is frequently done, without blame, on other occasions.

"In fact, the customs of different countries are so different, that when we borrow words from a foreign tongue, it is not always possible to confine them to their primitive sense. With us, an *advocate* is one who pleads a cause in a court of judicature. An advocate in ancient Rome was one, who assisted with his countenance and advice the person who was obliged to appear before the judges, whether he spoke in his behalf or not.

"Let us then have our trochees, iambuses, and anapests, and our trochaick, iambick, and anapestick measures: only let it be remembered, that, in English prosody, a trochee is either a long and short, (as *lowly*), or an emphatick and non-emphatick syllable, (as *body*); an iambus, the reverse, as *renown*, *repel*; an anapest, an iambus preceded by a short syllable, as *magazine*; and a dactyl, a trochee followed by a short syllable, as *thunderer*, *profligate*.

"As our poetical numbers depend upon the alternate succession of emphatick and non-emphatick syllables, it may be proper, before I proceed to the subject of *accent*, to give some account of the various sorts of measure, that have been established in English poetry; in describing which, I must be understood to use the words trochee, iambus, dactyl, and anapest, in the sense just now explained. And I shall take the liberty to mark our *rhythmical emphasis* and *the want of it*, by the same characters, which in Latin prosody denote *long* and *short* syllables.

"English poetical measure may be divided into four kinds, Dactylick, Iambick, Trochaick, and *Anapestick*.

"I. The Dactylick measure being very uncommon, I shall give only one example of one species of it, which I find in Dryden's *Albion and Albanius*.

Frŏm thĕ lŏw pălăce ŏf ōld făthĕr Ōceăn
Come we in pity your cares to deplore;
Sea-racing dolphins are train'd for our motion,
Moony tides swelling to roll us ashore.

"II. The Iambick is of all measures the most natural; for, as Aristotle observes, we often fall into it in our ordinary discourse. Greek and Latin hexameters, and our own trochaick and anapestick numbers, are more artificial, because more unlike the cadences of conversation. Our Iambicks we may subdivide into species, according to the number of feet or syllables whereof they consist; and I shall follow the same rule of arrangement in describing the other measures.

"1. The shortest form of the English Iambick consists of an iambus with an additional short syllable; as,

Dĭsdāĭnĭng,
Complaining,
Consenting,
Repenting.

We have no poem of this measure, but it may be met with in stanzas. The example is taken from a song in the mask of Comus.

"2. The second form of our Iambick is also too short to be continued

tinued through any great number of lines; though in the following example it has a very good effect. It conſiſts of two iambuſes.

With rāvĭſh'd ēārs
The monarch hears,
Aſſ-umes the God,
Af-fects to nod.

It ſometimes takes, or may take, an additional ſhort ſyllable; as,

Ŭpōn ă mōūntāĭn
Bcſide a fountain.

" 3. The third form conſiſts of three iambuſes:

Nŏ wār, ŏr bāttlĕ's ſōūnd,
Was heard the world a-round.

with ſometimes an additional ſhort ſyllable; as,

Yĕ lāys nŏ lōngĕr lāngŭiſh,
For nought can cure my anguiſh.

" 4. The fourth form is made up of four iambuſes, with ſometimes an additional ſyllable, which gives a pleaſing variety.

Ŏr whēthĕr, ās ſŏme ſāgĕs ſĭng,
The frolick wind, that breathes the ſpring,
Young Zephyr with Aurora playing, &c.

This meaſure, which we uſe both in burleſque and in ſerious poetry, is the ſame with the Iambick Dimeter of the antients; whereof, in its pureſt form, this is an example:

Ĭnārſĭt āēſtŭōſĭūs.

" 5. The fifth ſpecies of Engliſh Iambick is no other than our common meaſure for heroick poetry and tragedy. In its pureſt, or ſimpleſt, form it conſiſts of five iambuſes:

Thĕ dūmb ſhāll ſĭng, thĕ lāme hĭs crŭtch fŏregō:

but, by the admiſſion of other feet, as trochees, dactyls, and anapeſts, is capable of more than thirty varieties. Indeed, moſt of our common meaſures may be varied in the ſame way, as well as by the different poſition of their pauſes. And ſuch varieties, when ſkilfully introduced, give wonderful energy to Engliſh, Greek, and Latin numbers; and have, for this reaſon, been ſtudiouſly ſought after by Homer, Virgil, Milton, Dryden, and all other harmonious poets: variety being the ſoul of harmony, and nothing in language or in muſick more tireſome to the ear than an uniform ſameneſs of ſound and meaſure. — Our heroick verſe is ſometimes lengthened out by an additional ſhort ſyllable, and then becomes nearly the ſame with that of the modern Italians.

'Tis Heaven itſelf that points out an hereafter.—
Che 'l gran ſepolchro liberò di Chriſto.

But in Engliſh, this is more common in blank verſe, than in rhime; and in tragedy, than in the epick or didactick poem; and among tragedians it is leſs faſhionable now, than it was formerly.

" 6. The ſixth form of our Iambick is commonly called the Alexandrine meaſure; becauſe, ſay the criticks, (but on what authority I know not) it was firſt uſed in a poem called Alexander. It conſiſts of ſix iambuſes.

Fŏr thōū ărt būt ŏf dūſt; bĕ hūmblĕ, ānd bĕ wīſe.

It is introduced ſometimes in heroick rhime; and, when ſparingly, and with judgment, occaſions an agreeable variety.

Waller was ſmooth; but Dryden taught to join
The varying verſe, the full reſounding line,
The long majeſtick march, and energy divine.

Spenſer

Spenſer makes it the laſt line of his great ſtanza; where indeed it has a very happy effect. By the ſame artifice, Milton gives ſuperlative elevation to ſome of his ſtanzas on the Nativity:

But firſt to thoſe ychain'd in ſleep
The wakeful trump of doom ſhall thunder through the deep.

and Gray, to the endings of his Pindarick meaſures. This verſe is generally pleaſing, when it concludes a poetical ſentence of dignity: as where the aged champion in Dryden's Virgil reſigns his arms, with a reſolution not to reſume them any more:

Take the laſt gift theſe wither'd arms can yield,
Thy gauntlets I reſign, and here renounce the field.

In meaſure and number of feet it is the ſame with the pure Iambick Trimeter of the Greeks and Romans; of which every ſecond line of the ſixteenth epode of Horace is an example:

Sūīs ĕt īpſā Rōmă vīrĭbūs rŭīt.

Some criticks confound our Alexandrine with the French heroick verſe. But the latter, though it ſometimes contains the ſame number of ſyllables, is not Iambick at all, but rather Anapeſtick, having for the moſt part two ſhort for one long ſyllable, and in rhythm correſponds nearly to the following:

Now ſee, when they meet, how their honours behave:
Noble captain, your ſervant: Sir Arthur, your ſlave.
Pray how does my lady? My wife's at your ſervice.
I think I have ſeen her picture by Jervis.

The Alexandrine, like other Engliſh Iambicks, may occaſionally take an additional ſhort ſyllable:

With freedom by my ſide, and ſoft-eyed Melancholy.

"7. The ſeventh and laſt form of our Iambick meaſure is made up of ſeven iambuſes:

Thĕ Lōrd dĕſcēndĕd frōm ăbōve, ănd bōw'd thĕ hēāvĕns hīgh,

which was antiently written in one line; but is now for the moſt part broken into two, the firſt containing four feet, and the ſecond three. Chapman's tranſlation of Homer's Iliad is the longeſt work I have ſeen in this meaſure. It is now conſidered as a Lyrick verſe; and is very popular, and indeed very pleaſing.

"III. The ſhorteſt Trochaick verſe in our language is that uſed by Swift in a burleſque poem called a Lilliputian Ode, conſiſting of one trochee and a long ſyllable.

Īn ămāze
Loſt I gaze.

This meaſure is totally void of dignity, and cannot be uſed on any ſerious occaſion. I am therefore ſurpriſed, that Brown, in his excellent ode on the Cure of Saul, ſhould have adopted it in a ſpeech aſcribed to the Supreme Being:

Tumult ceaſe.
Sink to peace.

"2. The ſecond Engliſh form of the pure Trochaick conſiſts of two feet, and is likewiſe too brief for any ſerious purpoſe;

Ōn thĕ mōūntāĭn,
By a fountain:

or of two feet and an additional long ſyllable:

Īn thĕ dāȳs ŏf ōld
Stories plainly told
Lovers felt annoy.

Theſe three lines are from an old ballad:

ballad: the measure is very uncommon.

" 3. The third species consists of three trochees;

Whēn thĕ sēās wĕre rōārĭng,
Phyllis lay deploring:

or of three trochees with an additional long syllable;

Thēē thĕ vōice thĕ dānce ŏbēy.

This is often mixed with the Iambick of four feet, and makes an agreeable variety, when judiciously introduced, as in the *Allegro* and *Penseroso* of Milton;

Iamb. But come, thou goddess fair and free,
In heaven ycleped Euphrosyne.
Troch. Come, and trip it as you go;
On the light fantastick toe.

" 4. The fourth Trochaick species consists of four trochees:

Dāys ŏf ēāse ănd nīghts ŏf plēāsŭre.

Which followed alternately by the preceding, forms a beautiful Lyrick verse, whereof we have a specimen in one of the finest ballads in the English language:

Ās nĕar Pōrtŏbēllŏ lўĭng Ōn thĕ gēntlў
swēllĭng flōōd
At midnight with streamers flying Our
triumphant navy rode.

It is remarkable, that (as Mr. West has somewhere observed) the same measure occurs in the Greek tragedians, as in this of Euripides:

* Proskunô s' anax nomoisi barbaroisi prospesôn.

And there is an elegant Latin poem called *Pervigilium Veneris*, commonly ascribed to Catullus; of which, allowing for some varieties incident to the Latin Trochaick verse, the measure is the same;

Ver novum, ver jam canorum; vere nubent
alites;
Vere concordant amores; vere natus orbis est.

With an additional long syllable, our fourth Trochaick species would be as follows:

Īdlĕ, āftĕr dīnnĕr, īn hĭs chāīr,
Sat a farmer, ruddy, fat, and fair.

But this measure is very uncommon.

" 5. So is the fifth Trochaick species, consisting of five trochees; whereof I do not remember to have seen a specimen in any printed poem.

Āll thăt wālk ŏn fōōt ŏr rīde ĭn chārĭŏts,
All that dwell in palaces or garrets.

This sort of verse, with an additional long syllable, might be thus exemplified:

Plēāsănt wās thĕ mōrnĭng, ānd thĕ mōnth
wās Māy,
Colin went to London in his best array.

Some Scotch ballads are in this measure; but I know not whether I have ever seen a specimen in English.

6. " The sixth form of the pure English Trochaick consists of six trochees; whereof the following couplet is an example:

Ōn ă mōuntāin strētch'd bĕnēath ă hōārў
wīllŏw
Lay a shepherd swain, and view'd the rolling
billow;

which is, I think, the longest Trochaick line that our language admits of.

" IV. The shortest possible Anapestick verse must be a single anapest:

Bŭt ĭn vāĭn
They complain.

But this measure is ambiguous; for, by laying the emphasis on the first and third syllables, we might make it Trochaick. And therefore the first and simplest form of our

* Πρoσκυνω σ' αναξ νομοισι βαρβαροισι πρoσπεσων.

ana-

anapeſtick verſe is made up of two anapeſts:

Būt hĭs cōūrăge găn fāĭl,
For no arts could avail.

or of two anapeſts with an additional ſhort ſyllable:

Thēn hĭs cōūrăge găn fāĭl hĭm,
For no arts could avail him.

" 2. The ſecond conſiſts of three anapeſts:

Wĭth hĕr mīēn ſhĕ ĕnāmoūrs thĕ brāve,
With her wit ſhe engages the free,
With her modeſty pleaſes the grave;
She is every way pleaſing to me.

This is a delightful meaſure, and much uſed in paſtoral ſongs. Shenſtone's ballad in four parts, from which the example is quoted, is an exquiſite ſpecimen. So is the Scotch ballad of *Tweedſide*, and Rowe's *Deſpairing beſide a clear ſtream*; which laſt is perhaps the fineſt love-ſong in the world. And that the ſame meaſure is well ſuited to burleſque, appears from the very humourous ballad called *The tippling Philoſophers*; which begins thus, *Diogenes ſurly and proud*, &c.—Obſerve, that this, like all the other anapeſtick forms, often (indeed for the moſt part) takes an iambus in the firſt place,

Dĕſpāĭrĭng bĕſīde ă clĕar ſtrēām;

and formerly in the firſt and third,

Grīm kĭng ŏf thĕ ghōſts, mākе hāſte,
And bring hither all your train:

But this laſt variety is unpleaſing to a modern ear.—With an additional ſhort ſyllable, it is as follows:

Sāy̆s mў ūncle, Ĭ prāy yŏu dĭſcōvĕr
Why you pine and you whine like a lover:

which, uſed alternately with the preceding, makes the meaſure of the witty ballad of Molly Mog, written by Gay, and often imitated.

" 3. The third form of the pure Engliſh Anapeſtick conſiſts of four anapeſts:

Ăt thĕ clōſe ŏf thĕ dāy, whĕn thĕ hāmlĕt ĭs ſtĭll.—
If I live to grow old, as I find I go down.—

This meaſure, which reſembles the French heroick verſe, is common in Engliſh ſongs and ballads, and other ſhort compoſitions both comical and ſerious. It admits a ſhort ſyllable at the end,

On the cold cheek of Death ſmiles and roſes are blending:

and ſometimes alſo between the ſecond and third foot,

Ĭn thĕ mōrnĭng whĕn ſōbĕr, ĭn thĕ ēvenĭng whĕn mēllŏw:

which is the longeſt form of the regular Anapeſtick in the Engliſh language.

" To one or other of theſe ſeven Iambick, ſix Trochaick, and three Anapeſtick, ſpecies, every line of Engliſh poetry, if we except thoſe few that are compoſed of dactyls, may be reduced. I have given only the ſimpleſt form of each. The ſeveral licences or variations, that theſe ſimple forms admit of, might be without difficulty enumerated: but I cannot at preſent enter into the niceties of Engliſh proſody.

" Sidney endeavoured to bring in Engliſh hexameters, and has given ſpecimens of them in the *Arcadia*. And Wallis, in his grammar, tranſlates a Latin hexameter,

Quid faciam? moriar? et Amyntam pærdet Amyntas?

into an Engliſh one,

What ſhall I do? ſhall I die? ſhall Amyntas murder Amyntas?

Mr. Walpole, in his catalogue of Royal

Royal and Noble authors, aſcribes the following to Queen Elizabeth:

Perſius a crab-ſtaff, bawdy Martial, Ovid a fine wag.

But this ſort of verſe has never obtained any footing in our poetry: and I think I could prove, from the peculiarities of its rhythm, that it never can."

The three remaining eſſays are of a nature much leſs abſtruſe, and leſs complicated with thoſe ſubtleties which are almoſt inſeparable from ſubjects of a ſcientific nature, than any of the foregoing diſſertations.

The firſt is *on Fable and Romance*, the ſecond *on the Attachments of Kindred*, and the third contains *Illuſtrations on Sublimity*. In the firſt of theſe, after ſome general remarks on *ancient and Oriental proſe fable*, he proceeds to *modern proſe fable*, which he divides into four claſſes. 1. The hiſtorical allegory; 2. The moral allegory; 3. The poetical and ſerious fable; 4. The poetical and comic fable, of which the two laſt he comprehends under the general term *Romance*.

Under each of theſe ſeveral heads he has claſſed a variety of authors, according to the nature of their writings; and has given a *critique* upon each: For the moſt part his obſervations are made with great judgment, and a juſt conception of their reſpective merits, although we cannot in every reſpect agree with him. As, for inſtance, we differ with him when he ſays, that in the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* "there is great luxury of deſcription without elegance; and great variety of invention, but nothing that elevates the mind, or touches the heart." This is true of ſome of the tales, but of many it certainly is not. We find ourſelves frequently affected both with horror, and with pleaſing ſenſations, in reading the Arabian Nights Entertainments, by the mere force of ſituation and deſcription; and we are much miſtaken if that collection of fables has not often given riſe in its readers to ideas both of a ſublime and beautiful nature.

In ſpeaking of the riſe and progreſs of *modern romance*, Dr. Beattie takes an opportunity of introducing an account of the character of thoſe nations who introduced the feudal government and manners, and of the cruſades, and that ſpirit of chivalry and knight-errantry which ſucceeded, as the natural offſpring of the feudal manners and government.

In the Eſſay on the *Attachments of Kindred*, Dr. Beattie diſcuſſes the three queſtions following, "1. Whether it is according to nature, that the married perſons ſhould be only two, one man and one woman: 2. Whether the matrimonial union ſhould laſt through the whole life: 3. Whether the rearing and educating of children ſhould be left to the parents, or provided for by the publick." With regard to the firſt queſtion, Dr. Beattie founds his reaſons againſt polygamy upon the following principles—"That it is againſt the intention of nature, who having given all men propenſities alike that prompt to an union betwixt the ſexes, muſt have intended that all ſhould enjoy the happineſs reſulting from it—that if polygamy was to prevail, this would be impoſſible, becauſe, agreeable to every computation, the males exceed the females:—2dly, That polygamy is inconſiſtent with that affection which married people

ought to bear to one another:—3dly, That it deſtroys the peace of families, and therefore ſtands in direct oppoſition to one of the chief ends of the matrimonial union:—4thly, That it is ſubverſive of filial and parental affection, muſt be inconſiſtent with the right education of children, and ſo counteract another chief end of marriage."

In anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, Whether the matrimonial union ought to laſt through the whole life? Dr. Beattie ſays it ought, and this he infers from the following principles,—"That it tends towards our making a deliberate choice:—2dly, That as thoſe who are united by friendſhip have the beſt chance of being happy, and as true friendſhip requires a *permanent* union, ſuch an union is moſt likely to be happy:—3dly, That the reverſe of ſuch an union would debaſe thoſe ideas of delicacy, wherewith the intercourſe of the ſexes ought always to be accompanied:—4thly, That it would be fatal to the education of children, whoſe parents might be totally engroſſed by other connections."

In examining the third queſtion, Whether the rearing and educating of children ſhould be left to the parents, or provided for by the public? Dr. Beattie endeavours, and ſucceſsfully, to overturn Plato's theory on this ſubject. Indeed Plato's ſupport of this theory is ſo weak and abſurd, ſo completely contradicts every feeling and ſentiment that nature has implanted in us, that ſo far from promiſing any political good, it ſcarcely leaves a ſingle ſource from which the beſt and greateſt of all our actions muſt flow, or not at all. This Eſſay certainly does great honour both to the author's heart and underſtanding.

The book concludes with *Illuſtrations on Sublimity*.—The different ſources of the ſublime are collected and diſplayed in a very judicious and critical manner in this treatiſe, as well thoſe which ariſe from external and ſenſible objects, as from poetry.——

"Poetry," he ſays, "becomes ſublime in many ways.——1. When it elevates the mind by ſentiments ſo happily conceived and expreſſed, as to raiſe our affections above the low purſuits of ſenſuality and avarice, and animate us with the love of virtue and honour." As an inſtance of this, he gives that fine line in Virgil, where Evander addreſſes himſelf to Æneas——

Aude, hoſpes, contemnere opes; et te quoque dignum
Finge Deo."——

2. "Poetry is ſublime when it conveys a lively idea of any grand appearance in art or nature."—3. "When without any great pomp of images or of words it infuſes horror by a happy choice of circumſtances."——4. "When it awakens in the mind any great or good affection, as piety or patriotiſm." This diviſion ſeems to be included, in our opinion, under the firſt head.

5. "When it deſcribes in a lively manner the viſible effects of any of thoſe paſſions that give elevation to the character."

Under each of theſe heads Dr. Beattie has given ſeveral appoſite examples. He concludes by enumerating a variety of thoſe faults in ſtyle and expreſſion, which are inimical to, and deſtroy ſublimity in writing.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

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CHAP. II.

Peninsula of India. Efforts by France to recover her ancient possessions and influence, and totally to overthrow the English power. French squadron sails from the African islands with a strong body of forces for the coast of Coromandel; takes the Hannibal of 50 guns, and appears suddenly before Madras, intending to destroy the English squadron in the road, and, in concurrence with Hyder Ally, to besiege that place by sea and land. Causes which obliged M. de Suffrein to abandon that design and put out to sea. Is pursued by Sir Edward Hughes, who chaces and takes several of the convoy. Partial sea-fight; in which the French, having the wind in their favour, direct their whole force to the attack of the rear and a part of the center of the British line. Admiral's ship, the Superbe, and Commodore King's ship, the Exeter, suffer extremely, through the great superiority of force by which they are attacked. Capt. Stephens, of the former, and Capt. Reynolds, of the latter, killed. Enemy suddenly haul their wind and stand off; are out of sight in the morning. Admiral, on his way from Madras to Trincomale, is joined by the Sultan and Magnanime from England. Falls in with the Enemy's fleet. Bloody action off the coast of Ceylon, on the 12th of April. The damage on both sides so great, and so nearly equal, that the hostile commanders lie for several days within sight of each other, repairing their

ſhattered ſhips. French fleet proceed to Batacalo, and Sir Edward Hughes to Trincomale. Conſequences of theſe naval actions. Great diſappointment to Hyder, in his expectation of ſuch a co-operation on the part of France, as would enable him ſpeedily to reduce the Carnatic. Major Abingdon arrives with a body of troops from Bombay at Tellicherry, on the Malabar coaſt; where he defeats and takes Saados Cawn, who had long blockaded that place. [40

CHAP. III.

Colonel Brathwaite's detachment ſuddenly ſurrounded by Tippoo Saib, with a conſiderable army, on the banks of the Coleroon. Deſperate reſiſtance. Cruel ſlaughter reſtrained by the humanity of M. Lally. Southern provinces laid entirely open to the enemy by this loſs. Embarraſſing ſituation of Sir Eyre Coote. French forces, under the conduct of M. Duchemin, land at Pondicherry, and are joined by a body of Hyder's troops; the combined enemy beſiege Cuddalore and Permacoil, both of which they take; and meditate, in concert with the grand army, an attack upon the important fortreſs of Vandiwaſh. Sir Eyre Coote, in advancing to the protection of Vandiwaſh, hopes thereby to bring on a battle with Hyder; but finding the latter relinquiſhed his object to evade that deſign, he puſhes on two days march to attack him on his own ground. Hyder abandons his camp, and retires to a ſecure poſition on the Red Hills. Britiſh general, in order to draw the enemy from his ſtrong poſt, and bring on an action, advances towards the fortreſs of Arnee, where his magazines are depoſited. Manœuvre ſucceeds: Hyder immediately deſcends from the Red Hills, and marches to the relief of Arnee. Battle of the 2d of June. Enemy routed and purſued till night. The want of cavalry on one ſide, and abundance of it on the other, prevent the grand effects of victory in this war. Purſuit continued for two days. Enemy abandon the great road, and croſs the country to Arnee. Britiſh grand guard cut off. Fatigue, ſickneſs, and want of proviſions, oblige the army to fall back towards the ſources of its ſupply. Sir Eyre Coote's ill health obliges him to quit the army, and leave the command to General Stuart. Hyder in a ſimilar ſtate of ill health. Deſtined never to face each other again in the field. Both, probably, victims to the contention. Failure of Hyder's great deſigns, affects his conſtitution. French ſquadron returns from the iſland of Ceylon to the coaſt of Coromandel, and is followed by the Engliſh. M. de Suffrein takes on board great reinforcements of troops and artillerymen at Cuddalore, with a view of entirely cruſhing the Britiſh naval power in thoſe ſeas. Appears before Negapatam, to challenge Sir Edward Hughes. Action of the 6th of July. French fleet ſaved by a ſudden ſhift of wind. Severe *ſtrikes to the Sultan, but afterwards eſcapes. Capt. Maclellan, of the admiral's ſhip, killed. Great loſs of the enemy. While the ſquadron is refitting at Madras, M. de Suffrein joins the Sieur d'Aymar, on the coaſt of Ceylon, who is arrived there with two ſhips of the line, and the ſecond diviſion of the Marquis de Buſſy's troops from the Mau-*

ritius. Enemy beſiege and take Trincomale, while the Britiſh ſquadron is detained by adverſe winds from its reſcue. Sir E. Hughes arrives early in the morning cloſe in with that place. Enemy, relying on their ſuperior force, come out to battle. Deſperate and well-fought action on the 3d of September. Enemy loſe one of their beſt ſhips in getting in to Trincomale. Loſs of men ſmall, with reſpect to number; but the three brave captains, Wood, Watts, and Lumley, with other diſtinguiſhed officers, are unfortunately ſlain. Great loſs of the enemy. Admirable behaviour of the Britiſh commanders, through the whole courſe of this ſevere naval warfare. [54

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Treaty of peace concluded with the Mahrattas, through the mediation of Madajee Scindia. Negotiation conducted with ability by Mr. Anderſon. Madajee Scindia the mutual guarantee. Peace fortunate with reſpect to the ſeaſon of its concluſion, and advantageous in its ſtipulations to the Engliſh. Baroach ceded to Scindia. Suppoſed cauſes which delayed the ratification at Poonah. Dreadful hurricane, and deplorable famine at Madras. Britiſh ſquadron driven to ſea, and ſuffer much from bad weather in their paſſage to Bombay. Advantages derived by the French fleet from the poſſeſſion of Trincomale. Colonel Humberſtone's ſucceſſes on the coaſt of Malabar. Penetrates far into the country; but is obliged to retire with loſs from Palacatcherry. Government of Bombay diſpatch a body of forces under General Mathews to the coaſt, with a view to extricate Humberſtone; while Tippoo Saib proceeds with the utmoſt rapidity from the Carnatic, in order to cut him off. Colonel Humberſtone gains intelligence of his approach, and retires to Paniany, cloſely purſued by the enemy. Command of the troops devolves on Colonel Macleod, who is immediately inveſted by the enemy. Tippoo Saib and M. Lally attack the Britiſh lines with a great force, but are gallantly repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Tippoo Saib breaks up his camp by night, and returns to the Carnatic. General Mathews takes Onore by ſtorm. Death and character of Hyder Ally. General Mathews takes Cundapore; forces the Gauts, and makes his way into the Bednore country. Some obſervations on the conduct purſued, and the cruelties committed in this expedition. Short account of the ancient kingdom of Canara, and of the royal city of Bednore, or Hyder Nagur, the ſuppoſed depoſitary of Hyder's treaſures. Private negotiation and treaty with Hyat Saib, who ſurrenders the country and capital to the Britiſh forces. Great diſcontents in the army, relative to the diſpoſal of the treaſures found in the royal palace. Difference between the general and the principal officers of the King's forces, occaſions the Colonels Macleod and Humberſtone, with Major Shaw, to quit the army and return to Bombay. Diſpatches from the general, containing a general accuſation againſt his army. Proceedings of the government of Bombay: appoint Colonel Macleod to the command of the army in the Bednore country. Captain Carpenter takes Carwar,

war, with other forts, and reduces the whole Soundah country. General Mathews returns with part of the army to the coaſt; beſieges and takes Mangalore. Tippoo Sultan abandons the Carnatic, and marches with his whole army to recover the Bednore country, and his dominions on the Malabar coaſt. Letters from General Mathews to the government of Bombay, informing them of the approach of the enemy, and requiring a reinforcement: returns to Bednore; marches out to fight the prodigious army under Tippoo Sultan; being inſtantly defeated, he retires with the remainder of the forces to the adjoining fortreſs; cloſely ſurrounded and beſieged. The ſtrong poſts in the Gauts ſhamefully loſt to a detachment from Tippoo's army. The fugitives from the Gauts communicate their panic to the garriſon of Cundapore, who ſet fire to the magazines, and abandon the place, with a large field of artillery. General Mathews capitulates upon honourable conditions. Capitulation violated by Tippoo Sultan. General, and principal officers, ſeized and impriſoned. Army plundered and inhumanly treated. Miſeries endured in a cruel march and impriſonment. General, and ſeveral officers, ſaid to have been barbarouſly murdered. Siege of Mangalore converted to a blockade, upon the departure of the French auxiliaries from Tippoo Sultan. Sir Eyre Coote returns to Madras, where he dies. Sir Edward Hughes arrives with the fleet from Bombay. Succeſſes of the Colonels Lang and Fullarton in the Coimbatour country. General Stuart beſieges Cuddalore. French lines and outworks carried, after a deſperate attack and reſiſtance, with great ſlaughter on both ſides. Laſt naval action between Sir Edward Hughes and M. de Suffrein. Great ſally made by the French with their beſt troops, who are repulſed with much loſs. Account of the peace being received, an immediate ceſſation of hoſtilities takes place. [75

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